

RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

15892.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS

OPERA.

EDITED

BY

JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A.,

RECTOR OF BARNBURGH, YORKSHIRE.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

VOL. V.

LONDON:
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For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS

TOPOGRAPHIA HIBERNICA,

ET

EXPUGNATIO HIBERNICA.

EDITED

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CONTENTS.

PREFACE.

PREFACE.

PART I.

MANUSCRIPTS.

§ (1). Manuscripts generally of the Works of Giraldus Cambrensis.

MSS. of the works already edited.

Of the works of Giraldus Cambrensis already edited by Mr. Brewer in former volumes of this series there has been generally a sad lack of manuscripts. Of the *De Rebus, &c.* (vol. i.) only one manuscript is known, and this with a very large portion lost. Of the *De Invectionibus* also (vols. i. and iii.) there is only one manuscript known, and this inaccessible, in the Vatican library; Mr. Brewer could only print from an imperfect modern transcript. Of the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* again (vol. ii.) and the *Speculum Ecclesiæ* (vol. iv.) only one manuscript in either case can now be found.[1]

There is so much extreme diffusiveness about himself and the see of St. David, especially in the two first of the above works, as also in the *De Jure, &c.* of vol. iii., and such endless repetition of matter from one to another,

[1] The same is true of Giraldus's treatise *De Principis Instructione*, edited by Mr. Brewer, in 1846, for the Anglia Christiana society. Only one MS. of it is known, and this a very inaccurate one (Preface, pp. xxi, xxii).

that we cannot be surprised at these treatises having been no favourite subjects of transcription in the scriptoria of our larger English monasteries, the great sources of all our English mediaeval manuscripts, where Giraldus and the see of St. David would be held in a vastly lower degree of importance than that in which he regarded it and himself. His bitter abuse of monasticism, moreover, would make him far from a welcome inmate generally of monastic libraries. His *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, especially, could only have been looked upon by monks as a piece of gross, lying, blasphemous ribaldry, which it would be no venial sin for any monk to transcribe. No wonder that some of his works have so barely survived to our days.

Of one or two of the minor treatises of Giraldus, amongst such of his works as I am commissioned to edit, though not guilty these of such extreme diffusiveness or repetition, or of such anti-monastic virulence, but rather as treatises of mere local interest, I shall have, if life and ability be spared me, to make the same complaint of having but one manuscript upon which to form my text.

MSS. of the Irish treatises of this volume.

But this is far from being the case with the Irish treatises included in the present volume. Of the *Topographia Hibernica*, more especially, there are so many manuscripts to which I have found reference, and these so widely scattered, that I have found it impossible to attempt to collate all; and I have no doubt whatever but that further research would disclose many more. I can honestly say that I have spared no pains, or time, or cost within my power, carefully and fully to collate all the early manuscripts that seemed practicably within my reach, besides later manuscripts as well, more or less fully, whenever they seemed at all worthy of the trouble; and perhaps no amount of further labour would have resulted in a dozen verbal improvements on the text as I am here enabled to give it: still it is an uncomfortable reflection

that there may yet be better manuscripts than any I have seen, which would have produced, in some instances, a more correct text. Instead of a lack of manuscripts, I can only here complain of a greater number than I have been able to grapple with.

§ (2). Manuscripts of the Topographia.

MSS. of the Topographia.

I proceed to describe the manuscripts of the *Topographia Hibernica* which I have collated for this volume. I must not place them according to date or value, but must group them according to the several editions of this treatise which seem to have been issued by Giraldus. It was his first serious essay in authorship ; he had especial pride in it, and was continually revising and adding to it. The first edition, dedicated to Henry II., which appeared early in 1188, if not before, contains far less than half of the treatise as it finally issued from his pen some thirty years, perhaps, afterwards. And between the first edition and the last there must have been two or three distinct intervening ones. The consequence is a frequent and often large variation in the contents of the different manuscripts; and these will therefore best be described, as I propose, according to the order of the several editions.

Of the first edition I have used three manuscripts, and am not aware of the existence of any others. Of these the earliest and most valuable is in the University

MS. Mm. 5, 30, Univ. Library, Cambridge.

Library, Cambridge (Mm. 5, 30). It MS. (M.) forms a thin folio volume of thirty-one leaves of vellum in double columns of thirty-three lines. So far as the character of the writing goes, it might well be supposed to be of some years earlier date than is possible; it is certainly, we may say, a twelfth century manuscript, and probably a very early transcript of the work as first penned by Giraldus. It is written in a bold and clear hand, as most manuscripts

of this period. Early as it must be, it is certainly only a transcript, and not always a correct one; its scribe has often made evident blunders, and sometimes rather gross ones. The table of chapters at the beginning ends abruptly at cap. 26 of the Third Distinction,[1] in middle of a column and middle of a line, with a blank space left for its completion; and one folio is lost at the beginning of the First Distinction.[2] This manuscript is denoted by the letter M. in the various readings at the foot of my text.

MS. (H.) MS. Harleian, 3724, British Museum.

Another copy of the first edition is in a British Museum manuscript (Harleian, 3,724), a small quarto volume, vellum, in single columns, with about thirty lines to the page. It is described as a thirteenth century manuscript. The writing looks to me as belonging to a late period of this century, if it belongs to it at all; but it is in a curious un-English-looking hand, the date of which I do not feel at all able to pretend to decide. It has, however, very rude illuminated initial letters and marginal ornamentation, which cannot well be supposed to be later than the thirteenth century, or, perhaps, even than the first part of it. It wants the table of chapters at the beginning which is in manuscript (M.), just described, and differs from it in a few other instances as well; sometimes wanting a word or two or a sentence that is in (M.), and sometimes, on the other hand, having something not in (M.). It contains at the end three or four other brief articles besides the *Topographia Hibernica*. It is denoted by the letter H. at foot of the text.

MS. (P.) MS. 181, Peter House, Cambridge.

The third and last copy of this first edition that I have consulted is contained, with other treatises, in a folio vellum manuscript (No. 181) in the library of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. This is in a fifteenth century hand. It agrees

[1] *Infra*, 17, note (1).

[2] *Infra*, 20, note (1).

generally very closely with manuscript (M.) above, but is an independent copy, and not unfrequently gives better readings. It supplies also the latter portion of the table of chapters and the beginning of the First Distinction, which are wanting in (M.). This manuscript is denoted by the letter P. at foot of the text.

As I have already said, the first edition, as exhibited in the above three manuscripts, forms but a small part of the work as it finally came from Giraldus's prolix pen.

Value of this first edition.

But it contains all, or all but all, that is of any value as regards Ireland, his subject. His materials for it were collected during his stay in Ireland in parts of the years 1185 and 1186, and the work itself was partly written there, and completed directly after his return. It records what he himself saw, or was there told and believed, penned at the very time, or soon afterwards, whilst everything was still fresh in his memory. The little additional matter about Ireland that is supplied in later editions seems to have been derived from further research amongst ancient authors,[1] or from mere hearsay, rather than from any recollections or knowledge of his own. As to the great bulk of the later additions, for instance, most of the symbolisms and moralizations about birds, &c.,[2] theological excursions,[3] quotations from early writers and disquisitions thereon,[4] legendary foreign accounts,[5] a dissertation on music,[6] laudations of Henry II. and his sons,[7] valuable more or less as these all may in some way be, they are utterly foreign to his subject, and wearisome beyond measure to the reader, who is expecting information about Ireland. They have about

[1] As in the early chapters of the First Distinction; *infra*, 23, note (1); 24, note (7); 29, note (1), &c.

[2] As *infra*, 35, note (3); 36, note (3); 39, note (1), &c.

[3] As *infra*, 40, &c.

[4] As in II. 19 (*infra*, 105), &c.

[5] As in I. 21 (*infra*, 53); II. 28 (*infra*, 114, &c.).

[6] III. 12-15 (*infra*, 155, &c.).

[7] III. 48-53 (*infra*, 191, n. 5).

as much to do with Ireland or its people as with the moon and the man in it. If the *Topographia Hibernica* had come down to us in this first edition only, it would have answered far better to its name, and done far more credit to Giraldus's judgment and authorship.

§ (3). MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SECOND EDITION.

Of what I consider the second edition I have collated also three manuscripts. This contains very much more than the first edition, but much less than after ones.

MS. (C.)

MS. 400, C. C. Coll., Cambridge.

First must be named a manuscript quarto volume in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (No. 400).[1] The *Topographia* occupies the first forty-five leaves, vellum, in double columns of thirty-six lines, in a hand of the first part of the thirteenth century, a correctly written and valuable copy. On the second page of the fly leaf, opposite f. 1, is a curious very rude map of Britain, Ireland, and the Orcades, of which I shall have to say more under manuscript Arundel 14 of the third edition. In placing this C. C. Coll. manuscript as a copy of the second edition, I take its text only as it was first written. It has frequent marginal additions, often of considerable length,

Infra, xviii.

[1] Besides the *Topographia Hibernica* this volume contains:

1st. A copy of our author's *Descriptio Cambriæ*, imperfect and valueless; to which are appended his *Retractationes* and one or two other brief treatises. This portion is in a late 16th century hand, on paper, without any numbering to the leaves.

2ndly. A valuable copy of our author's *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ*, on vellum, in an early 13th century hand, containing, however, only Distinctions I., II., and VII., as in the late manuscript Vitellius E. 5 of British Museum (see Mr. Brewer's preface, p. xxxviii, vol. iii.). This has archbishop Parker's red numbering of pages, 1–113, most of them more or less cut away in after binding. It is followed, (pp. 115–120) on a different sort of vellum, and in a very different but still an early hand, by a perfect copy of the poetical pieces printed by Mr. Brewer (vol. i. 374, &c.) from the same manuscript, Vitellius E. 5.

and in two or three instances, when the margin was insufficient, insertions of additional leaves of new matter. These additions seem often in the same hand as that of the text, or in a very similar one of the same or nearly the same date, sometimes in a certainly different and somewhat later hand. If they were to be considered an integral part of the manuscript, it would have to stand, not here, but as a copy of the third edition. This manuscript is designated in my notes by the letter C.

Rawlinson B. 483, Bodleian library.

The second copy of what I call the MS. (Bb.) second edition forms a thin quarto volume of thirty-six vellum leaves, amongst the Rawlinson manuscripts (B. 483) of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It is an early thirteenth century manuscript, correct and valuable, in double columns of thirty-six lines. I place it second, not because it is second either in date, probably, or in value to the above Cambridge Corpus manuscript, but because it contains somewhat more than this Cambridge manuscript as first written.[1] Very possibly it may represent a somewhat later edition. I have no authority whatever for classing the manuscripts as I am doing; there may have been several more distinct editions than according to my arrangement. I only group together for convenience' sake the manuscripts which seem to me, though with some variations, naturally to fall into separate classes, and which classes I believe to exhibit certainly as many separate editions, if not more.

According to a note on one of the fly leaves at the beginning, this manuscript was at one time bound up

[1] The passages not in the text of the Corpus MS., but added in the margin or on inserted leaves, are forty-four in number. Of these thirty-two are also not in the text of this Rawlinson MS., a few of them being added in the margin. But twelve of them are in its text. On the other hand, there is one short passage in the Introitus (*infra*, 7, note 3) which is in the text of the Corpus MS., but is not in this Rawlinson MS.

in one volume with a copy of the Cosmography of Pomponius Mela.[1] On another fly leaf is "Ex dono Wil-" lielmi Gerald regentis[2] et cancellarii Hiberniæ." To whom it was given does not appear. According to Mr. Macray's catalogue of the Rawlinson manuscripts it afterwards belonged to Sir James Ware, and after him again to Henry, earl of Clarendon. On margin of fol. 1 is "Vol. vii. Histor.," and I therefore suppose it to be the same as "Clarendon 7" of Mr. Hardy's *Catalogue*, vol. ii. 458.

It has a large deficiency, viz., from cap. 24 of Distinction I. to beginning of cap. 11 of Distinction II., several folios being lost. It has a few marginal additions. It is designated by Bb. at foot of my text.

MS. (W.) Westminster MS. The third copy of this second edition forms an octavo-shaped volume in the library of Westminster Abbey. This is an early thirteenth or perhaps late twelfth century manuscript of sixty-five leaves, boldly and beautifully written in double columns of twenty-eight or twenty-nine lines. It is just such a manuscript as it is a delight at first sight to have to take in hand. But I think of all the manuscripts anywhere near this date that I have ever consulted this is the most wretchedly disappointing one. It abounds with blunders, has scarcely ever a dozen lines without gross blunders. It is difficult to imagine that so good a calligrapher could have been so ignorant or careless a scribe

[1] "Girardus Cambrensis de mirabilibus Hiberniæ, et Pomponius Mela de cosmographia et ymagine mundi. Prec. xxii^s."

[2] *Gerald regentis*] I give this as the reading, in submission to Mr. Macray, in his catalogue of the Rawlinson MSS. But this Wm. Gerald, it would seem, must be the Wm. Gerrard, Esq., who was appointed lord chancellor of Ireland, by patent dated at Gorhambury, April 23, 1576, and was dead before March 6, 1581 (Lascelles' *Liber Hiberniæ*); and so far as I can make out, he was never regent or chief governor of Ireland. The writing is not at all certainly legible; it looks to me by far most like "Geralldiegintis" in one word. Can it be meant for *Geralldi equitis?*

as his manuscript seems to show. Perhaps he had to transcribe from an illegible original of Giraldus's own penning. I do not know whether any certain writing of Giraldus can now be shown; but he was just the man of all others, with his vehemence and ready wit and rapid pen, who could not possibly, we might fancy, write a legible hand. But illegible writing was a thing then unknown, so far as my acquaintance with manuscripts of his time goes, and had Giraldus been an exceptionally illegible writer, other copies of his works would have often been as full of blunders as this, and this certainly is not the case.

As to contents, this Westminster manuscript[1] agrees exactly with the Rawlinson manuscript (B. 483) just described, as originally written; it has not, with the Rawlinson manuscript, any after marginal additions. But one was not copied from the other; they were only derived, as proved abundantly by the various readings, from one common source.

This manuscript is designated by the letter W. at foot of the text.

§ (4). Manuscripts of the Third Edition.

Of what I call the third edition I have collated four manuscripts, which I now proceed to describe.

Arundel 14, British Museum.

Arundel 14, of the British Museum, is a quarto volume of the early part of MS. (A.)

[1] There are two fly leaves at the beginning of the volume. On the back of the second, which must have belonged to a different volume, is the following, in a 14th or 15th century hand—

"Isto li. continentur:

"Liber qui vocatur Bestiarium.

"Item, Rota fortunæ.

"Item, Senecis de remediis for-" tuitorum.

"Item, Proverbia et historiæ" contra mulieres et uxores.

"Item, De septem mirabilibus" mundi.

"Item, Exceptio de Policraticon" Johannis, de divinationibus, sor-" tilegiis, imaginariis, et duobus" petris."

There is no note whatever relating to the MS. of the *Topographia.*

the thirteenth century, if not of the latter part of the twelfth.[1] It contains thirty-two vellum leaves,[2] and is closely written in double columns of forty-five or forty-six lines. Though a well written and accurate and very valuable manuscript, it is an unusually plain one, with scarcely any ornamentation ; this being almost confined to the initial letters of the chapters, which are but simply somewhat larger ordinary capitals in red or green. There is no division of the chapters into sections, as generally in other manuscripts, except in the latter part of the Third Distinction.

The *Topographia* ends on the upper part of f. 27 *b*. Immediately after it, occupying the middle part of the same page, is a wonderfully simple map of the British islands placed north and south across the page. England and Scotland form a carrot-shaped island, with the ends rounded off, and the thicker end at the south. Below it Ireland is of a long kidney shape, the ends about equal, and but slightly compressed in the middle. They do not lie exactly north and south, but slightly incline towards one another to the north ; Ireland being much the shorter of the two. To the north of Ireland, in a line with it, are two small round islands, and close under these a row of three others, somewhat to the north-west of Ireland. Between these two rows is "Or ca des."

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[1] It is said to be a 12th century MS. in Mr. Hardy's *Catalogue*, ii. 457.

[2] The *Topographia* occupies ff. 1–27 *b*. Immediately after this, ff. 27 *b*–29 *b*, is the *Dissuasio Valerii* of Walter Map against wives, as in his *De Nugis Curialium* of the Camden Society, p. 142, &c., where this Arundel 14 copy is collated. After which, ff. 29 *b*–31, is the account of bishop Longchamp, as in Hoveden 400, where it is attributed to the pen of Hugh de Nonant, bishop of Coventry. After this again, ff. 31–31 *b*, is the account, by Anselm, a monk of Worcester, of a miraculous poetical lay brother of that monastery, also given in Hoveden 356 *b*. And after this, ff. 31 *b*–32, sundry small bits of poetry and tables of the kingdoms and bishoprics of Saxon England. All in the same hand as that of the *Topographia*.

Above them, between the northern parts of Britain and Ireland, is " Aquilo ; " and in a line with this, between their southern ends, is " Auster." Above which, at the south-east corner of England, is " Britannia ; " and below it, at the same corner of Ireland, is " Hybernia." This is the whole, either of mapping or lettering. The islands are coloured dark green, with a narrow red border round them.

The Corpus manuscript at Cambridge (C.) has on the second page of its initial fly leaf, opposite fol. 1, a very similar map, copied probably from a common original. Here the body of the islands is a light green, with chocolate borders. *Supra*, xiv.

At the head of the first page of this Arundel manuscript, and at the foot of the last, is " William Howard, " 1613." It has no other note of its history.

It is denoted by the letter A. at foot of the text.

Bodley 511, Bodleian Library.

MS. (Bc.)

Agreeing exactly as to contents with the above Arundel manuscript of the *Topographia*, and generally as to verbal variations as well, is a sixteenth century manuscript (Bodley 511) in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It agrees so closely with the Arundel manuscript that it may possibly have been copied from it ; but there are sufficient verbal variations, I think, to prove that it was derived only from the same earlier source. It contains the *Topographia* only, without the additions of the Arundel manuscript ; and consists of 89 vellum leaves, in single columns of about twenty-five lines. It has only one note as to its history, but this gives us the year and day of the year on which its transcriber completed his work ; at the end is,

" Finitur opus Girardi Cambrensis
" de thopographia Hiberniæ. 1513
" Aprilis 12."

For a manuscript of this date it is very well and cor-

rectly written. I have not thought it necessary often to record its readings; where it is referred to it is represented by the letters Bc.

MS. (R.) Bib. Reg. 13 B. viii., Brit. Museum.

Agreeing very closely as to contents[1] with the two preceding manuscripts is a copy of this treatise in a volume of the royal collection in the British Museum, of which the press mark is Bib. Reg. 13 B. viii. This is on vellum, in a beautiful and accurate hand of the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.[2] In the margin are many curious coloured drawings, rude but spirited, and truer than many later such drawings, of the birds, beasts, &c. and Irish scenes described by our author.

The *Topographia* occupies ff. 1–34 *b* of this volume. It is followed in the same hand by the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ff. 34 *b*–74, and the *Itinerarium Kambriæ*, ff. 74 *b*–100 *b*. After these treatises of Giraldus follows immediately, and in the same hand, on ff. 100 *b*–116 *b*, Henry of Sawtry's *Purgatory of St. Patrick*.[3] All four treatises are in double columns of about thirty-six lines.

This volume once belonged to St. Augustine's abbey, Canterbury. On the fly leaf at the end is, "Liber sancti "Augustini extra muros Cantuariæ."

In the *Topographia* of this volume two leaves are lost, one between f. 23 and f. 24 of the present numbering, which contained several of the last chapters of Dist. II. and the beginning of the preface of Dist. III.;[4] the

[1] In two instances this manuscript of the *Topographia* has two words, and in another instance a sentence comprising four and a half lines of my text, which are not in manuscripts (A.) and (Bc.); *infra*, 32, note (2); 134, (1); and 168, (3). These I believe to be the only differences as to contents.

[2] Mr. Hardy says 12th century; *Catalogue*, ii. 458.

[3] After which, ff. 117–146, in a very different but still a hand of about the same date, a hexameter poem, with a prose preface, entitled, "Anticlaudianus Alani de Anti- "ruffino;" the *Anticlaudianus*, I suppose, of Alan de Insulis. See *Cave's Hist. Lit.* sub anno 1215.

[4] *Infra*, 132, note (1).

other between f. 25 and f. 26, which contained chapters ix., x., and part of xi. of Dist. III.[1]

There are many, and often considerable, additions in the margins. It is of the original text only, without the marginal additions, that I have been speaking, in including this copy of the *Topographia* in the third edition.

It is represented in my notes by the letter R.

Rawlinson B. 188, Bodleian Library. MS. (B.)

A fourth and very valuable copy of this third edition is in a Rawlinson manuscript B. 188, of the Bodleian Library. This is on vellum, in a hand of the early part of the thirteenth century, in double columns of thirty-seven lines, and contains the same three treatises of Giraldus as the manuscript (R.) just described; viz., the *Topographia Hibernica*, ff. 1–36, the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ff. 37–73, and the *Kambriæ Itinerarium*, ff. 73–97. Moreover, in all three of these treatises it agrees exactly as to contents with the text of (R.), but has none of its marginal additions. The verbal differences, however, are amply sufficient to show that one was not copied from the other; but they agree so closely that they were, no doubt, copied from the selfsame earlier manuscript. (R.), as I have said, belonged to St. Augustine's, Canterbury: this was also a Canterbury manuscript, at least in 1483; at the top of fol. 1 is, "Liber fratris W. Bonyngton, et per eum "reparatus A° Domini 1483, monachi ecclesiæ Christi "Cantuariensis." After which is, in of course a later hand, "Modo Henrici Spelman, Mil." It contains nothing but these treatises of Giraldus.

This manuscript is B. in my notes.

§ (5). Manuscripts of the Fourth Edition.

Bib. Reg. 13 B. viii., with marginal additions. MS. (R.) again.

As I said a few lines back, the manuscript of the royal library, Bib. Reg. 13

[1] *Infra*, 149, note (2).

B. viii., (R.) of my notation, which I have just described as containing in its text a copy of the third edition, has many and considerable marginal additions. These are in a much smaller character, but perhaps by the same hand as that of the text; at any rate they are in a hand of the same or very nearly the same date. Taking these additions into account, I consider this manuscript to give us also a copy of a fourth distinct edition of this treatise.

MS. (F.) Ff. 1, 27. University Library, Cambridge.

Agreeing exactly with this enlarged version is a copy of this treatise in a manuscript volume in the University Library, Cambridge, of which the press mark is Ff. 1, 27. This is a large quarto volume of 642 pages, and is one of the volumes given to the University by archbishop Parker. It contains various treatises in various hands, bound up together, no doubt, in one volume, under archbishop Parker's directions.

Amongst these, on vellum, in the same hand of the latter part of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, in double columns of thirty-nine lines, are the following treatises of Giraldus: the *Topographia Hibernica* (pp. 253–355), the *Expugnatio Hibernica* (pp. 355–471), and the *Itinerarium Kambriæ* (pp. 499–567). Before the *Itin. Kamb.*, on paper, is also a worthless copy [1] of the *Descriptio Kambriæ* (pp. 473–491), in

[1] It is the work of an incorrect scribe. Moreover, of the eighteen chapters of which the first book consists eight chapters and a part of two others are wanting, and a portion of one of the prefaces before the first book is transferred to the middle of a chapter of the second book; the manuscript being in both cases most unmeaningly continuous, without break or other token of loss or addition. It must have been derived from a manuscript which had lost several leaves of the first book, and of which one leaf of the said preface had got misplaced. There are several other copies of this mutilated *Descriptio Kambriæ*, one as early as about the end of the 14th century, as will have to be mentioned in a future volume in describing the manuscripts of this treatise.

a hand of the latter half of the sixteenth century; the work, no doubt, of archbishop Parker's scribe, and inserted here in order to complete the series of Giraldus's Irish and Welsh treatises.

This volume therefore contains, in the same thirteenth or fourteenth century hand, the same three treatises of Giraldus as are contained in the earlier manuscript (R.) lately described. Each of these treatises agrees exactly as to contents with the corresponding treatise in (R.): and further agrees most exactly, word for word and letter for letter, all but always, with the peculiar readings of (R.); the most self-evident blunders[1] even of (R.) being carefully followed, in almost every instance, by the later scrupulous copyist. The manuscripts of these three treatises in (R.) and in this Cambridge volume are, in fact, all but identical, except in difference of hand, and except that the marginal additions of (R.) are incorporated in the text of this later manuscript.

The copy of the *Topographia*, also, in this volume, like the copy in (R.), has on the margins many coloured figures of birds, animals, men, &c. This is not the case in any of the other treatises, in the same hand, in either volume. If the two volumes could be placed side by side, I have no doubt but that it would appear perfectly clear that the drawings in this later manuscript were copied from those of the earlier one. So far as memory served me, such seemed to be certainly the case.

[1] For instance, wrong cases of nouns or wrong tenses of verbs, destroying the sense; as *humana natura* instead of *humanam naturam* (*infra*, 104, last line), *fossatas* instead of *fossatis* (187, note 2), *emanavit* instead of *emanabit* (162, n. 6), *exortam* instead of *exorta* (226, n. 3), *umbram* instead of *umbra* (235, n. 4). Again, wrong words; as *delectione* instead of *delectatione* (8, n. 2, and 122, n. 3), *valia* instead of *varia* (223, n. 2), *addere* instead of *abdere* (208, n. 2). These are a few instances of the peculiar readings of (R.) and (F.) only; they are found in no other manuscript, not even in the fellow manuscript (B.).

Moreover, this Cambridge volume contains, immediately after the *Itinerarium Kambriæ*, and in the same hand, a copy of Henry de Sawtry's *Purgatory of St. Patrick*,[1] as we have seen to be the case also in (R.). Again, the present paging of this Cambridge volume is archbishop Parker's; but there are sufficient remnants of an earlier numbering, in the three treatises of Giraldus and the St. Patrick's Purgatory, to prove certainly that they formed originally, in the same order as in (R.), one volume, or a consecutive part of one volume. I may add that this Cambridge volume, like (R.), contains no other treatise by the same hand as that of the above four treatises.

Everything seems to prove conclusively,—I do not think there can be a possible doubt about it,—that the copies of these treatises in this Cambridge manuscript were made directly, and by a most faithful scribe, from the earlier manuscript (R.).

This manuscript is F. in my notes. I have always recorded its readings throughout the *Topographia*, but only occasionally in the *Expugnatio*: it seemed to me perfectly unnecessary to go on constantly repeating F. after R., their identity being fully patent. A considerable portion, indeed, of the *Expugnatio* I must confess to have only very cursorily collated in (F.), fully satisfied as I was that an exact collation would be an utterly useless waste of time and labour.

§ (6). Manuscripts with yet further Additions.

So far as what I have thus treated as four distinct editions, we may, I think, feel sure that every bit of

[1] I have not collated the copies of the *Purgatorium* in (R.) and (F.); but I have no doubt but that they would be found to agree as closely as the copies of the treatises of Giraldus in these manuscripts. Mr. Hardy says that their text is the same (*Catalogue*, i. 73 and 75; No. 214 and 222).

additional matter successively introduced into the text is certainly Giraldus's own. The marginal additions of (R.) embodied in the text of (F.), and making my fourth edition, are, as I have already said, if not in the same early hand as the text of (R.), at any rate in a hand of very nearly the same date. They cannot, I think, be possibly considered but as added while Giraldus was still alive, and busy, as we know him to have been, in revising his earlier works. But there are manuscripts which contain further additions, of which the genuineness seems to me doubtful. Of these manuscripts the earliest is of the later part of the thirteenth century, only some forty or fifty years, probably, after the death of Giraldus; but this was amply time enough for marginal notes of some student to have become incorporated into the author's text. The additions are not many, or of much extent: some ten or twelve are but of an explanatory word or two; about fifteen are sentences, or short paragraphs, the longest occupying but about fourteen lines of my text, which contain new matter. In two or three instances, moreover, there are passages differently constructed, expressing the same thing. These additions or alterations, I have little doubt, are many of them Giraldus's own; and would, perhaps, be proved to be such by early manuscripts which I have not seen: but some, I feel sure almost, are not his, but interpolated from marginal annotations. Instead, however, of pretending to decide which of the additions are Giraldus's, and which not, I have thought it better to retain all of them in my text, but all enclosed within brackets.

Additions in late MSS.

The manuscripts which I have collated containing these additions are four in number. The first of these is in a quarto volume, on vellum, of the Bodleian Library, Laud 720, which contains, ff. 1–134 *b*, a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and,

Laud 720, Bodleian Library.

MS. (Ba.)

on ff. 134 *b*–244, the *Topographia Hibernica*.[1] These are in the same hand, of the later part of the thirteenth century,[2] in single columns, with from twenty-three to twenty-six lines to a page. The hand is a very good one, and, so far as the treatise of Giraldus is concerned, a very correct one. This copy of the *Topographia*, perhaps, gives us the most valuable text of the complete work that I have seen, though it may embody some few spurious additions. It once had many coloured drawings of animals, men, &c., in its margins. A few of these are still left, but by far the greater part have been feloniously cut away.

On f. 2 *b*, which is left blank after the table of contents of Geoffrey of Monmouth, is a note, in a sixteenth or early seventeenth century hand, stating that this volume had been given to Augustine Lindsell by his very dear friend Anthony Maxton;[3] and on the bottom margin of f. 3, the first page of Geoffrey, is archbishop Laud's autograph of his ownership of the volume.[4] It has no other note of its history. It is Ba. in my notes.

MS. (Cl.) Cott. Cleopatra, D. v.; British Museum.

The second of these enlarged copies of the *Topographia* is in a quarto volume of the Cotton collection in the British Museum, Cott. Cleopatra, D. v. This volume is in a fourteenth century hand, on vellum, in double columns of thirty-six lines; and is the work of a good and careful scribe. It contains the following treatises of Giraldus:

[1] This is followed, ff. 245–250, but in a different hand, with extracts as to the right of the king of England over Scotland.

[2] It has been described as a hand of the 14th century. It seemed to me earlier; but I was anxious to have better authority than my own for saying so. Mr. Coxe, with his ever ready kindness, examined the manuscript closely, and assured me that it is in a 13th century hand, and probably not much after the middle of the century.

[3] "Augustinus Lindsell. Ex dono "amicissimi Antonii Maxton."

[4] "Liber Guilielmi Laud archi-"episcopi Cantuar̄., et cancellarii "Universitatis Oxon. 1633."

the *Topographia Hibernica,* on ff. 2–52, the *Expugnatio Hibernica,* ff. 52 *b*–98, and the *Symbolum Electorum,* ff. 98–133 *b*; the last treatise, however, having the epistles only, not the poetical pieces, orations, &c., and prefaces, as in the copy of the *Symbolum* in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, of which I shall hereafter have to say more. Then follows, ff. 133 *b*–165 *b*, a treatise *De Descriptione Mundi,* which is also, but no doubt wrongly, attributed to Giraldus, in the following heading by a later hand than that of the text; "Incipit "liber Giraldi archidiaconi Menevensis de descriptione "mundi."[1] *Infra,* xxxvi.

This volume contains no note as to its history. It has lost two leaves, between f. 44 and 45 of the present numbering. It is represented in my notes by Cl.

A third copy is in the Harleian manuscript 4,003, of the British Museum. This volume contains, on vellum, the *Topographia Hibernica,* ff. 3–37, and the *Expugnatio Hibernica,* ff. 37–78, in a fourteenth century hand, in single columns of thirty-nine lines. Of the *Topographia* much is omitted, in the First Distinction especially: the *Expugnatio* is complete. It is not a manuscript of much value. It is Hb. of my notation. MS. (Hb.) Harleian 4,003, British Museum.

The fourth and last copy of this enlarged version that I have collated is in a volume of the Royal Library in the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 13 A. xiv. This volume contains, on vellum, MS. (Rb.) Bib. Reg. 13 A. xiv., British Museum.

[1] This treatise begins, "Ad hoc "autem quod certius et planius "videatur quod intendimus . . . ;" and ends, ". . . usquequo vestra "reverentia requirat principalem "scripturam." Giraldus tells us that in his youthful days he did write a "Mundi nascentis descrip- "tiuncula" and "Cosmographia," but in hexameter and pentameter verse (vol. i. 414, 421, and iii. 372); a portion of which is probably preserved in his *Symbolum Electorum* under the title, "De mundi "creatione et contentis ejusdem" (vol. i. 341). The above *Descriptio Mundi* of MS. (Cl.) is in plain and un-Giraldic prose. After this treatise, on ff. 165 *b*–183, follows a *Vita Alexandri Magni.*

the *Topographia Hibernica,* ff. 10 *b*–58, and the *Expugnatio,* ff. 58 *b*–106, in the same fourteenth century hand, in single columns of thirty-three lines ; and bound up with these, several other treatises in different hands. The two treatises of Giraldus, if no more of the volume, once belonged to the convent of black friars at Limerick.[1] The rubrics of these treatises, from bad ink, are generally illegible ; and the text is not of much value. It is Rb. in my notes.

These four fuller manuscripts do not always agree with one another in their additions. Of the about twenty-five instances of addition which they give in the *Topographia* three or four are not in (Ba.), but are in (Cl.) and the others ; and, on the other hand, two or three are not in (Cl.), but are in (Ba.) and the others. Moreover, (Hb.) and (Rb.) have some private additions of their own.

I have examined, more or less closely, other manuscripts, of late fourteenth or fifteenth and sixteenth century date. Compared with the early manuscripts, they are simply worthless : it would have been mere waste of time and labour to have collated them carefully, and a thoroughly useless overloading of my pages to have recorded all their blundering variations. I have perhaps done more than it was at all worth while to do, in collating any at all of these later manuscripts besides (Ba.) and (Cl.). These, (Ba.) most especially, are valuable manuscripts ; and their readings I have always given, or intimated under an &c., except in a few instances of evident mistakes of the scribe ; but of the other late manuscripts which I have collated I have only partially given the readings, when the early manuscripts differed, or when, for other reasons, their variations seemed worth noting. In the instances of addition to the text, however, I have, of course, given their readings fully.

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[1] At the beginning of the *Topographia,* on upper margin of f. 10 *b*, is this, "Iste liber constat conventui "fratrum prædicatorum Lymericy, "et si quis alienaverit anathema "sit."

§ (7). Manuscripts of the Expugnatio Hibernica.

There are many manuscripts of this treatise also of Giraldus still in being, though not so many as of the *Topographia*. They give us at least two editions, and perhaps a third; but of the latter I have found no certainty that it issued from Giraldus's pen, or in his lifetime. It appears, at any rate the greater part of it, so far as I have been able to see, in no manuscript of an earlier date than the fourteenth century. It has not only additions, but considerable subtractions as well; and Giraldus was not at all a likely man ever to have made up his mind that anything he had once written could possibly better be done away with.

MSS. of the first edition.

The first copy to be described of what I shall call the first edition of this treatise is in a manuscript vellum volume in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, No. 371.

No. 371, Lambeth.

MS. (L.)

This is a volume of many miscellanies, principally historical, in various hands, most of which are of thirteenth century date. A considerable portion of its contents was once included in a volume which belonged to Reading abbey in Berkshire, as appears from entries relating to the founder, &c. and relics of this house,[1] on a fly leaf at the beginning.

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[1] There are two vellum fly leaves at the beginning. On the second page of the first are the following memorandums, in a late 14th or a 15th century hand:

"Memorandum, quod in prima "creatione monasterii Rading de"dit dux Aquitanniæ regi Henrico, "fundatori ejusdem, quendam pue"rum; ad ecclesiæ suæ temporibus "successuris magnum relevamen. "Coram quo, in omni tribulatione "sua, in capella propria procum"bens, per Dei graciam suæ piæ "petitionis semper sortitus est "effectum.

"Johannes rex Angliæ dedit no"bis caput sancti Philippi apostoli "venerandum; quod nobis misit "cum maxima episcoporum et pro"cerum reverentia. Et veneranti"bus illud ab episcopis indulgentias "impetravit. Et ipso die nobis "nundinas habere concessit. Cujus "animæ propicietur Deus. Amen.

"Memorandum, quod cometissa

On the first page of what is the first folio of the present numbering, but which would seem originally to have been also a fly leaf, is moreover a copy of a curious circular letter, addressed by Alured, sacrist of Reading, to all sons of holy church, and sent through all England, for the recovery of a Bible which had been stolen.[1] On this same page of f. 1 is a table of the treatises comprised in this Reading volume,[2] as it once existed: it had two or

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"de Penbrok dedit monasterio "Rading, in die sanctæ Margaretæ, "imaginem Mariæ Magdalenæ argenteam et deauratam, refertam "reliquiis ejusdem Mariæ; tempore "regis Ricardi secundi post con-"questum anno iiii^to, et anno Do-"mini millesimo ccc^mo lxxxvi. (*sic*).

"Willelmus comes Lincolniæ de-"sponsavit Adelizam reginam, fun-"datoris nostri uxorem; ut patet in "carta et confirmatione ejusdem Wil-"lelmi. Et ideo concilium regium "voluit permittere eam jacere cum "eo in medio presbiterii ante altare. "Illa tamen jacet sepulta in boriali "parte chori, inter duas columnas, "seorsum a rege Henrico primo, "fundatore nostro et marito ejus-"dem. Quorum animabus propi-"cietur Deus. Amen."

[1] It was stolen, the letter tells us, in July 1253, from the abbey cloister. The bishop of Salisbury and the whole college of Reading published solemn sentence of excommunication against the thieves or detainers of the volume. Besides the books of the Bible it contained several biblical tracts, inserted in different places; all which, with their positions in the volume, are described. At the end of the letter is this, "Tenor hujus literæ, bene "signatus, missus fuit per totam "Angliam per brevitores nostros. "Et nihil certum inveniri vel audiri "potuit de dicta byblia; quod gra-"viter condolemus."

[2] "Ista continentur in hoc libello:

(1.) "Kl' tabulat'.

(2.) "Cujusdam elucidarii pars "modica.

(3.) "Libellus qui dicitur Ymago "mundi, cum suis partibus et divi-"sionibus.

(4.) "Epistola Johannis regis "Indiæ.

(5.) "Provincialis omnium epi-"scoporum Christianitatis.

(6.) "Annotatio Romanorum "pontificum, imperatorum;

(7.) "Regum etiam totius mundi.

(8.) "Cronica quædam ab origine "mundi.

(9.) "Alia cronica de insula Bri-"tanniæ.

(10.) "Compendium de gestis "Anglorum, et de ordine regum.

(11.) "Carta regis Johannis de "libertatibus.

(12.) "De mirabilibus Angliæ.

(13.) "De Sibillis.

(14.) "Expositio Catonis, et doc-"trinal' Gall'.

(15.) "Proverbia quædam." Of these (1.), (12.), and (13.) are not in the present volume. This table of contents is in a 14th century hand.

three other articles besides those which are bound up in the present Lambeth volume. This volume, or perhaps only the Reading abbey portion of it, belonged to Edward Orwell towards the end of the sixteenth century. On the first of the two vellum fly leaves at the beginning is, "Edwardus Orwell me possidet. 19 Marcii 1577;" and again on fol. 1 is his name, with the same date.

The *Expugnatio Hibernica* is one of several additional articles,[1] which, with part of the above Reading volume, form the present Lambeth volume. It is in a different hand from that of any other portion of the volume,—a small, but most beautifully clear and correct hand, of the early part of the thirteenth century; in single columns, of from thirty to thirty-five lines. It is a most valuable copy of this treatise, and was probably penned during Giraldus's lifetime. It occupies folios 91–119, and three lines of f. 120: where it is followed immediately, in a different hand, ff. 120–121, by "Annotationes breves "omnium epistolarum et evangeliorum per annum; per "quas sciri potest quoto capitulo inveniri poterunt in "singulis libris." It is represented by the letter L in my notes.

[1] Amongst these additions is an early and apparently valuable copy of a portion of Coggeshall's chronicle relating to the reign of Richard I. (ff. 59–72). This is followed by extracts from Martinus Polonus, ending with pope Clement IV., A.D. 1268 (ff. 72–80). The last articles of the volume are two hexameter poems, *Novus Cato* (ff. 134–136) and *Versus magistri Stephani Cantuariensis de contemptu mundi* (ff. 136*–138). On the second page of f. 122, which looks as if it had been a fly leaf of one of the volumes whence this Lambeth volume was compacted, are the following curious lines on prince Arthur:

"Ad puerum graciæ. Exasticon.

"Nunc veluti faciem, geniti sub
"imagine mira,
"Dum colimus pulchram, Christe
"benigne, tuam,
"Poscimus Arthuri memoreris,
"Christe, Britanni
"Principis; et puerum dilige,
"sancte puer.
"Fac modo virtutes imitetur et
"ille paternas,
"Et regat hoc regnum cum se-
"niore senex."

MSS. (R.) and (B.), *supra*, xx and xxi.

Bib. Reg. 13 B. viii., British Museum; and Rawlinson B. 188, Bodleian Library.

Two other copies, as I shall consider them, of this first edition are in the early and valuable manuscripts already described under the *Topographia*, (R.) and (B.) of my notation. As in the *Topographia*, so here in the *Expugnatio*, (R.) has often marginal additions, but not so many as in the first treatise. I am speaking of the bare text of (R.) only, without the marginal additions, in classing its copy of this treatise as a copy of the first edition. The Rawlinson manuscript (B.), as before in the *Topographia*, agrees exactly as to contents, but not exactly in verbal readings, with the text of (R.), and has no marginal additions.

There is one whole chapter, the eighteenth of the first book,[2]—giving the account of the synod at Armagh in 1170, of which no other mention is known besides this in this chapter of Giraldus,—which is not in (L.), but is in (R.) and (B.). With this exception, these manuscripts agree very closely as to contents. There are only two or three other instances, and these of three or four words only, where (R.) and (B.) have anything that is not in (L.). In one instance, on the other hand, in the description of Henry II.,[2] there is a paragraph of several lines, as to his wonderful memory, which is in (L.), and not in the text of (R.) or in (B.), but in the margin of (R.). But this, probably, was owing to an oversight of the scribe of the earlier manuscript from which (R.) and (B.) were derived. The verbal differences between (L.) and (R.) (B.) are numerous.

Use of *Stadia* for miles, in first edition.

There is one curious verbal difference especially to be remarked. The word *Stadia* is invariably used in (L.) where, in the latest version of this treatise, as exhibited in several fourteenth, &c. century manuscripts, *Miliaria* is

[1] *Infra*, 258.

[2] *Infra*, 306, n. (2).

invariably used. There are eight instances of the word in (L.);[1] in four of which (R.) and (B.) have also *Stadia*, but in the other four *Milia passuum*, or *Milia*, or *Miliaria*. I can offer no explanation of this strange use of the word *Stadia* for miles, as it seems certainly to mean; but perhaps the substitution of a correct term instead in (R.) and (B.), though overlooked in half the instances, would, together with the many other verbal differences and the few additions of new matter, have justified me in considering these manuscripts as giving us a revised text and a new edition. On the whole, however, they agree so closely with (L.), that I have thought it more convenient to class them as giving copies of the same first edition.

Use of *Arcarii* in the early MSS. instead of *Satellites equestres* of the later ones.

There is another curious verbal difference between the early and late copies of this treatise, which it will be as well to mention here. In the early manuscripts, (L.), (R.), (B.), and in the later (F.), a transcript of (R.), the troops of the English invaders are generally described as composed of *Milites*, *Arcarii*, and *Sagittarii pedestres*, or *Sagittarii* simply. There is only one instance to the contrary, where, instead of *Arcarii* after *Milites*, is *Alii loricati*;[2] but this is so in all the manuscripts, early and late. Instead of *Arcarii*, however, of the early manuscripts, it is always *Satellites equestres* in the later fourteenth &c. century manuscripts; except in one instance, where this sort of troops is mentioned by itself, and where these later manuscripts have *Sagittarii* instead; but this reading, probably, is to be attributed to a mere oversight. In the use of *Arcarii*, and the word occurs some sixteen times or thereabouts, (R.) and (B.) always agree with (L.).

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[1] *Infra*, 231, n. (4); 245, n. (1); 248 n. (3); 288, n. (4); 309, n. (1); 331, n. (3); 343, n. (5); 349, n. (1).

[2] *Infra*, 230, l. 13.

§ (8). Manuscripts of the Second Edition.

MS. (R.) again; and (F.), *supra*, xxii.

As we have seen to be the case in the *Topographia*, so in this treatise also, (R.) has marginal additions, which are inserted in the text of its transcript, the Cambridge manuscript (F.). These are not so numerous as in the *Topographia*, but are enough to warrant us in concluding that in this case again these manuscripts give us a new edition.

Bib. Reg. 13 B. viii., with marginal additions; and Ff. 1, 27, University Library, Cambridge.

And as with the *Topographia*, so with this treatise, the text supplied by (R.), with its marginal additions, and (F.), I believe to exhibit the last revision that can be depended upon as certainly Giraldus's own work. This text I have therefore made the base of my text of these two treatises in this volume: not indeed without correcting the text, by the aid of other manuscripts, where the readings of (R.) and (F.) seem erroneous; nor by rejecting the additions found in later manuscripts; but by enclosing these later additions within brackets, as doubtful whether they ought to be attributed to the author or to some marginal annotator, whose remarks have got incorporated into the genuine text.

In the case of the *Expugnatio*, moreover, there are several passages in these early manuscripts omitted in the later ones, which I have unhesitatingly placed in my text. It is perhaps possible that circumstances may have induced Giraldus to suppress some of these passages in some last revision of this treatise of which I have found no early copy; but this I believe, to say the least, very improbable. In one of these cases of suppression, involving most extreme chronological blunders and confusion of persons in relating events of his own time, it seems simply impossible that it can have been perpetrated by Giraldus. I believe that the other suppressions as well were not made by Giraldus, but by some long-after transcriber of this treatise. But of these suppressions I

shall have more to say when describing the later manuscripts.

Harleian 177, British Museum.

A Harleian manuscript of the British Museum, No. 177, furnishes a copy of the *Expugnatio* which, so far as it goes,—it has many and large omissions—generally agrees closely with the text of this second edition. This manuscript forms a very small quarto volume of eighty-four vellum leaves, in a hand not earlier than the second half of the thirteenth century: it contains this treatise only, and is written in single columns of twenty lines. The omissions are more especially of the extraneous matter, not relating to Ireland; but there is much curtailing also of Irish matter, when not directly historical. In the descriptions of the heroes, for instance, much often is left out; and in the orations which Giraldus puts into their mouths still more. The compiler of it never condenses, but simply omits. In an oration,—it would be wrong to give to these grandiose effusions any less grand term than Oration,—he will retain two or three sentences of the beginning and two or three more of the end, with perhaps another or two out of the middle, if not very much less than all this, word for word as in the complete oration, without much care about connection or sense. MS. (Ha.)

When I first took this manuscript into my hands I was in hopes it would prove to be a copy of a first and much briefer edition of this treatise, such as that given us in (M.), &c. of the *Topographia*. But it certainly is only an abbreviation, such as I describe it.

It generally agrees closely, as I have said, with the second edition as in (R.) and (F.); but it exhibits a somewhat more advanced text. For instance, the word *Stadia* of (L.) occurs only twice, instead of four times, out of eight, as in (R.): and instead of *Arcarii* always, as in the early manuscripts, it has the *Satellites equestres* of the later ones in about half the instances where the

Supra, xxxiii.

words occur. And, moreover, in a few instances it has a word or two that are not in the early manuscripts, but are in the later ones.

This manuscript has no note whatever as to its history; but it, or its original perhaps, would seem to have been written by one of the English settlers in Ireland, as it attempts occasionally, instead of Giraldus's Latin of all the other manuscripts, to give an English rendering of the Irish names. Thus, instead of *Murchardi filius*, or *Dermitius*, or *Murchardides*, it has "Macmorthit" or "Macmorhith;"[1] instead of *Ororicius* "Oroch."[2] In one instance the writer appears to make a blunder in his Englishing: he renders *Otuethelis* "Oneyl,"[3] instead of O'Toole. There is one instance also of another kind, indicating Irish acquaintance in the writer, where this manuscript has a passage[4] giving additional particulars that are not found elsewhere.

It is not the work of a very correct scribe. It is represented in my notes by Ha.

MS. (T.)

R. 7. 11, Trin. Coll., Cambridge.

I shall here place another manuscript which I have thought it right to collate, though giving only portions of the treatises printed in this volume. It contains, however, no small portion of the *Expugnatio*, besides some smaller portion of the *Topographia*.

It is in fact a copy of a distinct treatise of Giraldus, his *Symbolum Electorum*, as he calls it, a collection of Elegant Extracts from his various works, which he tells us[5] he had been induced to put together, as especial flowers and gems, by many and earnest requests of his literary friends. It would be difficult perhaps to find any one now who could discover either beauty or value in the large bulk of what Giraldus evidently con-

[1] *Infra*, 225, n. (2); 237, n. (3).
[2] *Infra*, 225, n. (3).
[3] *Infra*, 269, n. (4).
[4] *Infra*, 236, n. (3).
[5] In his preface to this treatise vol. i. 199.

sidered the most excellent effusions from his most eloquent scholastic pen. These Elegant Extracts are generally just the portions of his writings which seem to us the most absurd and worthless.

This treatise is divided into four parts, or Distinctions; of which the first and second, containing respectively the epistles and poems of Giraldus, have been printed in Mr. Brewer's first volume of this edition of his works, p. 199, &c. The third part contains, in chapters i—vii., what Giraldus calls "Tituli," *i.e.*, his eulogiums of Henry II. and his sons, and their characters and deeds, as in chapters 46—53 of the Third Distinction of the *Topographia* of this volume; in chapters viii—xxix, from the *Expugnatio,* the orations and descriptions of the heroes of the invasion of Ireland, with somewhat of the history added as well; and in chapter xxx. the "Descriptio beluæ multiformis," *i.e.*, of William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely, from the last chapter of the life of Geoffrey, archbishop of York. The fourth part contains, in twenty-six chapters, the prefaces of the *Topographia* and *Expugnatio* and of the other works which had been issued by Giraldus at the time this *Symbolum Electorum* was compiled. Of these third and fourth parts Mr. Brewer printed [1] only the headings and initial words of the chapters, inasmuch as the full contents would be found in their proper places in the future volumes of Giraldus's works. I have therefore deemed it my duty to collate all such portions of these two parts of this Trinity College manuscript [2] as belong to the treatises of Giraldus which I am commissioned to edit. It is a carefully written manuscript, of about the middle of the thirteenth century.

It generally agrees closely with the text of this second

[1] Vol. i. 391–395.

[2] It is the only known manuscript which contains all the four parts of the *Symobolum.* In Cott. Cleopatra D. v. (Cl.), *supra*, xxvi, is a copy of the first part only, the epistles.

edition of the *Expugnatio*; but like the manuscript last described, (Ha), exhibits a somewhat later version. In one instance in the *Topographia*,[1] and in three in the *Expugnatio*,[2] it has additions, two of them of some length, not found in any manuscript of these treatises. These I have placed in my notes. It is represented by T. in the various readings at the foot of my text.

§ (9). Late Manuscripts of the Expugnatio.

Fourteenth Century MSS. of this treatise.

I have collated four copies of this treatise, in manuscripts of the fourteenth century. Of these manuscripts three have been already described, as containing the *Topographia* as well; viz., Cott. Cleopatra D. v., Harleian 4003, and Bib. Reg. 13 A. xiv., all of the British Museum. In Harleian 4003 much of the *Topographia* was omitted; but it contains the *Expugnatio* in full.

MSS. (Cl.), (Hb.), (Rb.), *supra*, xxvi, xxvii.

[1] In the description of Richard I. (*infra*, 197). This description forms a chapter in the *De Instr. Princ.* also; where also (p. 106) this addition occurs, with two or three further small additions inserted, though Giraldus expressly says (p. 104) that he is repeating the chapter from the *Topographia*.

[2] These are, 1st, in the account of Becket's martyrdom (262, *infra*, n. 3). In this case, however, the addition is not in the text of the *Symb. Elect.*, as in the other three cases, but on an inserted leaf and in a somewhat later hand. And it is not an addition of new matter, as in the other cases, but a long extract from the account of St. Thomas in cap. 27 of the *Legenda S. Remigii*, *&c.* It, perhaps, was not added by Giraldus. I have not given this addition at length in my note, but have thought it enough to refer to its place in *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 423. 2nd, in a description of a vision vouchsafed to Giraldus in 1189 (372, *infra*, n. 4) a few lines are added as to the fulfilment of the vision in the subsequent death of the emperor Frederic, and the destruction of his army. This visionary chapter is also in *De Instr. Princ.* (p. 120), and with this addition; but Giraldus does not here say that he is repeating from the *Expugnatio*. And, 3rd (378 *infra*, n. 2), a few words as to the extent of Henry II.'s life after his rejection of the offers of the patriarch Heraclius. This chapter of the *Expugnatio* is also in *De Instr. Princ.* (p. 73, &c.), but in this case without the addition of the *Symb. Elect.*

MS. Bib. Reg. 14 C. xiii., of British Museum.

The fourth copy is also in a British MS. (Ra.) Museum manuscript, Bib. Reg. 14 C. xiii. This is a large folio volume, on vellum, in single columns of fifty lines. It contains Higden's *Polychronicon*, ending with the year 1327; and then, on ff. 168 *b*—194 *b*, the *Expugnatio Hibernica*; besides several other treatises, in the same hand, most of them relating to the East. The Introitus and table of chapters of the *Expugnatio* are on folios 11 and 12, after the Index to the *Polychronicon*. On the top margin of f. 14, before the beginning of the *Polychronicon*, is a note stating that this volume belonged to Simon Bozoun, prior of Norwich:[1] and on the opposite page, f. 13 *b*, is a catalogue of his library, consisting of thirty-one volumes, with their prices affixed.[2] Simon Bozoun

[1] "Liber fratris Symonis Bozoun, " prioris Norwicencis."

[2] "Libri fratris Symonis Bozoun:
" Decreta - - precii lx^{s}.
" Directorium juris - prec' lx^{s}.
" Summasummarum - prec' xl^{s}.
" Alphabetum theolo- " gicum - - - prec' xx^{s}.
" Tabula originalium - prec' c^{s}.
" Historia ecclesiastica " et tripartita - - prec' xx^{s}.
" Crisostomus super " Matheum - - prec' xx^{s}.
" Gydo super Sextum prec' x^{s}.
" Alchoran Machometi prec' xiii^{s}.
" Liber Gregorialis - prec' x^{s}.
" Casus Bernardi - prec' viii^{s}.
" Expositio regulæ S. " Benedicti - - prec' viii^{s}.
" Innocentius super " decretalia - - prec' xxxv^{s}.
" Henricus Huntodo- " nensis super Beati " *in via* (this very doubtful) - - prec' viii^{s}.
" Veritates theologiæ - prec' x^{s}.
" Speculum monacho- " rum; cum multis " aliis - - - prec' x^{s}.
" Flores Casciani; cum " aliis - - - prec' iiii^{s}.
" Tabula libri mora- " lium; cum aliis - prec' xiii^{s}.
" Tabula super specu- " lum hist' - - prec' viii^{s}.
" Tabula super decre- " ta; cum aliis - prec' v^{s}.
" Prima pars Catholi- " con - - - prec' vi^{s}. viii^{d}.
" Ieronimus, Ysidorus, " Gennadius, de viris " illustribus - - prec' x^{s}.
" Frater Tho. Waleis " de opibus (*sic*) " papæ Johannis - prec' vi^{s}.
" Postillæ super Apo- " calipsim - - prec' vi^{s}.
" Summa prædicantium prec' c^{s}.
" Liber itinerariorum prec' xl^{s}.
" Cronica Westmonas- " ter' - - - prec' xx^{s}.
" Willelmus Malmusb' prec' xii^{s}.

was confirmed prior of Norwich August 25, 1344, and resigned in April 1352.[1] Accordingly this volume must have been written somewhere between 1327, where the *Polychronicon* ends, and 1352, when Symon Bozoun ceased to be prior. Had its date not have been thus certainly fixed, I should have placed it as a manuscript of some fifty years later date; the writing looks to me far more like a hand of near upon 1400, than of about 1340. The copy of the *Expugnatio* in this volume is Ra. of my notation.

Additions in these MSS.

The additions of these later manuscripts are more numerous in this treatise than in the *Topographia*. A great part of them are merely of an explanatory word or two: but there are many instances of a line or two, or a paragraph, containing new matter; and in two instances[2] a whole chapter is added. Of these additions I can only say what I have already said in the case of the *Topographia*; viz., that many of them probably are Giraldus's own, but that others seem unauthorized intrusions. As before with the *Topographia*, I have retained all of them in my text, but have enclosed them within brackets.

Supra, xxv.

Subtractions in these MSS.

I have already said that there are subtractions as well as additions in

Supra, xxxiv.

"Cronica monachi
"Cestr'; cum aliis - prec' xx^s.
"Quidam de gestis
"Anglorum - - prec' x^s.
"Constitutiones pro-
"vinciales - - prec' vi^s."

[1] Blomfield's Norfolk, iii. 603.

[2] Viz., I. 40, and II. 27. These chapters are both of them in the *De Instr. Princ.*, and the first is in the *Itin. Kamb.* also, I. 6. There are several large repetitions in the *De Instr. Princ.* from the *Expugnatio*, where Giraldus expressly says that he is quoting from this treatise; but in the case of the first of these chapters he expressly says (p. 37) that he is quoting from the *Itin. Kamb.*, and in the second case (p. 64) he gives no intimation that he is repeating from anywhere at all. It therefore seems probable that these chapters formed no part of the *Expugnatio* as left by Giraldus, but were added by some 14th century scribe from the *De Instr. Princ.*, or, in one case, from the *Itin. Kamb.*

these later manuscripts of the *Expugnatio*. The greater number of these are omissions of the prophecies of Merlin Silvester, or Celidonius, as he was also called, and St. Moling.

There are ten instances where prophecies of Merlin Silvester are cited in the early manuscripts, and four where prophecies of St. Moling. Of these, two only of Silvester[1] and one of St. Moling[2] are retained in the later manuscripts. Besides these there are three instances where prophecies of Merlin Ambrosius are produced, two where prophecies of St. Columba, one where a prophecy of St. Berchan, and one where a prophecy of St. Patrick;[3] but these are all in the later manuscripts as well.

There is one important omission also of matter relating to the prophecies of Merlin Silvester, viz., the preface and first few words of a third book of this treatise.[4] Giraldus had intended this third book to contain a translation from the British tongue of such of these prophecies then current in Wales as he considered genuine, accompanied with an expository comment; much such a treatise, probably, as that published about twenty years before by Alan de Insulis on the prophecies of Merlin Ambrosius. In the two first books, after quoting and applying a prophecy of Silvester, he two or three times refers for fuller explanation to this third book, under the name of *Liber vaticiniorum*,[5] as if it was already written, and assuredly to follow. Written no doubt it was, and ready to follow the other books: but after giving the preface and half a dozen words of the commencement of the book itself Giraldus abruptly stops, saying that these prophecies and

[1] *Infra*, 230, 339.

[2] *Infra*, 385.

[3] For all these prophecies see the Index under each prophet's name.

[4] *Infra*, 401, &c.

[5] "Sicut in vaticiniorum Libro "declarabitur" (*infra*, 262, l. 13); "sicut in Libro vaticiniorum ex-"ponetur" (276, l. 6; and 279, l. 26); "sicut in Libro vaticiniorum "palam erit" (301, l. 5).

their interpretation had better for the present be suppressed; for, however valuable and desirable truth might be, it would be unwise to run into danger, by a hasty utterance of what would be offensive to great men.[1] This no doubt was written before Henry II.'s death, when the first edition of this treatise was issued; and if we may judge from the specimens of the prophecies of Silvester, as given in the two first books, we may well believe that this third book would have contained prophecies so postfactly plain and personal as to have brought upon him Henry's heavy displeasure, if no worse consequences. So far as we know, Giraldus never published any more of this intended third book. This was archbishop Ussher's opinion,[2] who knew far more about the manuscripts of this treatise than any one before or since. Wharton, indeed, speaks as if he had seen a copy of the first edition of this treatise in the Lambeth Library, which contained this third book in full;[3] but he is not to be exactly trusted on such a point. He gives no further reference, but the manuscript he means in all probability is Lambeth 371, (L.) of my collation, which contains only the preface and first few lines, as the other early manuscripts now known.

Another omission in the later manuscripts is of a paragraph of a few lines,[4] as to the date of John's arrival in Ireland, his age at the time, &c. No possible reason for this omission can be imagined; the paragraph follows immediately upon a prophecy of Silvester also omitted, and no doubt was, by a mere accidental blunder, omitted with it.

There is one other case of subtraction to be mentioned, and a most strange one. In the fifth chapter of the second book[5] the early manuscripts give, under the year 1174

[1] *Infra*, 404.

[2] *Vett. Epist. Hibern. Sylloge*, No. 50.

[3] *Anglia Sacra*, ii. pref. p. xxi.

[4] *Infra*, 381, note (4).

[5] *Infra*, 315.

or 1175, a privilege long before obtained from pope Adrian IV., authorizing Henry II.'s invasion of Ireland, and a confirmatory one of the then pope, Alexander III.; with some prefatory matter, principally relating to the persons employed in bringing these privileges for publication into Ireland at this time, and to the agency of John of Salisbury in having procured the first from pope Adrian in 1155. All this in the early manuscripts is clear and consistent; agreeing perfectly, moreover, with the evidence of contemporary authorities, and as regards the account of the procuring of Adrian's privilege, fully corroborated by John of Salisbury himself.[1] But the later manuscripts omit Alexander's privilege and all mention of him, and give Adrian's privilege only. The prefatory matter had to be altered accordingly. In doing this they marvellously contrive to make Henry in 1172 apply for and procure this privilege from pope Adrian, who died in 1159; and with equally marvellous confusion they represent John of Salisbury, who had been Henry's agent in procuring this privilege in 1155, as sent, not to Ireland, but to Rome, for the purpose of publishing it at Waterford in 1174 or 1175. No more absurd nonsensical a muddle was ever blundered into by the most stupid of abbreviators. That this could have been done by Giraldus himself, careless as he often is about such things as dates, is simply impossible.[2]

[1] *Infra*, 316, note (2).

[2] But the cause of the suppression of Alexander's bull and the germ of the blundering in the prefatory matter were both perhaps supplied by Giraldus, in his copy of this chapter as given in the *De Instr. Princ.* (p. 51, &c.). He there states, in introducing Alexander's privilege, that some asserted it to be a forgery (*infra*, 318, note 4); and hence, perhaps, its suppression afterwards in the *Expugnatio* by some rectifier of his history of Henry's papal rights over Ireland. And in the prefatory matter, by what is evidently a mere accidental mistake, he puts Adrian, instead of Alexander, as granting the privilege in 1172 (*infra*, 315, note 2); thus giving, perhaps, no small beginning for all the after blundering of this rectifier of history.

The subtractions then, in this case, in the later manuscripts, we may conclude certainly, were not made by Giraldus. And this at once throws strong suspicion upon the other subtractions as well ; leads us to the conclusion, that others of them alike, if not all, were probably not the work of his hands.

I may here mention an instance of alteration of title, which helps to prove that the version of the later manuscripts cannot be attributed to Giraldus, or indeed to any one very close upon his time. In the early manuscripts both of the *Topographia* and *Expugnatio*, when mentioned in connection with Ireland, John is always called "Dominus Johannes." This was his proper title in such connection, after the council at Oxford in 1177 ; and the one which Giraldus would naturally and necessarily use. Instead of "Dominus" the later manuscripts generally, if not always, have "Comes ;" a change of reading that can only have been made by after and ignorant alterers of his text.

In the case, however, of the prophecies of Merlin Silvester, it may be supposed that the same reasons which induced Giraldus to suppress the third book of the *Expugnatio,* containing these prophecies in full and their interpretation, may also have afterwards induced him, as still to delay the publication of the third book, so also to suppress the prophecies which he had inserted in the first and second books. But this does not at all follow. The *Expugnatio* first appeared, shortly before Henry II.'s death. It was fear of his wrath, no doubt, that led Giraldus to suppress for the present the third book ; but after his death there was at no time any cogent reason for his fearing the continued existence of the prophecies which he had not feared to issue during his lifetime in the two first books. There is still, indeed, the difficulty of accounting for his having never completed the work by adding this third book, so necessary a part of the *Vati-*

cinalis historia,[1] as he frequently calls the *Expugnatio.* This he never did, so far as we know, though he must have fully intended it, and though the reasons in his mind against its publication must have long ceased, before he ceased revising his early treatises. But it is certain that, many years after the first appearance of the *Expugnatio*, when he published his *Symbolum Electorum*, probably after John had come to the throne, he had not suppressed the prophecies of the first and second books; for amongst the extracts from the *Expugnatio* in the *Symbolum Electorum,* there are several which contain one or other of these prophecies, all given in full as in the early manuscripts. Moreover, in a letter to king John, written *Infra*, lix.
certainly not before 1209, and accompanying a presentation copy of a new edition of the *Expugnatio,* Giraldus describes this new edition as more correct and full than the previous one, or ones.[2] This could not have been said of an edition in which very important passages were suppressed; for very important these passages are, in a work which from them the author continually calls the Vaticinal history. Any suppression of them afterwards is extremely unlikely: his bitter disgust with Henry and his sons in his later years, as displayed vindictively and fearlessly in the *De Instr. Principis*, was anything but the feeling to induce him to drop anything offensive.

There is one thing, however, which seems to militate strongly against my supposition that the omissions of Silvester's prophecies, as in the later manuscripts, are not due to Giraldus. In three or four instances, passages which contain these prophecies in the early manuscripts, are reproduced in the *De Instr. Principis;* and these passages agree, as to omission of the prophecies, with the

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[1] Giraldus says of this third book, in its Preface (*infra*, 401): "Non "indecens enim, non incongruum "videri debet, si id, unde auctori-"tatem et præscientiam, necnon et "Vaticinale nomen sortitur histo-"ria, id ipsi statim historiæ conti-"nuetur."

[2] "Librum jam correctius et ple-"nius editum," *infra*, 406, l. 10.

later manuscripts;[1] thus seeming to prove, as this was about the last work he published, that before he closed his literary labours, he did suppress these prophecies. But the *De Instr. Principis*, though published so late in his life, was amongst the first on which Giraldus had employed his pen;[2] it was written certainly before the *Symbolum Electorum*, for this contains its prefaces;[3] and this happens to contain, moreover, the same prophetic passages from the *Expugnatio*, all, with other such passages, as I have just said, giving the prophecies in full as in the early manuscripts. Giraldus's insertions, moreover, from the *Expugnatio* in the *De Instr. Princ.*, are more properly incorporations, irregularly located sometimes, of such parts as suited his purpose, rather than direct quotations of continuous passages: he omits other things as well as Silvester's prophecies, and with what he does quote embodies sometimes large additions of new matter. Very probably he might consider these prophecies, right and proper in the *Vaticinalis Historia*, unnecessary and out of place in the *De Instr. Princ.*

I could bring other arguments in support of this conclusion: and, on the other hand, I could bring arguments against it, principally from the fact of there having been two editions of the *De Instr. Princ.*,[4] the second of which, later in date of writing certainly than the *Symb. Elect.*, is the one which has come down to us, and which, after all, may record Giraldus's latest revision of the *Expugnatio*, in the passages from it which it contains. But I have said more than enough, I think, on this point. It is very possible that I may be wrong in con-

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[1] *Infra*, 261, note (7); 300, n. (3); 374, n. (5); 377, n. (2).

[2] "Liber *De Principis Instruc-* "*tione* totiens promissus; fere inter "primos inchoatus, inter ultimos "autem propalatus, diu nimium "clausus et sopitus, quando tute "prodire posset plurimis annorum "curriculis tempus exspectans." Vol. i. 423; also iii. 334.

[3] Vol. i. 394.

[4] See Mr. Brewer's Preface to this work, p. xiv (*Anglia Christiana*, 1846).

sidering that the prophecies of Silvester, and other things of the early manuscripts that are not in the later ones, were not, at any rate some of them, suppressed by Giraldus himself: but I could do no other than include them all unhesitatingly in my text. They are in every early manuscript, anywhere near Giraldus's time, that I have been able to collate; they only disappear in manuscripts of a century or more after his time. I must believe these early manuscripts to give the genuine text as left by Giraldus, in preference to the later ones. But there may be early manuscripts, which I have not seen, which would prove that I have come to this conclusion from deficient information.

PART II.

HISTORY OF THESE TREATISES; THEIR VALUE, THEIR RECEPTION, &c.

§ (1). History of the Topographia.

Ireland, and its affairs, must have been a subject of much interest to Giraldus, for several years before it employed his pen. Of the first invaders in 1169, and subsequent years, the large bulk were Welshmen; and amongst the most distinguished and gallant of these, were many of his near relations,—brothers, and uncles, and cousins,—a large part of a very large family.

Giraldus's first visit to Ireland, in 1183.

In February 1183, he paid his first visit to Ireland;[1] and he must have made a stay of a year, or best part of it, if his account of the time he had passed in the country, during this and his next visit with prince John, be at all correct.[2] On this his first visit, his advice was of very great use, he tells us, to his relations; and, what is more to our purpose, he adds, that, as a man of learning and studious pursuits, he diligently explored the site and nature of the island, and the primeval origin of its inhabitants.[3]

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[1] *Infra*, 351.

[2] On his second visit with prince John in 1185, he stayed in Ireland about a year, perhaps a week or two more; and he says that the time passed there in the two visits extended to two full years—"per bien- "nium." *Infra*, 381, l. 21.

[3] *Infra*, 351–352.

His second visit in 1185-6.

His second visit was in 1185, when, by special appointment of Henry II., he accompanied prince John into Ireland. They sailed from Milford Haven on Wednesday in Easter week, April 24, and reached Waterford the next day.[1] John returned into England in the following December; but Giraldus remained behind, as an associate of Bertram de Verdun, who had been left as seneschal of Ireland, and in order to watch and report upon his administration.[2] He remained until about the beginning of May 1186;[3] leaving behind him in Ireland, he tells us, on his departure into Wales, a great name and a very illustrious reputation.

It was during this stay of a full year in Ireland, no doubt, that Giraldus gathered, in great measure, his materials for the Irish portions of the two treatises of this volume. In his autobiography, in the treatise *De Rebus a se gestis*, he does not mention his former visit in 1183, but he says that during this second one, with vast study and diligent inquisition, he collected matter first for the *Topographia*, and then for the *Expugnatio*.[4]

When the *Topographia* written.

He had already made a beginning of the *Topographia*, before he left Ireland; and, on arriving in Wales, gave his whole mind and study to the completion of it.[5] It took him three years, he tells us, to finish it.[6] If this was the case, then in these three years he must include the year in Ireland in 1185–6, if not the months of his former visit in 1183; for the work was certainly finished, if not before, early in the spring of 1188, when he presented a copy to archbishop Baldwin, in less than three years from the time when he went into Ireland with John.

[1] *Infra*, 380–381.

[2] "Socius, et rerum gerendarum "testis." *De Rebus, &c.*, vol. i. 65.

[3] He returned into Wales, "inter "Pascha et Pentecosten," *De Rebus, &c.*, i. 72. Easter day fell in 1186 on April 13.

[4] *De Rebus, &c.*, i. 65.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 72.

[6] *Infra*, 382, l. 1.

It was before the middle of March 1188, within two or three days of the beginning of archbishop Baldwin's progress through Wales to preach the crusade, when he spent a night at Llandduw, near Brecknock, where was Giraldus's own prebendal manor-house, that this presentation was made. The volume was of course graciously received, and every day throughout the progress, we are assured by the author, the archbishop either himself read, or caused to be read to him, a portion of it. Considering that this must have been a copy of the short first edition, it would seem that the archbishop was satisfied with a very small portion at a time, for it took every day of the progress, until after they had recrossed the borders into England,—some seven or eight weeks in all,—before the reading was completed.[1] But Giraldus assures us elsewhere, that the archbishop was so delighted with the work that it was hardly possible for him to satisfy or weary himself with it;[2] he read it, and read it thoroughly, during the progress,[3] and was so struck with the excellent elegance of the style that he solemnly charged Giraldus never to omit for a day to use and improve so great and gracious a gift of God. He moreover declared that he had fixed upon Giraldus, in conjunction with his own nephew Joseph,[4] to write the history of the crusade for which they were preparing,—Giraldus to write in prose, and Joseph in poetry.

Abp. Baldwin's admiration of it.

Allowing Giraldus's three years for the composition of the *Topographia* to be anywhere near the truth, then the copy of this treatise, which so delighted archbishop Baldwin, was a copy

This a copy of the first edition.

[1] *Itin. Kamb.* i. 2 (Camden, 823).

[2] "Cujus lectione delectatus ad- "modum, vix ea satiari poterat "aut fatigari," *De Jure, &c.*, vol. iii. 335.

[3] "Quem ipse jam legerat et per- "legerat," *De Rebus, &c.*, vol. i. 79. See also p. 411.

[4] This was Joseph of Exeter, the author of the poem *De Bello Trojano.*

of it as just lately first issued; and it agreed, in all probability, with what I have considered the first edition, as given in manuscripts M, H, P, *supra;* but in his *De Rebus a se gestis*, Giraldus seems to say that the *Topographia* had been already issued and made widely known before his progress with the archbishop through Wales. For there, directly after mentioning his return from Ireland, and the completion of the treatise in Wales, he describes in the same chapter the three days' public recitation of it which he gave at Oxford; and then, in the next and subsequent chapters, describes the Welsh progress.[1] It seems plain, however, that he is not here giving a strictly chronological order of events, and he expressly says that it was some time after the treatise had been completed, and moreover after it had been corrected also, when the recitation at Oxford took place.[2] The *Introitus in Recitationem*, of p. 3, &c. *infra*, is not in what I consider the first edition; it was added, we may perhaps conclude, as indeed its name almost proves, in the more complete and corrected copy which was recited at Oxford, some short time probably after the progress through Wales.[3] This copy probably agreed, or nearly, with what I have called the second edition, as given us in manuscripts C, Bb, &c. *supra*; but all this, in great measure, is mere guess-work, as everything involving a question of time must always be, with only Giraldus to guide us.

Supra, xi and xii.

The second edition recited at Oxford.

Supra, xiv, &c.

This recitation of his work at Oxford was a very grand event in Giraldus's estimation; one exactly after his own very vain but great heart; one such as some of the ancient poets may have given examples of, but the like of which

[1] *De Rebus, &c.*, vol. i. 72.

[2] "Processu vero temporis, opere "completo et correcto," *Ibid.*

[3] In my note (2) at p. 3 *infra*, I supposed that the recitation at Oxford took place very soon after the work was first written. It now, however, seems to me pretty clear that it must have taken place after some interval of time, as I am stating above.

England had never seen.[1] No doubt he had large, and willing, and enthusiastic audiences; for during the three days that the three Distinctions took to recite, he feasted all the poor of Oxford, all the doctors of the different faculties, all the scholars, all the knights in the place, and many of the burgesses. It was a sumptuous and a noble doing, he tells us: sumptuous indeed it must have been: few authors can have ever spent so much over making their works known to the world of letters.

This second edition out, certainly before Henry II.'s death.

The *Topographia* is dedicated to Henry II., and the second edition must have appeared before his death in July 1189. The last chapters of the third Distinction, containing the laudations of Henry and his sons, are in the second edition but not in the first, except a part of Henry's laudation;[2] but they were certainly written in his lifetime, and so the dedicatory preface to Henry, of the first edition, has no mention of these laudations, but a section about them is added, still addressed to Henry as alive and well, in the second edition.[3]

Giraldus was in Normandy at the time of Henry's death. By the advice of archbishop Baldwin, Richard sent him off into Wales, to try and keep matters quiet there on the change of sovereigns.[4] As soon as the tidings reached him in Wales of Richard's arrival in England, he sent him a copy of the *Topographia*, with a very characteristic letter, replete of course with the necessary gross adulation, but with most outspoken advice and blame also.[5] There seems no reason for supposing that this presentation to Richard had anything to do with a new edition. It was probably still a copy of the second edition which this letter introduced to him.

Presentation of a copy to Richard on his accession.

[1] *De Rebus, &c.*, vol. i. 73.
[2] *Infra*, 191, n. (5).
[3] *Infra*, 21, n. (2).
[4] *De Rebus, &c.*, vol. i. 80.
[5] *Symb. Elect.*, Epist. xv., vol. i. 242.

After editions. I can produce nothing that will give any proof whatever as to when the after editions of the *Topographia* were published. We may gather from his writings, that after Richard's accession to the throne there were times when Giraldus was a busy follower of the court, or otherwise fully employed, especially when prosecuting his gallant struggle to recover the ancient rights of the see of St. David, and to maintain his own election to it; and other times when he was in comparative retirement, and devoting himself no doubt in great measure to his studies; and we might suppose that in these quiet times almost all his work at his books would be done; but he assures us that at all times he was assiduous and constant in his studies; that even when following the court, after long and laborious days' journeys, the hours of the night were still given to them, and that under such adverse circumstances he still was composing his histories.[1] Still we may conclude that more work at his books must have been done in the quiet days of retirement than in bustling days that demanded his best energies in other directions. After about 1193, until nearly the end of the century, was one of his quiet times, the first part of which was probably mainly spent in Wales, but the last two or three years at Lincoln, for the sake of study there under William de Monte.[2] During

[1] *De Rebus, &c.*, vol. i. 87. See also vol. iii. 336.

[2] Wharton says, very erroneously, that Giraldus retired to Lincoln in 1192, and stayed there seven years (*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 374). In the passage of the *De Rebus, &c.* (vol. i. 93), whence Wharton must have drawn this conclusion, Giraldus says that he had set out for Paris, but was prevented by the war again breaking out between Richard and Philip, after a truce had been made and kept for a while, and broken. Now as Richard, after his return from captivity, only crossed over into Normandy in May 1194, therefore it must have been some time after this, before Giraldus was prevented from going to Paris, and went to Lincoln instead. This was in fact in 1196, if his own words, always doubtful, however, in a matter of date, are to be trusted. In a letter written in the autumn of 1198, he says he had been now two

these years some of his works certainly seem to have been written,[1] and his earlier Irish treatises may now have received revision. From about the middle of the year 1199 until near the end of 1203 his struggle in the matter of St. David's, including three journeys to Rome, must have seriously interfered with his studies. He finally retired from the conflict in November 1203,[2] and after this time his life must have been a quiet and retired one, devoted no doubt largely to his books, as henceforward he makes scarcely any mention of public doings in which he took a part. He tells us, indeed, of a fourth journey to Rome in 1205–6, but this, he says, was simply a pilgrimage for purposes of devotion.[3] He seems to have given up, in 1203, with his metropolitan aspirations after St. David's, all other earthly ambitions as well; except indeed the hope that his struggles, and his history of them, might still find a result in giving energy and aid to some future more fortunate champion of St. David; and except too something more than a hope that his literary labours, however undervalued by his contemporaries, must receive their full meed of applause from posterity. Even the prospect of a new struggle, under better auspices, in the cause of St. David, did not tempt him; for John, he tells us,[4] on hearing in

full years at Lincoln wholly devoted to his studies (vol. i. 97, l. 9; and 293, l. 20); and elsewhere he says that he remained immovably persistent in them for a whole year after the death of Peter, bishop of St. David's, July 16, 1198 (vol. iii. 41, l. 6); and that he had been steadfast at them when he left Lincoln for more than three years (ibid. l. 20). He is not correct, certainly, about the whole year after the death of bishop Peter, if he is right in saying elsewhere (vol. i. 109) that he received a summons of attendance from John on the octave of Easter, April 25, 1199; for he most certainly would leave Lincoln, in obedience to this summons, as quickly as possible; but I think we cannot well help concluding on the whole that he went to Lincoln in the spring or summer of 1196.

[1] The *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, for instance, which he presented to pope Innocent III. in Dec. 1199 (*De Rebus, &c.*, vol. i. 119).

[2] *De Jure, &c.*, vol. iii. 323.

[3] *De Invect.*, vol. i. 137.

[4] Ibid. 150.

1207 of Langton's election to Canterbury, tried in vain to persuade him to renew the conflict, though solemnly promising to help him with all his might and means. Giraldus lived until 1220, if not somewhat still later; and during the quiet latter years of his life after 1203 we know that some of his larger works were written.[1] There is abundant proof that he was now occupied also in revising and adding to his earlier treatises; and that he continued so doing to a very late period of his life, appears certain from his letter to the chapter of Hereford *De libris a se scriptis,* written not earlier than 1219, more than thirty years, he says, after the first edition of the *Topographia Hibernica* had appeared.[2] This letter accompanied a volume containing the *Topographia* and *Expugnatio,* with a request that the copy of the *Ecclesiæ Speculum,* which he had presented to them about a year before, might be sent to him in order to be corrected and added to. His language is not quite plain, but he seems also to say that they were to correct their copy of the *Topographia,* which he had before sent, by the copy now sent, for he bids them observe certain things in the "Topographia *nunc* missa," and to return the volume to him on his sending back their *Speculum Ecclesiæ.* Anyhow, this letter proves that, to a very late period of his life, he was engaged in revising and adding to his earlier works. We may well believe that the *Topographia,* the first-born and perhaps best-loved of his serious literary efforts, would be loved and cherished to the end, and perhaps we shall not be wrong in supposing that what I have called the fourth edition, if I am right in considering this as exhibiting his last revision, was probably published within the last two or three years of his life.

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[1] The *De Rebus, &c.*, the *De Jure, &c.*, besides other shorter works.

[2] Vol. i. 409, last line.

I must not omit to mention that at the end of his treatise *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ*,[1] Giraldus tells us that the *Topographia* and *Expugnatio* were published when he was about thirty years old. He was born probably in 1147, or soon after that year,[2] and must have been close upon forty years old, if not past that age, before the *Topographia* appeared. This is only one instance out of many of Giraldus's marvellous inaccuracy about dates and numbers.

§ (2). History of the Expugnatio.

When the Expugnatio written.

At the beginning of the *Introitus* to the *Expugnatio*,[3] Giraldus seems to say that he did not set to work at this treatise, until after the publication of the Topography, when many great men[4] urgently persuaded him to write a history of the conquest of Ireland as well. Elsewhere he states, that the Topography took three years, and the Expugnation two years to complete.[5] I have before observed, that it is not easy to reconcile this latter statement, in the case of the Topography, with the fact that it was certainly published, at the very latest, early in the spring of 1188: and it is no more easy to reconcile the above two statements with the fact that the Expugnation was certainly published before Henry II.'s death in July 1189. But Giraldus had collected his materials for this treatise, as for the Topography, during his stay in Ireland in 1185–6, and partly perhaps before, in his first visit in 1183; and though he

Supra, xlix.

[1] Vol. iii. 372.

[2] Vol. i., Preface, p. x, and note (1). Mr. Brewer expresses himself confidently as to 1147 being the exact year. But this depends upon nothing better than an uncertain statement of Giraldus himself about his age when elected to the see of St. David in 1176. Any statement of his as to a date, even when concerning himself, is just as likely as not to be wide of the exact truth.

[3] *Infra*, 207.

[4] Amongst whom was Henry II. himself, as Giraldus tells us in his letter to king John in 1209. *Infra*, 405, last line.

[5] *Infra*, 382, l. 1.

may not have begun to prepare it for publication, until after the Topography had appeared, yet, in describing the time it took him to write, he might naturally include the collection of materials with the putting them together for publication. Or perhaps, in his great looseness as to dates and numbers, three may mean anything, however small, above two, and two anything above one.

First edition before Henry II.'s death.

This treatise was certainly written before Henry II.'s death, because it is dedicated to Richard count of Poitou,[1] Richard I. of England upon his father's death. Moreover, in the preface to the second book,[2] Giraldus says that in the first book he had given a full and perfect history, omitting nothing that seemed worthy of mention; but that now he was so fully employed in preparing for the crusade, and in so immediate expectation of setting out,[3] that it was impossible for him to complete the work in the same perfect way; and that he could only give a brief and disjointed account of the events still to be narrated, and must neglect order and polish of style. This, I imagine, must have been written, very soon after his progress with archbishop Baldwin through Wales in the spring of 1188; whilst his crusading zeal was still fervent, and before the wars between Henry and Richard and the king of France had reached such a height of virulence, in the autumn of this year, as to render hopeless any immediate prosecution of the crusade. And hence it would seem,—if, as now, an author's preface would then be written after his work was written,—that this treatise must have been finished, not only before Henry II.'s death, but at the least best part of a year before it. This, indeed, will render Giraldus's two years over it, after three years devoted to the Topography, still more inexplicable.

Perhaps a year before.

[1] *Infra*, 222.
[2] *Infra*, 307.
[3] *Infra*, 308, l. 2.

There is no time, however, after the summer of 1188, when it seems possible that this preface can have been written.

In which case, no copy existing of the 1st edition.

But if this treatise first appeared, as thus seems not improbable, in the summer or early autumn of 1188, then we have no copy of it, in its earliest form, in existence, so far as I have been able to see. The Lambeth manuscript (L.) certainly gives the earliest version that I have found ; somewhat earlier probably than that of manuscripts (R.) and (B.), though I have classed them together as containing copies of what I have called the first edition. But there are passages in (L.), which were not written before May 1189. For instance, it describes the emperor Frederick, though last of the Cisalpine princes in taking the cross, yet as the first in fulfilling his vow, and as having left his kingdom and empire, and not passed the term first fixed upon.[1] This can only have been penned after the news had reached Normandy, where Giraldus then was, of Frederick having actually set out from Ratisbon on the 23rd of April 1189. And again, in the next chapter,[2] Giraldus relates to us a dream which befell him on the 10th of May 1189. If therefore the treatise had appeared before this time, then manuscript (L.) must represent a somewhat later edition. It no doubt, however, very nearly represents the work as first issued, if not the actual first edition. As I shall have to observe directly, this treatise can have received scarcely any after revision and addition to its earliest form, compared with what was given by Giraldus to the Topography.

Supra, xxix.

But after all it is perfectly possible, and perhaps even the more likely supposition of the two, that the preface to the second book was written before the book itself, that the book was not finished before May 1189, and that we have in (L.) a copy of the actual first edition.

[1] *Infra*, 368.

[2] *Infra*, 369.

A new edition, circa A.D. 1209.

We have a notice of a new edition some twenty years afterwards. The letter to king John, appended to some manuscripts of the *Expugnatio*, which I have already mentioned, accompanied a presentation copy of this treatise, which Giraldus describes as now more correctly and fully edited. This letter was not written before the year 1209, for it speaks of John as having now legitimate sons.[1] Henry, the first of such sons, was born October 1, 1207, and Richard January 5, 1209. But there is an expression in it, from which perhaps we may conclude that it must have been written in 1209, or in the early part of the next year. It says that, from carelessness, or much occupation, John's memory of Ireland seemed to have been for a long time fast asleep.[2] This could hardly have been written, after John's successful progress into Ireland in the summer of 1210.

Supra, xlv.

If the rubrical heading[3] to this letter in the manuscripts could be trusted to as Giraldus's own heading, then this new edition presented to John about 1209 was only the second edition issued of this treatise. But this letter, it seems clear to me, has no right to be considered a part of the *Expugnatio*: it was simply a letter to John, recommending the new edition of the work to his notice, and taking occasion to give him much good advice: it is no more an integral part of the *Expugnatio*, than the letter to Richard I. preserved in the *Symbolum Electorum*, which accompanied a copy of the Topography, and the like presentation letter to bishop William of Hereford[4] appended to some manuscripts of the Topography, are integral parts of this latter treatise. It has no right whatever, I have little or or no doubt, to be called a *Procemium* to the *Expugnatio*; and the heading is due,

Supra, lii.

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[1] *Infra*, 407, l. 17.

[2] *Infra*, 406, l. 9.

[3] "Procemium secundæ editionis, " etc." *Infra*, 405.

[4] *Infra*, 203.

not to Giraldus, but to the scribe who first appended th letter to his copy of the work.

This perhaps the edition as in MSS. (R.) and (F.)

It is very possible, however, that the scribe may have been right in giving this title, and that the copy of the work, presented with this letter to John, may have been a copy of the actual second edition issued by Giraldus; and a copy, moreover, of what I have called the second edition, as given in manuscripts (R.) and (F.). It seems indeed difficult to suppose, knowing as we do how he was so often revising and adding to his earlier works, that for about twenty years he must have neglected the *Expugnatio*. But the second book of this treatise, as it has come down to us in the fuller manuscripts, has abundant proof that it was left, even to the last, as imperfect almost as it was described by Giraldus in its preface in 1188. For instance, he is full in his account of events up to about 1177; but from this year to 1185, when he concludes the history with John's visit, and one or two short notices of events of 1186, he is comparatively very brief; and especially brief as to the two or three last years, when, from his own presence in his two visits to Ireland, we might expect him to have been especially full. I have before remarked on the strangeness of his having never added the third book; but his comparative silence almost, about the years that he must have been best, because personally acquainted with, after he had been so diffuse about the years when he could only trust to the reports and recollections of others, is still more strange. He gives good reasons indeed, in the preface to the second book, why the events of these latter years were so briefly passed over in the first edition: the strangeness is, that what he then confesses to have been an imperfection of hurried necessity should never have been remedied, during the many after years of leisure, when much time and labour it is certain was given to the revising and adding to others of his earlier treatises. The Topography for instance, of this

Supra, xxxiv.

Supra, xlii.

volume was being continually revised and added to,—and added to most unnecessarily often, so far as Ireland was concerned,—to such an extent that the treatise, as it finally left Giraldus's pen, was more than double what it was when it first appeared; while the kindred *Expugnatio* must have been almost entirely neglected, though requiring revision and large addition exactly where Giraldus's best and personal knowledge of Irish doings would have come in. I might suggest reasons for this, but I do not think it worth while: it is enough to state the fact. It seems clear that, for some reason or other, Giraldus chose to the last to leave this treatise, as compared with others, almost as he had first issued it.

The first preface to the Expugnatio[1] is called "Introitus in recitationem." Giraldus therefore, it would seem, must have intended to give a public recitation of this work, such as he had given of the Topography so successfully at Oxford. But this he never did. Had such an event taken place, it would most certainly have been mentioned in his later works.

So far as I have seen any evidence, no later edition of this treatise was issued by Giraldus than the new and fuller edition of 1209, probably represented by manuscripts (R) and (F). The mutilated version, as in the fourteenth century manuscripts and in Camden's volume, as I have already said, I fully believe not to be due to Giraldus.

§ (3). Value of these Treatises.

Giraldus's means of information about Ireland.

From his wide acquaintance with the first invaders of Ireland, and his close connexion with several of their principal leaders,—from the time also that he spent there in his two visits,—we may be inclined to conclude that Giral-

[1] *Infra*, 207.

dus's means of information about Ireland, and its people, and its conquest, as he much too grandly calls the English invasion, must have been abundant and authentic. But there are several circumstances which render such a conclusion a very unsafe one.

His knowledge of the country.

In the first place, his knowledge of the country must have been a very limited one. His researches, we may take for granted, would extend no further than the English occupation then extended, over considerable parts of Leinster and Meath, and small parts of Munster and Ulster. Even supposing, what we have no reason to suppose was really the case, that he went everywhere where the English had established themselves, still by far the larger part of Ireland was altogether unknown to him, except by vague reports of his English friends, or by very doubtful descriptions from the few Irish of the subjugated parts who would still remain on their lands in subjection to the English. There were indeed Irish books in being, that would have given him much valuable information ; but he expressly tells us that, in his account of the country, he derived no help whatever from any such source.[1] Probably much of his information about the country would be gained from the Irish monks and clergy, who would still remain in their monasteries or with the remnants of their flocks ; but if so, they must have been singularly ill-acquainted with other parts of Ireland, or ill-disposed to answer the questions of the pompous English ecclesiastic, and some of them perhaps not at all unwilling to play upon his credulity.

His knowledge of the people.

With the people of Ireland, again, his acquaintance must have been very small ; with the exception of some few of the clergy, almost

[1] *Infra*, 8.

confined to such baser Irish, as could still submit to exist in degradation under the grinding rule of the English invaders. Years before his first visit to Ireland in 1183, English rapacity had robbed the Irish allies of their lands, and had driven even first and long-tried friends into bitter enemies.[1] Some Irish chieftain would occasionally employ English troops, as mere temporary mercenaries, in some raid upon a brother chieftain ; but at the time of Giraldus's visits to Ireland not one chieftain can be named who was really a friend to the English. The Leinster chieftains, to whose help the first occupation of the country by the English was in great measure due, had for years been all against them ; and Hugh de Laci's better government of Meath, and endeavours to bring back the Irish to their lands, was but a partial attempt at reparation of injustice that can hardly yet have had much result.

On his second visit with Prince John in 1185, Giraldus would have seen much of the people if John had managed matters with only common sense and prudence. The Irish chieftains were ready to welcome him and accept his sovereignty, as they had been to accept that of his father in 1171 ; but the gross mismanagement, and childish foolery of John and his counsellors made them more bitterly determined than ever against the English. Giraldus could have seen as little of the better Irish on this visit as on his former one.

His knowledge of the English invasion.

As to his history of the English invasion, it must have been wholly derived from the English themselves, and in great measure, no doubt, from his own near friends. If Giraldus had been the most cool and fair and unbiassed of writers, still a history so derived could not well have been anything but one-sided ; it would be almost im-

[1] *Infra*, 390.

possible that the English and their doings should not be more or less represented in too bright, and the Irish and their doings in too dark colours; and moreover, that of the English, his own near friends should not be unduly exalted to the disparagement of others.

His qualities as an historian.

But Giraldus was replete with the exact qualities, the very reverse of what are needed to form an impartial historian. A man of strong impetuous feelings and violent prejudices, with a marvellously elastic self-confidence that nothing could put down, an overflowing self-conceit that would be deemed a mere absurd caricature if any one but himself had depicted himself, he looked down with sublime contempt upon every one and everything that did not agree with his own notions; he had not an idea that anything he thought or said could by any chance be wrong; he could not imagine any one who differed from him to be other than a fool or a rogue; ready as he was to find fault with any one except himself, yet sometimes an unflinching partizan, but often a virulent antagonist, he was the man of all others whose nature rendered it simply impossible for him to write a fair history of any sort, and least of all of Ireland, and the Irish, and the English invaders, with so many of his own near relations amongst the latter.

He was, too, one of those clever, ready witted, ready penned men, who are so apt to let their pens run away with them. He dashes away often plainly on the impulse of the moment, and with him often a very impetuous impulse; and there is no argument sometimes in favour of what he is advancing too absurd for him, or too inconsistent with what he may have said a few pages before, or may have to say a few pages after; there is no assertion sometimes too bold, no invective against an opponent too virulently unjust, no imputation of the basest motives too manifestly unreasonable, and no

assumption of the vilest and most horrible calumnies as certain truths too atrocious for him.[1]

Still he was a very fine fellow. The sin of unscrupulous assertion and invective was a sin of the age, and must not be laid exclusively upon him, though perhaps by no writer more thoroughly given way to. One cannot read the history of his long and gallant struggle in the cause of St. David's, without admiring the indomitable pluck of the man whom no opposition or persecutions or dangers could deter. Had he taken to arms, instead of arts, among all his gallant kindred there would have been no more gallant a knight than Girald de Barri; but when he undertook to write history, he undertook what no man could well by nature be worse qualified for. That these Irish treatises are in many ways interesting and valuable I fully allow, but it is of their historical value that I am bound

[1] There is nothing, perhaps, in the treatises of the present volume, unfair no doubt as many of their statements are, that will quite justify all the strong language I have used above. What is in my mind more especially is Giraldus's account of Longchamp, bishop of Ely, the "Belua multiformis" of the last chapter of his life of archbishop Geoffrey of York (*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 405, &c.), written no doubt soon after Longchamp's ignominious expulsion from England in 1191. He writes in eulogistic terms of the victor Geoffrey, and the beaten Longchamp is everything horrible, a monster in person, a monster of iniquity; without mentioning other crimes, an open encourager of and indulger in unnatural lusts. Some contemporary writers, more trustworthy than Giraldus, speak well of Longchamp, while others abuse him badly enough; but about the worst offences the latter charge him with are his intolerable arrogance and tyranny; he was probably either a warm friend or a bitter enemy. Giraldus's account of him can be nothing less than an unscrupulous piling-up of the foulest calumnies. It was first written in all the unthinking heat of victory, but it was deliberately repeated years afterwards in his *Symbolum Electorum* (vol. i. 393). And yet it can have been but a very short time before he penned this horrible invective, but when Longchamp was the most powerful man in England, that Giraldus chose this monster as the patron to whom to dedicate an edition of his *Itinerarium Kambriæ*. This dedication will not be found in Camden's volume, but it is in one of the early manuscripts of the treatise.

especially to speak, and that they give a fair, impartial account, either of the Irish people, or of the English invaders, or of the doings of either, I confidently and emphatically deny.

To prove their unfairness at all fully would take a large volume: I can only give briefly a few instances; and first, the account of the remissness always in pastoral duties of the Irish bishops.

Instances of his unfairness.

Giraldus asserts, that from the time of St. Patrick there had never been a single Irish bishop who had manfully striven to instruct and correct the people;[1] and this he asserts though St. Malachi's fame could not possiby have been unknown to him. St. Malachi had been dead only about forty years; and few, if any, more earnest and laborious instructors and reformers can perhaps be named amongst the bishops of all Christendom of all time, and he had contemporaries and followers not unworthy of him. And this, too, he asserts of the Isle of Saints, for ages after St. Patrick's time the great nursery of zealous missionary bishops, apostles of the faith through many a wide district of the continent of Europe, where the name of many an Irish saint and martyr is still held in reverence; to whom also was due the conversion of Scotland, and of a large part of Saxon England. Giraldus first made this assertion in a sermon which he preached before a synod of the clergy at Dublin in 1186, and he deliberately repeats it in the *Topographia* of the present volume, and again long afterwards in his *De Rebus, &c.*[2] The preacher of the day before, an Irish abbot, had denounced, and very justly, as was proved, the incontinence of the English clergy, who had followed the invaders into Ireland. Giraldus retaliates, in his sermon, with a sweeping charge of excessive drinking against the Irish clergy, but adds

[1] *Infra*, 174.

[2] Vol. i. 66, &c. The *De Rebus*, *&c.*, was not written until after the year 1203.

not a word as to any attempt being made to prove the charge ; and not content with that, he then makes this charge of utter neglect of duty against the bishops of Ireland, without one exception, since the time of St. Patrick. It was bad enough, in a moment of exasperation, to make so reckless an assertion ; it was worse to persist deliberately in it afterwards. It seems incredible that he should not have well known its gross falsehood, if not at the time he first uttered it, at any rate long before he repeated it in the *De Gestis, &c.* But there was nothing that Giraldus had once said, which in his opinion was not well worthy of being said again. There can be but one opinion of an historian who could thus recklessly make an untrue statement, and thus deliberately persist in it.

In some cases he must, I think, have been imposed upon by his informants. He was almost as credulous as he was vain and pompous, exactly the man that a joker would fix upon as fair and first-rate game. For instance, his account of the mode of inaugurating a king in Tirconnell[1] has not a fraction of truth in it, and is so absurdly and disgustingly incredible and impossible, that I can only imagine it to have been told him by some one who was trying whether, in his contempt of the Irish, there was any possible ridiculous and foul calumny that his gullibility would not swallow.

His unfairness is not confined to the Irish. No doubt whatever, much that he says of the English leaders is far from the exact truth. He seldom fails to have a sneer at Strongbow. He more than insinuates that Henry's licence to him to go to the aid of Dermot was only an ironical assent to the importunities of the last man to carry out such an expedition with any effect, even if he had any real purpose of attempting it at all ;[2] and that Strongbow cowardly postponed to fulfil his

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[1] *Infra*, 169.

[2] *Infra*, 248.

engagement with Dermot, until the way had been well paved before him by the successes of the earlier adventurers.[1] Giraldus allows that Strongbow was liberal and gentle, and a man firm and constant under good and ill fortune alike ; but he insinuates that he was one who did much by mere suavity of words, and was neither wise and decided in counsel nor gallant in action ; but had to trust to others who, he had the sense to see, were wiser and braver than himself,[2] ready to be led by the nose wherever and to whatever they chose to take him. The great cause of his successes, according to Giraldus, was the lucky fact of his having such a follower as Giraldus's gallant cousin Reimund to lead his troops ; Reimund with him, all went well ; without him, was only defeat and ruin.[3] In all this there must be, to say the least, much unfair depreciation. There is nothing, in all that can be gathered of Strongbow, from contemporary history or after traditions, that justifies this unworthy character of him, and there is much to be found to the contrary.

So again, in what Giraldus says of Hervey de Mont-Maurice,[4] Wm. Fitz-Audeline,[5] and Robert le Poer,[6] there is evidently much unfair animosity displayed. They had not treated his relations as in Giraldus's opinion they ought to have been treated, and were therefore to be abused. Fitz-Audeline's great sin would seem to have been that he followed Henry II.'s instructions, and wished to have the Irish treated with something like considerate justice, and accordingly endeavoured to restrain Giraldus's relations and others from their piratical incursions upon those who were willing to be friends if

[1] *Infra*, 247.

[2] *Infra*, 272.

[3] *Infra*, 310, &c. When Henry sent Strongbow back from Normandy in 1173 as governor of Ireland, he is represented as refusing to accept the office unless Reimund accompanied him (298).

[4] *Infra*, 327.

[5] *Infra*, 337.

[6] *Infra*, 352.

only fairly treated, and to whose lands they had no shadow of right.

About the only persons amongst the English invaders with whom Giraldus has no fault to find are his brother Robert de Barri,[1] and his cousin, Reimund le Gros.[2] As compared, indeed, with what he says of the leaders who were no kin to him, he is suspiciously loud in his commendations of his other relations; still, with all but these two, there is some qualification of blame; in these no speck of disparagement could be found. Of Reimund he tells us a great deal; whether he was quite the spotless knight he is represented may, perhaps, be doubted, but probably Giraldus does not much overrate him as a most prudent and gallant and successful leader. Of Robt. de Barri he tells us very little; after the taking of Wexford, on Fitz-Stephen's first landing in 1169, and the subsequent foray into Ossory, though classed with Meiler as pre-eminent in gallantry,[3] his name is scarcely mentioned; he must have held a very subordinate place amongst the leaders of the invasion, compared with that held by several others of Giraldus's relations. I think I am right in saying, that he is never once even named in Regan's Anglo-Norman poem.

I must not dwell any longer on this point, but I think I have said enough to justify me in refusing to accept Giraldus's history of the Irish and of their English invaders as sober, truthful history. Somewhat to the same purpose will be found occasionally in my notes, when it has seemed to me allowable to compare his statements with those of other authorities. Giraldus, indeed, seems himself to allow, in the

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[1] *Infra*, 235. He was in some points singularly unlike his brother Giraldus, if the latter's account of him is anything near the truth:—He had the bashful modesty of a maiden; was no boaster, no fast talker; one who never praised himself, or liked to be praised by others.

[2] *Infra*, 323.

[3] *Infra*, 234, 245.

case of the *Topographia*, that truth was not his main object; he says that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry II.[1] One main object of the *Expugnatio* was certainly the glorification of himself and his relations.

Elsewhere he solemnly declares that he had stated nothing in the *Topographia* of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eye-sight, or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses.[2] In his *Retractationes*, however, he confesses that there were some statements in it,—and this *some*, without much uncharitableness, we may suppose ought to have been written *very many*,—derived from no better authority than common report.[3] This is a sad break-down after his former solemn assurance to the contrary.

My good friend, and pre-labourer in editing these volumes of Giraldus's works, says of the *Expugnatio*, that Giraldus would seem to have "regarded his subject "rather as a great epic, which undoubtedly it was, than a "sober relation of facts occurring in his own days, and "needing no poetical fictions or rhetorical flourishes to "augment its native grandeur."[4] This is a most true

[1] In his letter to king John, *infra* 405: "Topographiam Hibernicam " . . . . . in patris vestri laudem "triennii labore digessi."

[2] *Infra*, 74, 75.

[3] "Quorundam quinimmo et "quamplurium, per diligentem et "certam indagationem, a magnis "terræ illius et authenticis viris "notitiam elicuimus. De ceteris "autem publicam potius terræ fa-"mam secuti fuimus."—Vol. i. 425.

[4] Vol. i., Preface, p. xlvi. Mr. Brewer reflects upon the absurd orations which Giraldus puts into the mouths of his heroes. No more ridiculous absurdities of the sort are perhaps anywhere to be found. And not the least grandiloquent of them are bestowed on a most unworthy occasion. The orations of

and characteristic description of Giraldus's treatment of his subject: the treatise certainly is, in great measure, rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history. Mr. Brewer will perhaps think me foolish and presumptuous, but I am sure he will not be offended, when I say that I cannot further agree with him in considering this a trivial defect in the case of historical narration. It may be that the poetical fiction is confined to certain portions of the treatise, and that other portions are prosaic truth; but how are we to know where the one ends, and the other begins? How can we be sure that the poetry, which undoubtedly pervades some portions, does not more or less infect all other portions, however much they may look like honest prose?

I have said that I fully allow that there is much that is interesting and valuable in the treatises of this volume.

Giraldus's natural history.

One very interesting portion, to my mind, is the account of the animals of Ireland, in the first distinction of the *Topographia*. Of course Giraldus gives us plenty of the stock mediæval legendary lore, handed down from the works of the early writers on natural history, and plenty of the then common symbolical adaptations; but, and I know not where to name any one else of the sort within ages of his time, he was also an acute original observer, and had the boldness to put his own observations by the side of the received traditions. There is a striking instance of his accurate observation in the account of the differences between the

Roderic, Dermot MacMurrough, and Fitz-Stephen (*infra*, 238–243), if any one has the patience to read them, can only seem the prelude to a hard-fought field and a glorious decisive victory; but nothing follows except a few lines about a hollow short-lived truce. Giraldus was well acquainted with Horace's *De Arte Poetica*: he very frequently quotes it: but there is one wise bit of advice in it to poetical writers that he can have taken little note of; there never was a more absurd instance than this of his, of a mountain in labour and a "ridiculus "mus."

wild and tame swan, which he gives in his history of bishop Hugh of Lincoln,[1] where he describes the more obvious distinctions clearly and correctly in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day can hardly improve upon. I will mention one curious instance in the present volume. The hare of Ireland is now, I believe, universally and undoubtedly allowed by naturalists to be a distinct species from our English hare, but this has only been the case within about the last thirty years.[2] That they were distinct had been, indeed, long known to such sportsmen, gamekeepers, dealers in furs, and others who had had practical opportunities of acquaintance with both animals, and to any epicure of hare-flesh that had eaten the produce of the two islands: any autumnal Irish reaper, with any propensity for poaching, if shown an English hare, would have at once pointed out its more obvious differences from his own hare of Ireland. But this was a vulgar illiterate notion, that had never penetrated the closets and wise brains of scientific naturalists. It did not however escape the observation of Giraldus. He points out the most striking difference, that of the fur; which, as he says, in the Irish hare resembles rather the fur of the rabbit than that of the English hare.[3] It is curious that he should thus have

The Irish hare.

[1] *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 431, or my *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, 116.

[2] I believe that Professor Bell was the first who actually described it as a distinct species, the Lepus Hibernicus, in his *History of British Quadrupeds*, published in 1837. But three or four years before its differences had been pointed out. Mr. Jenyns, in his *Manual of British Animals*, published in 1835, classes it only as a variety, but adds that it "might almost deserve to be "considered as a distinct species."

[3] *Infra*, 57. He says, too, that the Irish hare is much smaller than the English: "Cuniculis tam sui "modicitate, quam delicata pilosi- "tate consimiles." It is perhaps, on the average, somewhat smaller, but certainly not to the extent that Giraldus represents; but he had got it into his head that all animals of Ireland, except men, were smaller than those of England. He describes it also as given to take to cover, like the fox, instead of taking to the open country, like the more sportsmanlike hare of England. I believe this to be a libel; probably

observed and recorded, nearly 700 years ago, what was unknown to scientific naturalists until so very lately.

There are several other points of Giraldus's natural history that seem to me well worth mentioning; but this preface is running to an inordinate length. I should much like to see a disquisition upon his original observations on the animals of Ireland by some competent Irish naturalist.

Prophecies of Merlin of Celidon.

Much value probably will not be accorded to the prophecies of Merlin of Celidon as given in the *Expugnatio*, and which now appear in print for the first time. If we could only believe them to be really what Giraldus believed, we should rank them amongst the most wonderful prophecies ever uttered. Look, for instance, at the prophecies about St. Thomas's martyrdom, &c.;[1] about the rebellion of Henry II.'s sons, and the coincidence of the capture of the king of Scotland with Henry's pilgrimage of penitence to Becket's tomb;[2] or about De Courci invading Ulster.[3] But unhappily Giraldus expressly tells us, that the prophecies of Celidon had been much adulterated by modern false additions of the Welsh bards. He adds indeed that he had discarded all that was redolent of modern language, and had retained only what a rude and plain simplicity proved to be ancient.[4] But we may well doubt the accuracy of Giraldus's critical acumen, especially as, half Welshman though he was, he was not skilled in the Welsh language in which these prophecies were handed down; and we shall probably find no difficulty in concluding that, in such instances

Giraldus, or his informants, had never seen a hare coursed, in the then more thickly-wooded Ireland, in anything like the same open country that they had seen it coursed in in England: so far as my recollections of coursing days go, our English hare is always far more anxious to take to cover, if any be ready at hand, than to take to the open for the better pleasure of men and dogs.

[1] *Infra*, 261, 262.

[2] *Infra*, 300, 301.

[3] *Infra*, 339.

[4] *Infra*, 403.

as I have just given, and in others like them, we have only the additions of the bards, written since the events pretended to be predicted had taken place. Giraldus fell in with his copy of Celidon in the spring of 1188, during his progress through Wales with archbishop Baldwin:[1] plenty of time had elapsed since the last event presumed to be predicted for any amount of bardic addition.

The last event to which Giraldus applies a prophecy of Celidon is John's expedition into Ireland in 1185. He finds in Celidon a prophecy of a ball of fire, which was to ascend from the east, and consume the circuit of Ireland; this he applies to Henry II. The prophecy then describes a spark springing from this fire, with dread of which the islanders will tremble, which will seem greater absent than present, and the second expedition shall be better than the first.[2] This Giraldus applies to John. The application is not at all necessarily clear: at any rate this is a very different sort of prophecy from the post-fact plain ones I have mentioned above. It probably was current before 1185: I do not like speaking without book, but I have a strong notion in my head that I have somewhere seen good Welsh evidence that this was the case. My reason for dwelling upon it is as follows.

Why John's expedition into Ireland in 1185 called his first expedition.

Giraldus continually calls John's expedition in 1185, his first expedition into Ireland,[3] as if, at the time he was writing, John had already made at least two expeditions thither. John did indeed go thither a second time in 1210; but Giraldus's *first* expedition is not found in later editions or later manuscripts only, that may have received his corrections made after that year, but is common as well to the earliest editions and the earliest manuscripts, which it is impossible to suppose were not

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[1] *Itin. Kamb.*, ii. 6.

[2] *Infra*, 381.

[3] For instance, *infra*, 112 (bottom); 122 (bottom); 164, l. 3; 221, xxxii; 378, l. 11.

written before the year 1210. The only solution of the difficulty that I can suggest is, that this prophecy of Celidon had been current before 1185, that it then got generally applied to John, and that consequently Giraldus, in the strength of his vaticinal faith, chose to speak of John's expedition in 1185 as his first expedition into Ireland, though no second one had occurred or seemed likely to occur: if the prophecy had not been so current, and so applied, he could hardly have spoken as he does.

I shall take this opportunity of remarking that Giraldus calls the English invasion, the *second* conquest of Ireland.[1] He so calls it, no doubt, in reference to the occupation of a large part of Ireland by Tuirgeis and his northmen in the 9th century. Elsewhere he says that Ireland had been only once subdued before the English invasion, and that this was by Tuirgeis.[2]

§ (4). Reception of these Treatises.

Archbishop Baldwin, as we have seen, according to the author, was delighted extremely with the *Topographia*. Giraldus names also elsewhere[3] his friend Walter Map, and Robert de Bello-fago, a canon of Salisbury, as expressing warm admiration of it. *Supra*, l.

Reception in Giraldus's time.

But it was not generally received, it seems, with the same favour, by his contemporaries. He complains of its being carped at and torn to pieces by venomous critics,[4] and in other places speaks of the neglect and contempt with which it, and indeed his other works, were treated.[5] But no adverse

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[1] *Infra*, 225, in the heading.

[2] "Semel tantum ante hæc nostra "tempora, et tunc a Turgesio, gens "Hibernica expugnata," 183. See also 189, cap. 46.

[3] Vol. i. 412; ii. 92.

[4] *Infra*, 209.

[5] "Habeat hic igitur et præsens "tempus quod laceret, et posteritas "quod laudet," &c., *infra*, 76; a favourite specimen with Giraldus of what he evidently considered his choicest Latinity. As first written in this place, in the first edition of

criticism or unworthy reception could shake for a moment his full faith in the excellencies of his writings; it was an illiterate age, letters were at a discount; should they rise again in value, then his labours would be appreciated, as he was sure they richly and entirely deserved.

Valued afterwards, as proved by the large number of MSS.

And as regards the treatises of this volume, he was far from wrong in his confident anticipations. The large number of manuscripts of them that still exist, especially in the case of the *Topographia*, of all dates until the time that they were printed, is at once a sufficient proof that they were held in much value; and this, moreover, in his own lifetime, as proved by the number of the early manuscripts. No doubt he speaks far too strongly, as always when his feelings were touched, of the ill reception of these treatises by his contemporaries.

This proved also as to the *Topographia*, by an abridgment of it, and French translation.

Another strong proof of the value in which the *Topographia* was afterwards held is afforded by the fact of an abridgment of it having been published in the first half of the fourteenth century, and moreover of this abridgment a French version.[1] The abridgment was made by Philip de Slane, a preaching friar of Cork, and is dedicated to pope John XXII., to whom he was chap-

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the *Topographia*, it can only have been prophetical; but afterwards he more than once repeats it elsewhere. In the letter to the chapter of Hereford, written late in his life, giving an account of his different works, he applies it to the whole of them (vol, i. 419). See, too, what he says about the reception of the *Topographia*, and what he seems to have expected as to the *Expugnatio*, in 382 *infra*, l. 2; "Posteris lectio- " nem, præsentibus livorem," &c.

[1] This abridgment and its translation have only come to light within the last year or two. The first is in one of the Additional MSS. of the British Museum (No. 19,513, f. 164, vell. 4to, 14th century); the other also in another Additional MS. (17,920, f. 20, vell. fol., 14th century). I am indebted wholly to my ever kind friend, Mr. Hardy, for being able to mention these: I have not even seen the manuscripts myself. A full account of them will appear in the forthcoming third volume of his most valuable *Catalogue of Materials for English History*.

lain. It is worth mentioning that the house of preaching friars near Cork was founded in 1229 by Philip Barry,[1] no doubt a descendant of one of our author's brothers, if not his brother Philip himself, to whom the territory of Ui-Liathain in the county of Cork had been granted by his uncle Fitz-Stephen.[2] We may believe that the works of Girald de Barri would be especially valued in this house, and that friar Philip was doing a work of love, when he thus endeavoured to put into a more popular shape the Irish Topography of the near kinsman of the founder. There is nothing, I believe, to show by whom the French translation was made; but it must have followed soon upon the abridgment, as it is in a fourteenth century hand.

And as to the *Expugnatio* by an English translation.

That the *Expugnatio* was also held in value is further proved by an English translation of it, of late fourteenth, or perhaps more probably fifteenth century date. This is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (MS. E. 3, 31), where also is a transcript of it of the sixteenth century (MS. F. 4, 4), with the orthography adapted, and not always correctly, to the later date.[3] I am scarcely right, however, in calling this a translation: it seems rather a paraphrase of such portions of the treatise as the writer, no doubt an Anglo-Hibernian, deemed most worthy the notice of Anglo-Hibernian readers. I have not seen the manuscript, however; I can only speak as to the first two or three pages of it, of which a transcript has been most kindly furnished me

[1] Harris's *Ware* (Antiquities), 277.

[2] *Infra*, 351. It is not very likely, however, that an elder brother of Giraldus, for such this Philip de Barri was, was living up to 1229. He had a son Philip, who succeeded his uncle Giraldus as archdeacon of Brecknock. Perhaps this younger Philip inherited his father's property in county Cork, and was the founder of the Dominican house.

[3] These MSS. are described in Mr. Hardy's *Catalogue* (ii. 465), from information of Mr. W. M. Hennessy.

by Mr. Prendergast, and which will be given in an Appendix to this Preface. These few pages are not sufficient to show what its historical or other value may be, as throwing light upon Giraldus's Latin text, or as perhaps containing occasionally new matter, but they are amply sufficient to show its value as a very curious example of an earlier form of our language. I have submitted them to Mr. Earle, who pronounces them to supply "a truly interesting specimen of fifteenth century "Hibernian English," and says that the work must well deserve publication.

I can name scarcely any of our English historians who made use of these treatises of Giraldus within 300 years or more after his time; but I have a very imperfect acquaintance with writers after the thirteenth century. So far as I have seen, our writers during those 300 years were not at all given to enter largely on earlier Irish matters: if mentioning older Irish history at all, most of them were content with transcribing or condensing what little they found in Hoveden, or William of Newburgh, or others of the writers of more general history, and were but little likely to meddle with Giraldus's Irish treatises, even if they were acquainted with them. Higden however, who, in his account of Henry II., certainly makes use of our author's *De Instr. Princ.*, seems also, in one instance if not more, to quote from the *Expugnatio* also; in speaking of the council of Cashel, he introduces the white cow of archbishop Gelasius, as in p. 283 *infra*.[1] Brompton has this also, in a passage taken generally from Hoveden, but he seems to have derived it from Higden.

Higden's use of Giraldus.

But directly afterwards Brompton expressly cites the "Giraldi Topographia," and quotes largely from it, or rather

The *Topographia* largely quoted by Brompton.

[1] Twysden, 2394, l. 66.

gives a large summary of its description of Ireland, and its people, and its saints, and wonders.[1]

Hooker's translation of the *Expugnatio.*

In the 1587 edition of Holinshed's chronicles there appeared an English translation of the *Expugnatio* by "John "Hooker, of the city of Excester, gentleman."[2] Prefixed to it is a long dedication to "Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, "seneschall of the duchies of Cornewall and Excester, "and lord warden of the stannaries in Devon and "Cornewall," dated from Exeter, October 12, 1586. This translation was made from an earlier and far better copy of the treatise than the one used a few years afterwards for Camden's volume. With, I think, only two exceptions, it contains all the prophecies and other passages omitted in the late manuscripts and in Camden: and the absence of these two passages is readily accounted for. They are prophecies referring to St. Thomas of Canterbury;[3] and as Hooker had already refused to insert the chapter containing the account of Becket's martyrdom, because it extolled a "froward and obstinate "traitor against his sovereign,"[4] he could only reject also the prophecies relating to him. It does not, however, contain the preface to the third book. It is not always a very correct translation, but there are many passages in the corrupt Latin text of Camden's volume, little if any better than utter nonsense, which are all right and plain in Hooker's English.

Topographia and *Expugnatio* of Camden's volume.

Both these treatises are included, with the Welsh treatises also of Giraldus, in the volume known as Camden's *An-*

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[1] Twysden, 1071–1078.

[2] It is in vol. vi. of the 1808 edition of Holinshed, pp. 100–232. In Harris's *Ware* (Writers, 327), he is described as John Hooker, *alias* Vowell, M.P. for the city of Exeter in 1571, employed in Ireland under Sir Peter Carew, burgess for Athenry in the Parliament of 1568. He was the author of several other works.

[3] *Infra*, 374, 377.

[4] *Infra*, 259, note (2).

glica, Hibernica, Normannica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta, printed at Frankfort in 1602 and 1603. The *Topographia* of this volume of Camden affords a text less faulty perhaps than that of either of the other treatises of Giraldus which it contains; but still a very faulty text, plainly taken from a bad late manuscript, and ignorantly or carelessly edited.[1] The *Expugnatio* is also taken from a bad late manuscript; and besides the mutilations, of which I have said enough in describing the late manuscripts of this treatise, abounds fully as freely as the *Topographia* in minor faults.

Supra, xl, &c.

In the first Distinction of the *Topographia*, by uniting adjacent chapters, Camden's volume makes only twenty-eight chapters, instead of the forty of the present edition. In no manuscript that I have seen,—and I have examined several late ones which I have nowhere mentioned, because unworthy of collation or any notice,—is there any authority for this distribution of the chapters. In the other two Distinctions the chapters of Camden's volume are according to manuscript authority.

Reception by Irishmen.

Of course these treatises, unfair and sometimes untrue as they no doubt are in much that they say of Ireland and its people, can

[1] The sense is continually more or less obscured or perverted, and sometimes becomes utter nonsense. For instance, within the compass of a page, by reading *solo* instead of *salo*, an island is placed high and dry on the land (Camden, 717, l. 25); and by reading *Oxippale* instead of *mappale*, a towel is transmuted into a very strange Norwegian bishop ("episcopus Norwagiæ Oxippale," 718, l. 8).

Probably Camden had little to do with any editing of the volume, and nothing with its passage through the press. He gives the dedication to Fulk Greville, and there perhaps his editorial labours ended. It is stated on the title-page that the writers, whose works the volume contains, are "plerique nunc primum in lucem editi, ex bibliotheca Guilielmi Camdeni;" which seems plainly to intimate that his share in the work was merely allowing copies for publication to be taken from manuscripts in his library. The actual editing, in all likelihood, and passing through the press, are due to other persons employed by the foreign publishers.

hardly have been ever kindly received by any honest Irishman; than whom, perhaps, nowhere on the face of the earth can be found a more impetuous zealot against any reflection on his country or his progenitors. After the publication of Hooker's translation of the *Expugnatio*, and the appearance of Camden's volume, Irish fury against Giraldus could no longer endure suppression. Stephen White, a learned Jesuit, a correspondent of archbishop Ussher, and spoken highly of by him, was the first to enter the lists. His work against our author was written soon after, if not partly before the appearance of Camden's volume. It was not published, however, and was long thought to be lost; it was found, some years since, at Brussels, and was published, I feel sure I am right in saying, in 1849; but I am ashamed to confess that I have not seen it.

Stephen White's Apologia.

Dr. John Lynch's Cambrensis Eversus.

Camb. Evers. of my notes.

The great Irish work against Giraldus is the *Cambrensis Eversus* of Dr. John Lynch, published by him in 1662, under the name of "Gratianus Lucius." It is the work of a great Irish scholar, very learned, and elaborate, and valuable; not at all confined to the mere upsetting of Giraldus, but entering largely also into Irish history of all periods down to the time he wrote. A copy of the edition of 1662 is a great rarity; but a new edition of the Latin text, with an English translation and notes, was edited by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, of Maynooth College, for the Irish Celtic Society, and published by them in three volumes in 1848–1852. As an upsetting of Giraldus it is in great measure a failure; the arguments against him are smothered almost in the vast mass of extraneous matter that is introduced,—a great fault in a controversialist, who cannot easily stick too closely to his object of censure,—and still worse, Dr. Lynch continually overshoots his mark, and helps his adversary rather than himself, by attempting to prove too

much. It is in the extraneous matter, however, that the main value of the work consists. Mr. Kelly, in his introduction,[1] after saying that it "has been generally "esteemed one of the most valuable works on the history "of Ireland," adds most truly, "Viewed merely as a "refutation of Giraldus de Barry, it is on some points "unsuccessful; but its comprehensive plan, embracing a "great variety of well-digested and accurate informa-"tion on every period of Irish history, imparts to it a "value entirely independent of the controversial cha-"racter inscribed on its title-page." And no small portion of Mr. Kelly's notes on the anti-Giraldus parts of the work are devoted to prove that Giraldus is right and Dr. Lynch wrong, at any rate, that Giraldus is not so far wrong as Dr. Lynch would make out. I have frequently cited the *Camb. Evers.* in my notes, and it is to Mr. Kelly's edition that I refer.

Recent Irish scholars have quietly received Giraldus for what he is worth, as an impetuous, strongly biassed writer, whose statements have generally more or less of truth in them, but with much unfair one-sidedness. They have seen that his abuse is not confined to Ireland and the Irish, but is almost equally as fully lavished upon his own Wales and the Welsh; that, in fact, he has praise for scarcely any thing or body except himself and his near friends and relations. Some late Irish writers, under the reaction perhaps of his having been found too much fault with, seem to me to put more faith in Giraldus's history than it really deserves.

§ (5). Chronology of the Expugnatio; the Anglo-Norman Poem, &c.

Chronology of Giraldus.

According to the letter which Giraldus makes Dermot Mac Murrough ad-

[1] At the beginning, p. iii.

dress to earl Richard in the autumn of 1169,[1] it was in 1168 that he had returned to Ireland, after engaging the earl, Fitz-Stephen, &c., to come to his aid the next spring. But the Irish Annals say that it was in 1166[2] that Dermot was driven out of Ireland, and that he returned in 1167. There can be no worse authority than Giraldus wherever a date is concerned; he very seldom condescends to give a date, and when he does is quite as likely to be wrong as right; and the Irish annals, at this period of history at all events, are very accurate in their chronology. In this case, therefore, and afterwards always, whenever they record events mentioned also by Giraldus, I have followed their guidance in the years which I have placed on the margins of my pages.

Of the Irish Annals.

The Irish annals moreover say that on Dermot's return into Ireland in 1167, he had with him a force of foreigners. This is confirmed by the valuable Anglo-Norman poem, of which I shall speak directly, which states that one chevalier of Pembrokeshire, Richard Fitz-Godoberd, accompanied him with a small force of English.[3] He seems, however, soon to have returned into Wales. Soon after Dermot's return into Ireland, his hereditary territory Hy-Kinselagh had been invaded by Roderic O'Conor, the monarch of Ireland, who had driven him into banishment the year before, and Dermot had been compelled to submit, and to render hostages to Roderic.[4] And probably he was then also compelled to send back his English ally. The fact of Fitz-Godobert having thus

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[1] *Infra*, 246.

[2] And on August 1 of this year, according to a curious note in the Book of Leinster, given in Dr. Todd's preface to his *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (p. xii). Another and a contemporary note (p. xi) describes Dermot as dying "at Ferns, after the victory of "Unction and Penance, in the 61st "year of his age;" a very different account of his death from that given by the Four Masters, *infra*, 263, n. (1).

[3] Regan, p. 21.

[4] Four Masters, A°. 1167.

accompanied Dermot in 1167 is rather repugnant to our author's oft-repeated assertion, that his uncle Fitz-Stephen was the first of the leaders who landed on Irish soil in aid of Dermot. During the year 1168 Dermot seems to have remained quiet; the Irish annals mention no hostile raid, either by him on others, or by others on him; he was biding his time; he had already despatched his secretary back to Wales to recruit all possible further aid to his service,[1] and was ready on Fitz-Stephen's arrival in the spring of 1169 to throw off the yoke of submission, and avenge himself to the utmost upon his enemies.

Regan of my notes.

Anglo-Norman Poem on the conquest of Ireland.

I have frequently cited, in my notes to the *Expugnatio*, under the name of "Regan," an Anglo-Norman poem, which deserves far more attention than it has as yet received. It was written, by some unknown rhymester, in great measure from the information of Morice Regan, the "Latimer," or "Latinier," of Dermot MacMurrough, one who had been in his intimate confidence and the eye-witness of very much that he reported. The writer seems also several times to refer to some history, or *geste*, with which Regan had supplied him; frequently also to the testimony of old men, still living witnesses of the truth of his narrative.[2] It must have been written somewhere about the end of the twelfth century, and is a *Chanson de geste*, a piece of rhymed but veritable history, that no doubt was often chanted on a long winter's evening in the castle-halls of the English invaders, in the presence of many a grey-headed warrior who had taken part in the exploits which it describes. There is every reason to accept it as simple prosaic truth, according to the writer's best belief and information, put into simple rhyme; and in rhyme though it be, its history, I have not a doubt, is far more

[1] Regan, p. 21.

[2] Michel's preface, vi, vii.

accurately true than Giraldus's poetical prose. Sometimes it gives a strong general confirmation to Giraldus's narrative, but the particulars often are very different. Its heroes are not always the same as the heroes of Giraldus;[1] and while it has nothing of some events related by him, it dwells, on the other hand, on other events and persons passed over by him in silence. Unhappily only a fragment of it has survived to us; in the one manuscript only which is known to contain it, one leaf of the beginning is lost, and very many probably at the end; it concludes abruptly in the middle of the description of Reimund's assault on Limerick in 1175.

This fragment is preserved in the library at Lambeth, in MS. 596, and is in the hand of a fourteenth century scribe. In the same volume is a very imperfect abstract of it by Sir George Carew, which was printed in *Harris's Hibernica* in 1757, and by which only it was known until within a few years. In 1837, however, Mr. Pickering printed the original text, from a transcript made by M. Francisque Michel, with an introduction by Thos. Wright, Esq. It is a great thing to have got the text from such a scholar as M. Michel, but much more is yet wanting. It is "very corrupt "in its language," M. Michel says;[2] as naturally would

[1] Meiler, Reimund, Cogan, and one or two others, perhaps, of Giraldus's heroes, are described in almost as glowing colours as by Giraldus himself; but the person of all others whose actions it most dwells upon is Maurice de Prendergast, who is just mentioned by Giraldus as a "vir probus et stre-"nuus," one of the first invaders with Fitz-Stephen in 1169 (*infra*, 231, l. 1), but whom he never notices again. In a very interesting paper on this Maurice de Prendergast, printed some year or two since in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, the writer, John P. Prendergast, Esq., suggests what seems extremely probable, viz., that the Norman rhymester, so copious and particular in his account of Maurice de Prendergast, was a follower of his, or in some way connected with him.

[2] Preface, p. vi.

be the case with the work of an Hibernian Anglo-Norman rhymester, copied by another Englishman in Ireland some hundred years or more afterwards; and it is crowded often with names of Irish places, and peoples, and persons that to all ordinary students are utterly unintelligible. In fact, at present, it is in great measure useless; it most sadly wants a new edition, with a literal translation and notes, by some Irish scholar well versed in the Irish topography and family nomenclature of the time, and well versed also in the Anglo-Norman of the time.[1] No more valuable contribution, perhaps, to the history of the first few years of the English invasion of Ireland could be made than such an edition of this treatise.

I have cited this Anglo-Norman poem in my notes under the name of *Regan*. By a misunderstanding of the original, Sir G. Carew, in his abstract, seems to have believed Regan to have been the actual author, rather than the principal informant of the author; and consequently until lately it has generally been known and cited as Regan's work. For this reason, therefore, and for convenience sake, I have retained the name of *Regan* for it, though not at all strictly a correct one.

In concluding this preface I must say, that I have always felt that I was guilty of great presumption in undertaking to edit these Irish treatises of Giraldus. They ought to have been edited by an Irishman, and Ireland has had of late years, and still has, learned historical scholars, who need fear no comparison with the scholars, past or present, of any and every country in Europe; men to whom I fully feel my great inferiority, and not only in Irish knowledge. The only excuse I

[1] A collation of Michel's text with the MS. would also be necessary. He takes liberties with the names of persons, as proved by the fac-simile. "Ororic" of the MS. is "O'Roric" in his text.

can offer is, that the main object of the volumes of this series is to give a correct text of the various writers; and I can honestly say that I have grudged no time or labour to this part of my work. I may add that I hardly knew what I had undertaken, and had collated many manuscripts, and had advanced too far to think of retreating, before I felt the absolute necessity of touching somewhat on the Irish history of the things and persons and events which Giraldus describes. Without this I found it would be impossible to give any correct dates to his history, and on other points to give such elucidation as his text seemed to me absolutely to require,—in fact, at all decently to edit these treatises; and utterly impossible, moreover, to form any judgment as to their historical value. With the excellent guides to whom I have just referred, I trust that, in my very brief excursions into Irish history, I cannot well have strayed very far wrong.

There is a further point in which I feel that my presumption is still more indefensible. I have attempted to give in a glossary, and to mention occasionally in my notes, the Irish names of the persons and places mentioned by Giraldus. I am perfectly unacquainted with the Irish language; and it must be impossible that I have not fallen into blunders, and probably very gross ones. I see that, in two or three instances in the notes, and perhaps in many other instances as well, I or the printer,—but, of course, the fault is wholly mine for not correcting such mistakes,—have syllabled Irish names in a way that will scare the eyes of an Irish reader; and I feel sure also, now that it is too late, that in my ignorance of the inflexions of Irish nouns, I have carelessly, more than once, given some other case instead of the nominative. I only hope there are no worse blunders. I ask for indulgence, because I am sure it is not out of any attempt at parade of learning that I have thus meddled with the Irish names, but because it

seemed to me absolutely necessary. English names now are sometimes so different from the old Irish names, upon which, or rather the then English pronunciation of them, Giraldus must have framed his Latin renderings, that it would have been simply unmeaning to have placed only the modern English name as representing his Latin. For instance, to give two very contiguous examples in the Glossary, "Locherinum stagnum" of Giraldus is Lough Owel in Westmeath: there is no discoverable connexion between these names; but the old Irish name is Loch Uair, from which there is no difficulty in tracing Giraldus's "Locherinum." So, his "Lugdunum" for Louth seems a strange rendering; but in the Irish name Lughmadh, or Lughbhadh, we see at once its origin. But after all, I know that I should have done more wisely, so far as my own credit is concerned, if I had let the Irish names alone.

I must not conclude without thanking the many kind friends to whom I have been indebted in preparing this volume for the press. To Mr. Hardy, to Mr. Cox and other authorities at the Bodleian, to Mr. Bradshaw and others at the University Library, Cambridge, to Mr. Wright, the librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Mr. Stubbs, the librarian at Lambeth, my thanks are most due for kind help and ready information. To Mr. Snell, the librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, my thanks are more especially due, for days and weeks of harbourage and hospitality in his rooms,—a tax that is inflicted on one or other of the fellows of the college, in the case of every worker at the manuscripts, by the stringent rules of their library, and which heavy tax they are ever so generously ready to submit to. The dean of Westminster I have to thank for the loan of a very early manuscript of the *Topographia* from the library there; and the archbishop of Canterbury, for the unrestricted use of a most valuable manuscript of the *Expugnatio* at Lambeth.

And Irish friends must not be forgotten. Dr. Reeves kindly favoured me with some valuable notes, which I believe I have in every case acknowledged by affixing his name. To Mr. Prendergast my warm thanks are due, for the transcript of a portion of the English translation of the *Expugnatio*, which follows in Appendix A. And to the Rev. Jas Graves I have every reason to be most grateful, for continual most kind and ready help of various sorts; for valuable communications, as will be seen in my notes or glossary, and for instructions which I found most valuable as to what Irish works to consult. It will be in no small measure due to his kind aid and advice, if, in my attempt to elucidate Giraldus's text from Irish authorities, I have not made very many or very gross blunders. And whatever Irish blunders I may have made, they will be owing in no way to lack of ready Irish kindness to put me right, but to my own unwillingness to encroach unnecessarily: it seemed to me too bad to be continually bothering friends upon points that I ought to be able to determine without doubt myself, with so large a mass of information ready at my hands in the recent most elaborate and accurate works of the eminent historical scholars of Ireland.

APPENDIX TO PREFACE.

A.—Specimen of the early English Translation of the Expugnatio in Trin. Coll. Library, Dublin.

B.—Table of the Princess Nesta's Descendants, mentioned in this Volume.

C.—Collation of the pages of Camden's Edition with those of this Volume.

D.—Summary of the MSS. used for this Volume.

APPENDIX A.

Specimen of the early English Translation of the *Expugnatio* in MS. E. 3. 31,[1] Trin. Coll. Dublin; *supra*, lxxvii.

[This comprises caps. I. and II. and part of cap. III. of Giraldus's first book of the Expugnatio, *infra*, 225–231. For the transcript of it, I am indebted to John P. Prendergast, Esq. I have so far ventured to depart from his transcript as always to write the contraction for *re* or *er* in full, and in two or three instances other contractions as well.]

Yn the tym that the kynge Henry, þ^t^ was the kynges fadyr Richard, and the kynges fadyr John, regned in England well, and heighe man in Ireland, þ^t^ het Dermod McMorogh, prence of Leynystre, that is ytold þ^e^ fifte perte of Irland, that Dermod, from the tyme that he was lord of land, and folk shold governe, he wer [2] amonge his heighe men, and so hard ham biladde, þ^t^ þay caste grete hat to hym, and myche they was hym ageyne in herth, þogh þey ne durst not oppenly shewe. Whan he hade longe whill þus bilad hyme amonge his men, bettidd an adventure that turned hym þerafter to mych harme. For in Mythe was a kynge that heyth Rourc, and a well

[1] There is another copy in the same library, F. 4. 4, of late 16th century date; a transcript from the earlier E. 3. 31.

[2] *wer*] *i.e.* warred: so written in F. 4. 4.

fayre woman to wif; and as men telled of,—and soth hit is ifound, that some of heme be [to][1] unstable of herth, wherthrogh many harmes ben oþerwhille, þt ne ben nat now al to rekne,—this kynges wife . . . .[2] to þe love of McMurugh mor þan hyr owne lord, and he her also and this was longe, bot togeddyr ne myght þei nat come as the wold. For hit betid a tyme þt hyr lord went out of his cuntrey in to fer londes, for grete nedes þt he had to don. His wif awaited full well, and aspied þt hyr lord most lange be out of land, sends to McMurgh, and bade hym þt yf he ever wold his wille have of hir that he shold come to hyr, for she was redy to do all þt hyme liked of. McMorgh name power wt hym, and went thar this lady was; and, as hit be spoke was, he name hir, and broght hir out of Myth into Leynester, and helt hir thar to his will. Nat for þane sho grad and gred, as thogh he name hir agaynes hir will, as hit was not so.

Than hir lord hit herd, he was ther of tened with stronge, and mych more of the shame þt to hym was done, þan of the harme. All that he myght do he didde, for to awreke hym. He sent after his owne powere, and eke all þt he myght . . . . . .;[3] and the kynge of Connaghth, þt was that tyme lorde of Irland, came to hym wt his power. He gadred so moch folke þt none end was, and come into Leynester for to wreke hym of his shame. Tho McMogh this herd, he sent to his men þt þay sholde hym help ageyne his fomen, þt þus weren coming to ward hym. They bethoghten ham of the tene, and the trayson, þt þer ham had ydon þer to fore, and forsok al out of dout þt þay noght well hym help; and many of them openly turned to his fomen ageynes hym, for to wreke

[1] *to*] This is an interlineation in the MS.

[2] Something cancelled here.

[3] Something obliterated. This, and two or three other obliterations that will follow, are gaps in F. 4. 4, which consequently does not help us to the missing words.

ham of the injurie þ^t he ham had done. McMorgh saw þ^t power hym failled, and onenth[1] half he was amyde his fomen beset. He was man of high hert, and w^t þ^e litill power þ^t he had he werred as long as he myght, bot he ne myght nat all way all on[2] ageyns all the lande folk: he was so narrow bilad þ^t nedes he most tholl deth, other þ^e land leve: he saw þ^t none oþer remedy was. He went to the see, and found shippe redy, and wynde at will, and passed over into England w^t well few w^t hym; and on this maner he sawit his life, and lefte lond, and lede,[3] and all his other good. Her by[4] men may witte, þ^t be a man of never so mych power, bettyr hym is þ^t hys men hym love þan hate. Whan McMogh was thus icome in to England, al hys thoght was how he myght hym best wrek of the shame þ^t hyme was done, and of þ^t þat he was so vilich out of hys kynd lond idryve. He nyst of wham he myght bettre besech help þane of þ^e kynge: and þ^e kynge was gane fer in þ^e realme of France, for grete nedes þ^t he had to done. McMogh passed over to hym: þ^e kynge fayr hym receved, and w^t mych maneship:[5] and whan had he itolde hyme the encheson of hys comynge to hym, and what for he was out of hys lond ichaushed, þ^e kynge swyth wo therfor, and good hert badde hym to helpe, ... oþer grete nedes þ^t he had to done. Whane he ne myght nat elles do, he namey hym homage and othes, and lete hyme mak hys lettres, that thus mych ben to understond: Henry, throgh Gode is grace kynge of Englond, duc of

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[1] *onenth*] So the MS. Mr. Earle suggests that the original reading (E. 3. 31. seems certainly only a copy) was probably "on each," or "on either." The corresponding passage of Giraldus (*Infra*, 226) is; "Videns Dermitius viribus se "*undique* destitui."

[2] *all on*] *i.e.* all-on, alone (Mr. Earle).

[3] *lede*] This seems to be the Saxon "leod," people (Mr. Earle).

[4] After *by* is the interlineation *yat* in the MS.

[5] *maneship*] Probably a made word to fit the Latin (Mr. Earle); "Innatæ liberalitatis et *humanitatis* "officio pie satis et benigne suscepit" (*Infra*, 227).

Normanedy and of Acquitayne, and erl of Angey, to all his liegance, Englysh, Normannes, Walshe, Scottes, and to al oþer that to hym ben sobject, sendeth gretynge. Whan þese lettres to yow ben icom, witte ye þt we Dermot, prence of Leynestre, in our grace and in our goode will have receyvet: wharefore þt all þay that hym as our lawfull man help [1] willeth into hys lond hym to restore, our grace and our goode leve have þay þerto.

Whan McMogh hade the kynges lettres thus ypurchased, þe kynge hym gaf also richely þt hym nedet of his tresaur. He name leve of the kynge, and went in to Englond, and come to Bristow, and sojourned thar awhill; and so mych the blethcher for þr com oft shippes theder out of Irland and men, þt he myght hir tythynge of the lond and of his folk, for his hert was mych therto.

The whill þt he ther was, well oft he let rede þe kynges wrytte tofor the peple, and largely he beheght landes and rentes and rich giftes, if any wer that hym helpe wold. Bot he ne fond noon wt all, that such tynge wolde ne durst undertake, till þr the erle of Strugoill, Richard þe erles son Gilbert, come to hym. Ther was þe perlement so long ydryve betwen ham, and sekiritesse ymakyt, þt the erle shold hym helpe wt all his power þe next somer þr after, and he sholde geve þe erle his doghter wt all þe lond of Leynestre. Whan this was on this maner ypurvayed, for grete talent that McMogh had to ben neer hys lond, as mane tynke . . . . . mery lyghtly as in his kynde stedde, he went hym thennes in to South Walys to Seynt Davyes tone upon þe see; and mych hit gladit his hert, thogh he strongly mourned, þt he might in fayr weder have som dell syght of his lond. In that tyme was prence in Wales Rys Gryffynes son onþer the kynge of Englond, and a swith good man bishopp of Seynt Davy, and was his name also Davy:

[1] *help*] The MS. has "hell." *Help*, as Mr. Earle says, is no doubt the true reading: compare the Latin (*Infra*, 227).

and both þe prence and eke the bishopp well wyrshippfully undrefynge McMorgh, and mych reut had of his enemyte, and of his mych losses, and of þe myche shame þt hym was idone.

In the tyme þt this was so, was in preson wt þe prence of Wales a knyght þt heght Robt Stefenes son, þt som tyme had ybe constable of all South Walys, and many and il turnes had idone upon þe prences men. He was itake and delyverd to the prence, and þre yer he was ihold in presone ar McMorgh theder came. Oft þe prence hym profred to delyver hym out of preson, so þt he wolde be his help to werr up on þe kynge. But Robt was a trew man, and for no tynge wold do thynge wherof he myght be þer after twyted of untrouth. Than þrogh beseching of þe bishopp, and of Morice filz Geraud, þt weren Robertes two bretheren on his moþer half, he was delyver owt of preson on this manere; þt he and Morice his brother shold þe next somer wend into Irland wt ar power to helpe McMorgh, and he shold hym geve þe ton of Weysford wt þe twey next cantreds; and of this was good sekerness imaked on ether half. Whan this thynge was all thus bespoken, McMorgh ne myght ne longer suffre þt he ne most to his land wend, thegh he ne fond not þe adventures that he soght, soch as hym lif wer, ne non other power he ne broght wt hym than he out ladde. He had shyppe redy, and good wynd, and passed overr into Irland, and boldly aryved in land þr he had many fomen and fewe frendes. From þe see he went to Fernes, and well simply he lyved þr all the wynthyr wt þe clergie of þe church, wich well fayr him undrefynge, and by har power to hym and to his foden þt ham was nede.

Under þt tyme Robt Stevnes sone hym dyght to wend in to Irland, as a man þt on all maner wold hold lawfully his trowth and his behest. He had perveied him of xxxti knyghtes, and lx. skyers, and ccc. of foot men wt bowes and arowes; and knyghtes and þe skyers well

horsed and well ywepened, all of hys own kynn and of his own nurtur.

Thay deddene hame to saill att Seine Dawyes, and aryvedene at Banow in Irland, well unsiker on every half.

Thay uncharged har shippes and made ham loges on land. Than was fulfilled a prophecie þ^{t} Merlyn seid of this commynge; A knyght w^{t} perty armes shall formest brek the clos of Irland. Such armes bar þ^{t} Robt. He send sone to Dermod McMorgh, and didde hyme to witt of his commyne; and þ^{e} thedynge spronge fort sone in to all þ^{e} lond, what folke was to hyme icame. And of tho that to for hym hade ileft, and littil told by him, comyn sone to hym, so þ^{t} he had igadered fyve hundred menn, he went witt this folk to þ^{e} Englyssis menn, and þay come to geddyr: every of ham was the gladder for other. Then was the forward inewed[1] bethwen ham, and othes iswore, and sekerness imade, to conferme all þ^{e} forward as hit ther by for was purvayde by for the prence of Wales.

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[1] *inewed*] The reading of the MS. seems to be "menced," which the after transcriber in F. 4. 4. renders "mentyoned." There can scarcely be a doubt, I think, but that Mr. Earle's suggestion of "inewed" or "ineued," gives the true reading. The "Forward inewed" is an exact rendering of the "renovata fœdera" of Giraldus (*Infra*, 231, l. 17).

APPENDIX B.

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APPENDIX B.

Table of the Descendants of the Princess Nesta, who took part in the Invasion of Ireland, mentioned in this Volume.

- Nesta,[1] daughter of Rhys, sister of Griffith, princes of South Wales.
  - Gerald de Windsor, constable of Pembroke.
    - William Fitz-Gerald
      - Reimund.
      - Griffith.
      - A daughter(?)
        - David the Welshman,[5] Reimund's nephew.
    - Maurice Fitz-Gerald
      - William.
      - Gerald.
      - Alexander.
      - Nesta.
    - David Fitz-Gerald, bishop of St. David's.
      - Miles of St. David's.[3]
    - Angharat, wife[2] of William de Barri
      - Robert de Barri.
      - Philip de Barri.
        - Robert de Barri, junior.
        - Philip de Barri.
      - Giraldus Cambrensis.
  - Stephen, constable of Cardigan, *second husband (?)*.
    - Robert Fitz-Stephen
      - Ralph.[4]
      - Meredith.
  - Henry I., king of England.
    - Henry, the king's son
      - Meiler Fitz-Henry.
      - Robert Fitz-Henry.

[*For Notes, see opposite page.*]

[NOTES TO PRECEDING PAGE.]

[1] Nesta has been described as first the mistress of Henry I., then the wife of Gerald de Windsor, constable of Pembroke, and afterwards wife of Stephen, constable of Cardigan. But this order seems to rest on no authority, and her marriage with the latter is very problematical. It is only certain that she was Gerald de Windsor's wife, and had a son attributed to Henry I., and another to Stephen the constable. It appears from the *Itin. Kamb.* of our author (Lib. I., cap. 12, near the beginning), that she married Gerald de Windsor about the year 1095, or soon afterwards : she was probably some years older than her brother Griffith, who is said to have been a mere child when he succeeded their father Rhys in the princedom of South Wales in the year 1091. In the *De Rebus, &c.* (vol. I., 59), Giraldus enumerates her sons, and, it seems clear, with the exception of the bishop of St. David's, according to the order of their birth. First he places her first-born son, William Fitz-Gerald ("Primævus "scilicet, Willelmus filius Giraldi"), then Robert Fitz-Stephen, then Henry the king's son, then Maurice Fitz-Gerald. Accordingly, I have placed the fathers of her children in this order.

In the same place of the *De Rebus, &c.*, Giraldus names three other sons, William Hay, Hoel, and Walter ; and another daughter Gledewis, besides his mother Angharat. As to whom was allotted the paternity of these, there is, so far as I know, no evidence. Nesta, it is certain, had one or more other lovers, besides her royal lover, Henry, or the constable Stephen. It seems plain that she had small scruple about leaving her husband, if it pleased her fancy to roam for a while elsewhere, and that she could return to him after her wanderings. In judging of her morality, we must bear in mind the extreme laxness about marriage matters and the sacredness of the marriage bond, which then prevailed in Wales: she probably did nothing, especially with her princely privileges, that would much, if at all, shock the then Welsh ideas of what was right and wrong.

[2] She was probably his second wife. Giraldus mentions a brother Walter, the step-son of his mother Angharat (*Infra*, 295). But this Walter may have been illegitimate.

[3] Giraldus calls him "Milo Mene-"vensis," nephew of Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and cousin of Reimund ; and says he was one of the first invaders under Fitz-Stephen (*Infra*, 325, 326). No doubt he is the person named by Regan (l. 450), with two or three others of Fitz-Stephen's principal followers, as "Milis . . . Le fiz "l'evesque de Sein-Davi."

[4] These must have been illegitimate sons. Giraldus more than once says, that Fitz-Stephen had no legitimate children (*Infra*, 345, 409).

[5] Giraldus only names him once (*Infra*, 321), "Reimundi nepos "David, agnomine Walensis non "cognomine, natione Kambrensis "non cognatione." It does not necessarily follow from this that he was the son of a sister, and not of a brother of Reimund.

APPENDIX C.

COLLATION OF THE PAGES OF CAMDEN'S EDITION WITH THOSE OF THE PRESENT VOLUME.

Camden.	Present Edition.	Camden.	Present Edition.	Camden.	Present Edition.
692	3	723	102	754	200
693	6	724	105	755	207
694	8	725	108	756	210
695	11	726	111	757	216
696	14	727	114	758	218
697	17	728	117	759	221
698	20	729	120	760	224
699	22	730	123	761	228
700	25	731	125	762	231
701	29	732	129	763	234
702	33	733	132	764	237
703	36	734	135	765	240
704	40	735	138	766	243
705	43	736	141	767	246
706	46	737	145	768	249
707	50	738	148	769	252
708	53	739	151	770	256
709	56	740	155	771	259
710	59	741	158	772	263
711	62	742	161	773	266
712	66	743	164	774	270
713	69	744	168	775	273
714	72	745	171	776	277
715	75	746	174	777	281
716	79	747	177	778	285
717	82	748	181	779	288
718	85	749	183	780	291
719	89	750	186	781	294
720	92	751	190	782	297
721	95	752	193	783	301
722	99	753	196	784	304

Camden.	Present Edition.	Camden.	Present Edition.	Camden.	Present Edition.
785	308	795	342	805	377
786	311	796	346	806	380
787	315	797	350	807	385
788	319	798	353	808	389
789	322	799	356	809	393
790	326	800	360	810	396
791	329	801	363	811	399
792	332	802	367	812	407
793	335	803	370	813	409
794	338	804	373		

APPENDIX D.

SUMMARY OF THE MSS. USED FOR THIS VOLUME.

[In the order in which they are referred to in the notes.]

[By "early" after a MS. is meant that it is of Giraldus's own time, or within a few years after. By "not early," that it cannot be attributed to his time or anywhere very near to it, but still was probably written not very long after, before the end of the thirteenth century. By "late," that it is a fourteenth century or still later MS.]

MSS. of the Topographia, 1st edition :

M., early, Univ. Lib. Camb. Mm. 5, 30 ; *supra,* xi.
H., early (?), Harleian, 3724 (Brit. Mus.) ; *supra,* xii.
P., late, Peter House Camb. 181 ; *supra,* xii.

Of the same, 2nd edition :

C., early, C. C. Coll. Camb. 400 ; *supra,* xiv.
Bb., early, Rawlinson, B. 483 (Bodleian) ; *supra,* xv.
W., early, Westminster Abbey ; *supra,* xvi.

Of the same, 3rd edition :

A., early, Arundel 14 (Brit. Mus.) ; *supra,* xvii.
Bc., very late, Bodley 511 (Bodleian) ; *supra,* xix.
R., early, Bib. Reg. 13 B. viii. (Brit. Mus.) ; *supra,* xx.
B., early, Rawlinson B. 188 (Bodleian) ; *supra,* xxi.

Of the same, 4th edition :

R., again, with marginal additions ; *supra,* xxi.
F., not early, Univ. Lib. Camb. Ff. 1, 27 ; *supra,* xxii.

Of the same, late edition :

Ba., not early, Laud 720 (Bodleian) ; *supra*, xxv.

Cl., late, Cott. Cleopatra D. v. (Brit. Mus.) ; *supra*, xxvi.

Hb., late, Harleian 4003 (Brit. Mus.) ; *supra*, xxvii.

Rb., late, Bib. Reg. 13 A. xiv. (Brit. Mus.) ; *supra*, xxvii.

MSS. of the Expugnatio, 1st edition :

L., early, Lambeth 371 ; *supra*, xxix.

R. and B., as above under the *Topographia ; supra*, xxxii.

Of the same, 2nd edition :

R. again, with marginal additions ; *supra*, xxxiv.

F., as above under the *Topographia ; supra*, xxxiv.

Ha., not early, Harleian 177 (Brit. Mus.) ; *supra*, xxxv.

T., not early, Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 7, 11 ; *supra*, xxxvi.

[This MS. used also for the prefaces of the *Topographia*, and chapters 46–53 of the Third Distinction.]

Of the same, late edition :

Cl., Hb., and Rb., as above under the *Topographia ; supra*, xxxviii.

Ra., late, Bib. Reg. 14 C. xiii. (Brit. Mus.) ; *supra*, xxxix.

I have not considered it necessary to give the various readings always of all these MSS. It would have been a very useless overloading of my pages. For instance, I have been satisfied with giving always the readings of (M.), the earliest and most valuable of the MSS. of the first edition of the *Topographia* ; I have seldom given those of (H.), except when it differs from (M.), and scarcely ever those of (P.), except where it supplies the portions lost in (M.). And so again of the MSS. of the second edition, I have seldom referred to (W.), an early

but most inaccurate MS., except where it supplies the missing portions of an excellent early MS. (Bb.), with which it exactly agrees as to contents. And so in other cases.

When, as is constantly the case, I refer to one or more MSS., and add an &c., it means that all after MSS., as in the above order, excepting of course the MSS. that are cited as giving a different reading, agree with that one or more in their reading.

Sometimes I put a reading by itself different from that in the text, with one or perhaps two MSS. attached to it, which means that it is the reading of the one or two MSS. only, and that the reading of the text is found in all the other MSS.

Evident blunders I have scarcely ever noticed, except in the case of two or three of the best MSS., upon which I have mainly formed my text.

In the case of proper names, of persons, places, &c. I have seldom given the variations of any but the earlier MSS. The readings of the late MSS., very incorrect often, would have occupied often no small space in my notes, and are certainly not worth recording.

The 1, 1 *b*, 2, 2 *b*, and so on, in the margins of my pages, are the numberings of the folios of MS. (R.), Bib. Reg. 13 B. viii., the MS. more especially upon which my text is grounded.

CORRIGENDA.

Page lxxxv, line 23. Instead of *thc* read " the."

„ 76, note (1), l. 3. After *Expug. Hibern.* add;—" not of the early " editions, as in my text, *infra*, 211, but of the late editions, as " given there in note (5.)"

„ 112. In first line of marginal note to Cap. XXVII., instead of *crows* read " ravens."

„ 194, l. 7. Insert a comma after *lumen.*

„ 218. Erase note (1) : *Lismoriensi* of the text is right.

„ 418, ll. 16–19. Erase this gloss, and substitute as follows:—" Chenachus, 135 ; **Cainnech**, St. Canice, abbot; of Aghaboe, " Kilkenny, and Finglas. Said to have died A.D. 598 : " commemorated Oct. 11. From him Finglas was called " **Fionnghlaise-Chainnigh**."

„ 441, instead of *Chainnigh* of the Index read " Canice."

Supra, p. xxxii, l. 15. Instead of 2, the note reference to the word *book*, read 1.

„ p. lx, l. 1. Instead of *th* read " this."

GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS

TOPOGRAPHIA HIBERNICA.

GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS

TOPOGRAPHIA HIBERNICA.

[LIBER[1] GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS DE MIRABILIBUS HIBERNIÆ.]

INTROITUS[2] IN RECITATIONEM. I.

CONSIDERANTI mihi quam brevis et fluxa sit vita quam ducimus, eorum præclara fuisse videtur intentio, quibus, nondum patefacta vitæ via, operæ pretium fuit et curæ, egregium aliquod mundo memoriale relinquere, famamque sui perlongam facere, et momentaneam istam saltem memoria vivere posse post vitam. Unde[3] et in egregiis legitur poetarum libris; *Fame the first great object of authors.*

"Denique,[4] si quis adhuc prætendit nubila livor,
"Occidet; et meriti post me referentur honores." *Stat. Theb. xii. 818.*

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[1] *Liber, &c.*] This rubrical heading in Bb. only.

[2] *Introitus, &c.*] C. Bb. A. R. B. F. Ba.; Præfatio prima in Hibernicam Topographiam, Cl. Rb. This Introit is in none of the MSS. of the first edition, M. H. P.; though it would seem to have received its name from having been introductory to the public recitation of the Topography at Oxford by Giraldus, as soon as the work was written. The first Preface, however, of the Expugnatio is in like manner called "Introitus in recitationem," though this work was not, like the Topography, publicly recited.

[3] *Unde et . . . præsagia vivam*] Not in W. Bb.; in margin of C.; in text of A. R. B., &c.

[4] Instead of "Denique" Statius has "Mox tibi."

Et alibi;

Ov. Met. xv. 877.

"Quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
"Ore legar populi; perque omnia secula fama,
"Si quid habent veri vatum præsagia, vivam."

The rewards of princes the second.

Hæc summis auctoribus prima fuit et præcipua scribendi occasio. Altera vero, nec merito minus quam numero secunda, nobilium principum tam remuneratio quam exhortatio. Honores enim artes nutrire solent;

Juv. vii. 69.

"Nam si Virgilio puer, et tolerabile desit
"Hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydræ."

Item;

Juv. vii. 64.

"Quis locus ingenio, nisi cum se carmine solo
"Vexant, et dominis Cirræ Nisæque feruntur
"Pectora nostra, duas non admittentia curas?"

Prov. xxx. 8.

Philosophia tamen, tam mediocritatis amica quam modestiæ, nec opulentia gaudens, nec inopiam admittens, in Salomone clamasse videtur; "Divitias et "paupertates ne mihi dederis, Deus; sed tantum "necessaria." Licet enim mediocribus esse poetis non liceat, quoniam

Hor. A. P. 373.

"Non dii, non homines, non concessere columnæ,"

mediocris tamen competit eis, etsi non scientia, sufficientia.

The latter reason for writing no longer in existence.

Cessante igitur olim occasione scribendi hac ultima, cessare cœperunt et poemata. Nec tamen omnino vel poesis abolita, vel absumpta est philosophia; nec rerum inclite gestarum memorabilis auctoritas obsolevit. Non enim desunt literæ, sed principes literati; non desunt artes, sed artium honores. Nec hodie destitissent scriptores optimi, si non desiissent imperatores electi. Da igitur Pirrum; dabis Homerum. Da Pompeium; dabis et Tullium. Da Gaium, et Augustum; Virgilium quoque dabis et Flaccum.

No learned princes, and no honours to be won.

Ceterum, quamvis defectu principum cesset in nobis causa secunda, scribere nos tamen prior illa præmonet et potissima. Hoc etiam animositatis tam scintillam adjicere, quam et innatum ignem inflammare potest; quod tantis auctoribus et tot innitentes, eorumque tanquam humeris insidentes, multiplicatæ majestatis beneficio magni fieri possumus, si magnanimi. Nobiles nimirum ausus nihil æque impedit ut diffidentia; omnis appetendi conatus perit, ex desperatione consequendi. Latet ob hoc sub otio laudabilis plerumque virtus et eruditio: et dum se probandi[1] formidat exercitium, occulta manet[2] lux tota meritorum. Hinc accidit ut scientissimi plerique se nesciendo senescant; et dum vires ingenii non experiuntur igne animi vacui, veluti pecora pereunt, et nomen eorum non memorabitur ultra. 1 b.

The first reason a sufficient incentive to Giraldus.

Unde et quoniam

" Paulum sepultæ distat inertiæ
" Celata virtus;" Hor. 4 Od. ix. 29.

" Degeneres animos timor arguit;" Virg. Æn. iv. 13.

" Dimidium facti, qui cœpit, habet;" Hor. 1 Ep. ii. 40.

" Audaces fortuna juvat;" Virg. Æn. x. 284.

scribere proposui; et lividorum malitia ridiculosus censeri, potius quam bonorum arbitrio meticulosus elegi. Illo quoque Ciceronis exemplo retardari non potui: " Ea," inquit, "re poemata non scribo, quia qualia " volo non possum, qualia possum nolo." Mihi enimvero ea mens est, et in hanc partem tam vehemens;

" Cum neque chorda sonum reddat, quem vult
" manus et mens; Hor. A. P. 348 & 350.
" Nec semper feriat[3] quodcunque minabitur arcus;"

si qualia volo non possum, qualia possum volo.

Præsumptuosus itaque dicar, an providus? Qui tantis lucubrationibus elaborandum mihi onus arripui,

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[1] *se probandi*] C. A. R. B., &c.; reprobandi, W. Bb.

[2] *manet*] C. A. R. B. &c.; est, W. Bb.

[3] *feriat*] C. Bb. A. B., &c.; feriet, R. F. In *Horace* the sentence stands, "Nam neque . . . reddit," and "feriet."

ut invidiam in vita, gloriam forte post fata compararem.

Talia siquidem mihi dudum proponenti, diuque in animo anxie volventi, vix tandem angulus unus, quasi ab aliis relictus, terrarum scilicet finis Hibernicus orbis occurrit; nec ille omnino intactus; nullius tamen hactenus stilo absolute comprehensus.

He chooses Ireland for his subject;

Sed ab Hibernia potestne aliquid boni esse? Numquid montes illi stillabunt dulcedinem, et valles fluent mel et lac? Sugamus ergo mel de petra, et oleum de saxo: et faciamus quod oratores facere solent. Quibus in admirabili genere causæ acuenda præcipue sunt arma facundiæ, ut exilitatem materiæ gravior stilus attollat,

though an unpromising one.

"Et ferat[1] invalidæ robur facundia causæ."

Lucan, Phars. vii. 67.

Quibus et ad hoc propensius enitendum, ut in quo non prævalent esse fecundi, fieri valeant vel facundi; ut in quo parum potuit ratio, plurimum posse videatur oratio. Hæc est enim virtus, hic vigor eloquentiæ, ut nihil[2] tam exile quod non extollat, nihil tam plenum cui non adjiciat, nihil tam obscurum quod non illuminet, nihil tam clarum quod non illustret. Quia, ut ait magnus ille prætextatus in *Paradoxis*, "Nihil tam incredibile, quod non dicendo probabile "fiat; nihil tam horridum et tam incultum, quod non "splendescat oratione, et tanquam excolatur."

Cic. Paradox., Proœmium.

Verumtamen eruditis auribus, summæque eloquentiæ viris, et minus medullata sententiis oratio, et jejuna verborum macies quæ propinabit? Supervacaneum enim est, et omnino superfluum, tam inter eloquentes arida, quam inter scientes usitata proferre. Quam igitur vocem inter olores canoros clamosus anser emittet? Nova namque palam, an nota proponet? Frequentata et trita fastidium generant; auctoritatem

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[1] Instead of "Et ferat" Lucan has "Addidit."

[2] *nihil*] C. Bb. A., &c. nil, R. B. F.

nova non habent. Quoniam, ut ait Plinius,[1] "Ardua "res est vetustis novitatem dare, novis auctoritatem, "obsoletis nitorem, fastiditis gratiam, obscuris lucem, "et dubiis fidem, et omnibus naturam."

Aggrediar tamen utcunque novis quibusdam, et quæ vel nullis hactenus edita sunt, vel perpaucis enucleata, lectoris animum excitare; expressamque Hiberniæ topographiam hoc opusculo quasi speculo quodam dilucido repræsentare, et cunctis in commune palam facere.

Terrarum enimvero remotissimarum tam qualitates
quam situs saltem a longe speculari, et abditas ab
antiquo proprietates evolvere; rerumque omnium fere,
quas vel mundo majori ad ornatum, vel minori ad
usum natura produxit, tam naturas quam defectus
enodare; necnon et naturæ ipsius excursus tam stu-
pendos explicare; variarumque gentium originalem a
puncto lineam ducere; hominumque mores nosse mul-
torum; et quoniam tarda et infirma est terra quam
gerimus, parte nostri[2] meliore mundum universum, 2.
mundique causas vel mente percurrere, et omnia in
promptu habere, studiosis animis non ultima laus est.

Plan of this work.

Est itaque trimembris operis hujus partitio. Prima continet de situ Hiberniæ, localique ipsius cum majore Britannia proportione; de qualitate terræ et inæqualitate, et proprietatibus ejusdem variis; de piscibus et avibus, situ potius quam ortu distantibus; de feris et vermibus, singulorumque tam naturis quam defectibus, et venenosis omnibus hic deficientibus; de orientis quoque et occidentis collatione, et occidentalium non immerito prælatione; sicut distincte præscripta declarant capitula. Secunda vero prodigiosa naturæ ludentis exprimit opera; nec tantum[3] in hac regione reperta, sed et alia quælibet, dum tamen his fuerint undecunque concordia. Depromit etiam virtutibus inclita,

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[1] In preface to his Natural History. Not quoted exactly.

[2] *nostri*] Bb. A. R. B. F. Ba. Cl., &c.; nostra, C. T.

[3] *nec tantum . . . concordia*] Not in W. Bb.

egregiis quoque et inauditis a seculo declarata miraculis sanctorum præconia. Tertia quidem de primis terræ istius incolis, singulisque seriatim diversarum nationum tam adventibus quam defectibus; de gentis Hibernicæ, quæ usque hodie insulam inhabitat,[1] naturis et moribus; ejusdemque per advenas expugnationibus. Totam denique gentis hujus, usque ad nostra jam tempora, memoratu dignam producit historiam.

But small aid from Irish writings.

In duabus primis nullam prorsus ex scriptis Hibernicis evidentiam, nullum penitus inveni, præter ipsam inquisitionis diligentiam, extrinseci juvaminis adminiculum. In tertia sola, de habitatoribus insulæ, et gentium origine, aliquam ex eorum chronicis contraxi notitiam. Verumtamen ea quæ ab ipsis diffuse nimis et inordinate, magnaque ex parte superflue satis et frivole, rudi quoque et agresti stilo congesta fuerant, non absque labore plurimo, tanquam marinas inter arenas gemmas eligens et excipiens, elegantiora quæque præsenti volumine quanto compendiosius potui lucidiusque digessi.

Sed quoniam, misera humanæ imperfectionis conditione,

Hor. A.P. 364.

"Judicis argutum labor hic formidat acumen,"

laudem tamen mereri poterit, etsi non opus, vel operantis affectus. Amor enim studii non illaudabilis; nec illaudabile videtur, inter importunas et importabiles fere curiæ curas, aliquis respectus honesti. Laudetur itaque, mancipato servituti corpore, animus liber. Et quoniam sapientis est proprium, ab exteriore vicissim vexatione spiritus alacritate respirare, et fastidiosa quælibet alterna delectatione[2] distinguere, cum nihil laboriosum videri possit quod jocundum, nobile laudetur otium inter negotia multa.

[1] *inhabitat*] A. R. B. F.; habitat, C. Bb. Ba., &c

[2] *delectatione*] C. Bb. A. B., &c.; delectione, R. F.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI GIRALDI KAMBRENSIS DE DESCRIPTIONE[1] HIBERNIÆ.

In tres particulas[2] *libellus iste distinguitur.*

[I.][3]—Prima distinctio continet de situ Hiberniæ.
De distantia inter Hiberniam et Britanniam.
Quam terram et quam remotam habeat ab austro.
Quam ab aquilone, quam ab oriente, et quid ab occidente.
[II.]—De Hispanico[4] mari duobus brachiis Britanniam et Hiberniam complectente.
Qua proportione Hibernia Britanniæ respondeat in quantitate.
De longitudine Hiberniæ et latitudine.[5]
[III.]—De variis Solini, Horosii, et Hysidori, et Bedæ sententiis; quibusdam veris, quibusdam erroneis.
[IV.]—De qualitate terræ et inæqualitate.
Quod terra montuosa sabulosa magis quam saxosa.[6]
[V.]—De glebæ fertilitate; et granis minutis, et vanni beneficio vix purgandis.

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[1] *descriptione*] C. R. B. F.; mirabilibus, Bb. Ba. Cl. Rb.

[2] *particulas*] C. Bb. R., &c.; partes, M. The first edition, as in M. P., commences with this rubric. These *capitula* not in H. A. Bc.

[3] There is no numbering, in the MSS., to these headings. For convenience sake I add numbers, corresponding to the chapters themselves *infra*, but enclose them within brackets.

[4] *De Hispanico . . . complectente*] Not in M.

[5] This clause misplaced in the MSS., coming after III.

[6] This clause again misplaced in the MSS., coming after the first clause of VI.

[VI.]—De ventositate et pluviositate; earumque causis.
De coro hic regnante, et arbores inclinante.
[VII.]—De novem fluminibus principalibus; et aliis pluribus nuper emersis.
2 b. [VIII.]—De lacubus, et eorum insulis.
[IX.]—De marinis, et fluvialibus, et lacuum piscibus; eorumque defectibus.
[X.]—De piscibus novis et alibi non inventis.
[XI.]—De avibus, earumque defectibus; [et tam naturis, quam allegoriis.][1]
[XII.]—De accipitre, falcone, et niso; eorumque natura.
[XIII.]—De aquila, ejusque natura.
[XIV.]—De grue, ejusque natura.
[XV.]—De bernacis, ex abiete nascentibus; earumque natura.
[XVI.]—De avibus biformibus, earumque naturis.
[XVII.][2]—De avibus quasi adulterinis, et non veris.
[XVIII.]—De martinetis, earumque naturis.
[XIX.]—De cygnis, et ciconiis; earumque naturis.
[XX.][2]—De avibus hiemali tempore non comparentibus.
[XXI.][3]—De cicadis, quæ decapitatæ dulcius canunt; diuque mortuæ, per se reviviscunt.
[XXII.]—De cornicibus hic variis; earumque naturis.
[XXIII.][4]—De croeriis hic albis; earumque naturis.
[XXIV.]—De feris; earumque naturis, et defectibus.
De cervis,[5] apris, et leporibus hic minutis.
Quod omnia animalia, præter homines, hic quam alibi minora.
[XXV.]—De taxo, ejusque natura.
[XXVI.]—De castore, ejusque natura.

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[1] *et tam nat. quam alleg.*] Not in M. C. Bb. R. B. F.; in Ba, Cl. Rb.

[2] The "Capitula" XVII. and XX. not in M., though the chapters themselves in M. *infra*.

[3] XXI. not in M.

[4] XXIII. not in M. W. Bb.; in margin of C.; in text of R., &c.

[5] The two clauses, "De cervis, &c. . . . minora," not in M.

[XXVII.] [1]—De mustelis, earumque naturis.

[XXVIII.]—De vermibus, eorumque defectibus; et venenosis omnibus hic deficientibus.

[XXIX.]—De venenosis vermibus, qui huc allati statim moriuntur; et toxico malitiam amittente.

[XXX.]—De pulvere terræ istius venenosos vermes necante.

[XXXI.]—De corrigiis terræ istius contra venena conferentibus.

[XXXII.]—De rana in Hibernia nuper inventa.

[XXXIII.]—De variis insulæ laudibus, terræque naturis.

Quod [2] ex omni vento hic brumescit.

Quod medicis hæc insula parum indiget.

Quod Hibernenses sola acuta vexantur.

[XXXIV.]—De comparatione [3] orientis et occidentis.

[XXXV.]—Quod omnia elementa in oriente pestifera.

[XXXVI.]—De venenorum ibidem malitia, et aeris inclementia.

[XXXVII.]—De aeris nostri clementia incomparabili.

[XXXVIII.]—De laudabilibus hic quarundam rerum defectibus.

[XXXIX.]—Quod fons venenorum in oriente.

[XL.] [4]—Quod occidentalia commoda sunt orientalibus præferenda.

Secunda [5] *Distinctio continet de mirabilibus Hiberniæ et miraculis.*

[I.]—De Hibernico mari undosissimo; variisque fluxibus ejusdem et refluxibus.

[II.]—De contrariis æquoreis fluxibus in Hibernia et Britannia.

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[1] XXVII. not in M.

[2] *Quod . . . . vexantur*] These three clauses not in M.

[3] *De comparatione, &c.*] Instead of this heading, M. has, "Quod occidentalia commoda sunt orientalibus præferenda."

[4] XL. not in M.

[5] Before this rubric is, in Ba. only, "Capitula secundæ Distinctionis."

[III.] — Quod luna tam liquores moderatur quam humores.

[IV.]—De duabus insulis; in quarum altera nemo moritur, in alteram feminei [1] sexus animal non intrat.

[V.]—De insula, cujus pars una bonis, altera malis spiritibus est frequentata.

[VI.]—De insula, ubi hominum corpora sub divo posita non putrescunt.

[VII.]—De mirandis fontium naturis.

[VIII.]—De duobus, Britanniæ scilicet Armoricæ et Sciciliæ, fontibus admirandis.

[IX.]—De lacu magno, miram originem habente.

[X.]—De pisce, tres dentes aureos habente.

[XI.]—De insulis borealibus; quarum fere omnium dominium Norwagienses habent.

[XII.]—De insula, primo instabili, tandem per ignem stabili facta.

[XIII.]—De Yslandia,[2] quæ gentem breviloquam et veridicam habet, et juramento non utentem.

[XIV.]—De voragine maris, naves absorbente.

[XV.]—De Mania [3] insula; quæ privilegio venenosorum vermium quos admittit Britanniæ censetur applicanda.

[XVI.]—Quod longe post diluvium, nec subito, sed paulatim et quasi per eluvionem insulæ natæ sunt.

[XVII.]—De Tyle, occidentali insula; quæ apud orientales est famosissima, cum occidentalibus sit prorsus incognita.

[XVIII.]—De chorea gigantum, ab Hibernia in Britanniam translata.

[XIX.]—De mirabilibus nostri temporis; et primo de lupo, cum sacerdote loquente.

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[1] *feminei*] M. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; feminini, C. W. Bb.

[2] *Yslandia*] M. R. B. F.; Hyslandia, C. Bb. Ba.

[3] *Mania*] C. R. B. F. Cl.; Manna, M. Bb.; Monia, Ba.

[1] XL.–XLIII. not in M. | [2] *sancti*] In C. only.

[XLV.]—De eadem cruce immobili facta.

[XLVI.]—De denario cruci oblato bis resiliente, et tertio post confessionem remanente; et ocreis ferreis miraculose restitutis.

XLVII.]—De phrenetico apud Fernas, verbis de præterito futura prædicente.

XLVIII.]—De sagittario, qui sepem Brigidæ transiliit, insaniente; et alio tibiam amittente.

[XLIX.]—De tritici semine, per imprecationem Corcagiensis[1] episcopi non proveniente; et anno sequente in siliginem[2] miraculose converso.

[L.]—De Philippo Wigorniensi, apud Archmaciam passione percusso; et Hugone Tirello divinitus flagellato.

[LI.]—De molendino, quod nec diebus dominicis, nec de furto vel rapina quicquam molit.

[LII.]—De molendino sancti Phechini,[3] quod feminæ non intrant.

[LIII.]—De duobus equis, qui avenam de eodem molendino raptam comedentes statim interierunt.

[LIV.][4]—De sagittariis apud Fineglas[5] divinitus condemnatis.

[LV.]—Quod sancti terræ istius animi vindicis esse videntur.

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[1] *Corcagiensis*] C. Bb. Ba.; Corchagiensis, M.; Corgagiensis, R. B. F. "Corcagia" (Cork) is a name that will frequently occur, in this treatise, and in the *Expugnatio*. It is, of course, variously spelt; in three or four different ways, perhaps, in every MS. But "Corcagia" is the most general in the early and best MSS., and to it I shall adhere without further notice of variations.

[2] *in siliginem*] So all the MSS. and Camden, though it must be a mistake. See the chapter *infra*.

[3] *sancti Phechini*] Not in M.

[4] LIV. not in M.

[5] *Fineglas*] W. R. B. F. Cl.; Phineglas, C. Bb. Ba.

Tertia[1] *Distinctio continet de terræ istius habitatoribus.*

[I.]—De primo adventu; Cæsaræ scilicet, neptis Noe, ante diluvium.

[II.]—De secundo adventu; Bartholani scilicet, ccc. annis post diluvium.

[III.]—De tertio adventu; Nemedi scilicet, a partibus Scithiæ, cum quatuor filiis suis.

[IV.]—De quarto adventu; quinque scilicet fratrum, et filiorum Dela. Qui primo Hiberniam in quinque portiones æquales[2] diviserunt.

[V.]—De primo Hiberniæ monarcha, scilicet Slanio.

[VI.]—De quinto adventu: quatuor scilicet filiorum Milesii regis, de partibus Hispaniæ. Et qualiter Herimon et Heberus regnum inter se diviserunt.

[VII.]—De fratrum discordia: et qualiter, interfecto Hebero, de Hiberniensi populo primus Herimon monarcha fuit.

Quod ab[3] Hebero, vel potius Hybero Hispaniæ fluvio, dicti sunt Hibernienses.

Unde vocati sunt Gaideli: et unde Scoti.

[VIII.] — De Gurguintio, Britonum rege. Qui Basclenses[4] in Hiberniam transmisit, et eandem ipsis inhabitandam concessit.

De duplici[5] jure antiquo, quo Britanniæ reges Hibernia contingit.

[IX.][6]—De triplici novo jure.

[X.]—De gentis istius natura, moribus, et cultu.

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[1] Before this rubric there is, in Ba. only, "Capitula tertiæ Distinc-"tionis."

[2] *æquales*] Not in M.

[3] *Quod ab . . . Scoti*] These two clauses not in M.

[4] *Basclenses*] M. C. Bb. B. Ba.; Blasclenses, R. F.

[5] *De duplici, &c.*] This clause not in M.

[6] IX. not in M. But M. has a chapter *infra* headed with "De du-"plici novo jure."

Quod Hibernienses[1] naturæ beneficio pulcherrimi; moribus vero, et cultu turpissimi.

[XI.][2]—De gentis istius in musicis instrumentis peritia incomparabili.

[XII.][2]—De commodis et effectibus musicæ.

[XIII.][3]—De primis musicæ consonantiæ inventoribus.

[XIV.][3]—De præcipuo musicorum instrumentorum cultore ac ornatore.

[XV.][3]—De nomine musicæ.

[XVI.—Quot reges ab Herimone usque ad adventum Patricii regnaverunt. Et quod insula per ipsum ad fidem conversa est.

[XVII.]—Quod archiepiscopi nulli in Hibernia fuerunt ante adventum Johannis Papironis: qui quatuor pallia in Hibernia[4] plantavit.

[XVIII.]—Quod tria corpora, Patricii scilicet, Columbæ, et Brigidæ, apud Ultoniam, in Dunensi civitate, his nostris diebus inventa sunt et translata.

3 b. [XIX].—De Hiberniensibus in fidei rudimentis incultissimis.

[XX.]—De eorum nequitiis et proditionibus.

[XXI.]—De securi; quam semper in manu pro baculo bajulant.

[XXII.]—De argumento nequitiæ; et novo desponsationis modo.

[XXIII.][5]—De fratribus et cognatis, quos odio persequuntur; solum alumnis et collactaneis fidem habentes et amorem.

[XXIV.]—De advenis[6] quoque eodem vitio contaminatis.

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[1] *Quod Hibernienses, &c.*] This clause not in M. here, but instead of XXIV. *infra*.

[2] XII. before XI. in M. But there is no chapter in M. II. or P. *infra* corresponding to XII.

[3] XIII., XIV., and XV. not in M.

[4] *Hibernia*] W. R. B. F., and in heading of chapter *infra*; insula, C. Bb. Ba. Cl. Rb.

[5] XXIII. not in M., though the chapter itself in M. *infra*.

[6] *De advenis, &c.*] Instead of this M. has "Quod Hibernienses, &c.," as in X. *supra*.

[XXV.]—De novo et enormi regni et dominii confirmationis modo.

[XXVI.]—De multis in [1] insula nunquam baptizatis; et ad quos nondum fidei doctrina pervenit.

[XXVII.]—De clero Hiberniæ, in multis laudabili.

Quod [2] ubi vina dominantur, Venus non regnat.

[XXVIII.]—De prælatis, ex pastorali negligentia corripiendis.

Quod omnes [3] Hiberniæ sancti confessores sunt, et nullus martyr.

[XXIX.] — Quod omnes fere episcopi Hiberniæ de monasteriis in clerum assumpti sunt.

Quod monachi,[4] in clerum electi, quæ clerici sunt agere debent.

[XXX.]—Qualiter a monachis clerici distent, et eis præferantur.

Quod prælati, a [5] monasteriis in clerum assumpti, quædam ex monachis, quædam vero ex clericis contrahere debent.

[XXXI.] [6]—Quod quidam intus esse videntur, qui foras missi sunt: et e diverso.

[XXXII.] — De obliqua Cassiliensis archiepiscopi responsione.

[XXXIII.]—De campanis, et baculis, aliisque hujusmodi sanctorum reliquiis; tam ab Hibernico et Scotico, quam et Walensi [7] populo, in magna reverentia habitis.

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[1] The 'Capitula' in M. here end abruptly, in middle of a column, and middle of a line. The collation of the remaining 'capitula,' as in the first edition, is from the Peterhouse MS. (P).

[2] *Quod ubi . . . regnat*] Not in P.

[3] *Quod omnes . . . martyr*] This, and first part of XXIX., "Quod "omnes . . . assumpti sunt," not in P.

[4] *Quod monachi . . . debent*] In P. this comes after the first clause of XXX.

[5] *a*] R. B. F.; ex, P. C. Bb. Ba. Cl.

[6] XXXI. not in P.

[7] *ab Hibernico . . . Walensi*] C. Bb. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; a Wallensi quam Hibernensi, P.

[XXXIV.]—De baculo[1] virtuosissimo, quem baculum Jesu vocant.

Et sacerdote[2] duplici passione percusso.

[XXXV.]—De corpore vitiatis in hac natione quamplurimis.[3]

[XXXVI.]—Quot reges, a tempore Patricii, usque ad Turgesii adventum regnaverunt.

[XXXVII.]—Quod tempore[4] Fedlimidii regis, Norwagienses, Turgesio duce, Hiberniam expugnaverunt.

[XXXVIII.] — Quod Angli Gurmundum, Hibernici Turgesium, Hiberniam dicunt subjugasse.

[XXXIX.][5] — Unde Gurmundus in Hiberniam vel Britanniam advenerit.

[XL.]—Qualiter, interfecto in Gallia Gurmundo, Turgesius in Hibernia dolo puellarum delusus occubuit.

[XLI.][6]—De Norwagiensibus, qui circiter annos triginta regnaverant, ab Hibernia expulsis.

[XLII.]—De dolosa regis Medensis quæstione.

[XLIII.]—De Ostmannorum adventu.

[XLIV.] — Quot reges in Hibernia regnaverunt, ab obitu Turgesii, usque ad ultimum Hiberniæ monarcham Rothericum.

[XLV.]—Quot reges fuerunt, a primo Herimone, usque ad hunc ultimum Rothericum.

[XLVI.]—Quod a primo adventu suo, usque ad Gurmundum et Turgesium, et ab obitu eorum usque ad Anglorum regem Henricum secundum, gens Hibernica manserit inconcussa.

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[1] *De baculo . . . vocant*] Not in P. In margin of C. In text of Bb. R. B., &c.

[2] *Et sacerdote . . . . percusso*] This, in P., forms part of XXXIII., and is still, by mistake, left there in C. Bb. R. B. F. Ba., &c. See the chapter itself, *infra*.

[3] *quamplurimis*] R. B. F. Ba. Cl. Rb.; quampluribus, P. C. W. Bb.

[4] *Quod tempore*] P. C. W. Bb. Ba., &c.; Quod reges a tempore, R. B. F.

[5] XL. comes before XXXIX. in P., though not the case as to the chapters themselves *infra*.

[6] In like manner, XLII. is before XLI. in P.

[XLVII.]—De victoriis Anglorum regis Henrici secundi.

[XLVIII.]—De titulis et triumphis ejusdem variis recapitulatio brevis.

[XLIX.][1]—De titulis Henrici tertii.

[L.]—De titulis Pictaviensis.

[LI.]—De diversitate duorum.

[LII.]—De Britone, et Hibernico.

[LIII.]—De fratrum inter se et cum patre discordia.

[LIV.]—De Saxonica, Hispanica, et Sicula.

[1] XLIX.-LIV. not in P.

[PRÆFATIO SECUNDA.][1]

Illustri Anglorum regi Henrico secundo suus Giraldus.[2]

Giraldus, sent by Henry II. into Ireland with prince John, a diligent searcher into the history of the country.
4.

Placuit excellentiæ vestræ, invictissime Anglorum rex, Normanniæ dux et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ,[3] me cum dilecto filio vestro Johanne in Hiberniam a latere vestro transmittere. Ubi non tanquam transfugæ, sed exploratoris officio fungens, cum in primis multa notarem[4] aliis regionibus aliena nimis et prorsus incognita, suique novitate valde miranda; cœpi diligens scrutator eruere, quis terræ situs, quæ natura, quæ gentis origo, qui mores; quoties, a quibus, et qualiter subacta sit et expugnata; quæ nova, quæve secreta, contra solitum sui cursum, in occiduis et extremis terrarum finibus natura reposuit.[5] Quos ultra fines nec terra subsistit, nec hominum vel ferarum habitatio est ulla: sed trans omnem horizontem in infinitum per investigabiles et occultas vias solus oceanus circumfertur et evagatur. Sicut enim orientales plagæ propriis quibusdam et sibi innatis præ-

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[1] *Præfatio secunda*] Cl. Rb.; Incipit Topographia Hibernica, A. A folio is lost in M., which wants this preface and chapters I.–V. A folio also lost in Bb., which wants this preface, Cap. I., and all of Cap. II. but the last section.

[2] *suus Giraldus*] C. R. F. T.; suus Girardus, W. A. B.; suus Silvester, H. P.; Giraldus Kambrensis, Ba. Cl. Rb.

[3] *dux et Aquit. et comes Andeg.*] C. W. A. R., &c.; dux et Andegaviæ comes et Acquietaniæ, H. P.

[4] *Ubi non tanquam . . . notarem*] C. W. A. R., &c.; Ubi cum multa viderem, H. P.

[5] *reposuit*] C. R. B. F. T. Ba., &c.; recondidit, H. P. W. A.

eminent et præcellunt ostentis, sic et occidentales circumferentiæ suis naturæ miraculis illustrantur. Quoties quippe, tanquam seriis et veris fatigata negotiis, paululum secedit et excedit, remotis in[1] partibus, quasi verecundis et occultis natura ludit excessibus. Collectis igitur et electis elegantioribus cunctis, ea quæ memoria digna videbantur non inutile duxi in unum congerere, et industriæ vestræ, quam nulla fere latet historia, propalare.

This result of his enquiries,

Poteram quidem, ut alii, aurea forte munuscula, falcones, et accipitres, quibus abundat insula, vestræ sublimitati destinasse. Sed quia magnanimo principi parvi pendenda putavi, quæ de facili præterire possunt et perire; ea potius curavi celsitudini vestræ mitti, quæ non possunt amitti; illis posteritatem per vos instruere, quæ nulla valeat ætas destruere.

instead of the gold or falcons of the island, he sends as a more worthy gift to a magnanimous prince;

Dignas[2] quoque tam vestras, quam inclitæ prolis vestræ virtutes, et victoriarum titulos summatim evolvere, stiloque perstringere, non indignum reputavi; ut tanta temporis nostri gloria transitorie non pertranseat; verum enimvero literarum beneficio firmum perpetuitatis robur obtineat. Hoc etiam nostræ diligentiæ digne deberi non diffido, quod rerum tam inclite gestarum memoria, multorum mentibus imitabili exemplo virtutis inposterum vigor accrescet; earumque lectio, sicut antiquis majorum imagines et picturæ, laudabili æmulationis invidia tam animosis conferet quam ignavis; istis scintillam strenuitatis adjiciens, innatum illis ignem accendens.

with an exposition, also, of the virtues and glorious deeds of Henry and his progeny.

[1] *in*] R. F. T. Ba. Cl. Rb.; hoc, C. W. A. B.; autem, H.

[2] *Dignas, &c.*] This last section not in H. P.

INCIPIT HIBERNICÆ HISTORIÆ DISTINCTIO PRIMA.

[Cap. I.][1]

De situ Hiberniæ; variaque ejusdem[2] natura.

Situation of Ireland.

Hibernia, post Britanniam insularum maxima, unius contractioris diei navigatione ultra Britannicas Wallias[3] in occidentali oceano sita est. Intra tamen Ultoniam et Scoticas Galwedias duplo fere angustiore spatio mare coarctatur.[4] Utrinque vero utriusque terræ promontoria, hinc distinctius, illinc ratione distantiæ confusius, satis aperte sereno tempore prospici possunt et notari.

Insularum occidentalium hæc ultima Hispaniam ab austro, trium dierum naturalium navigatione, collateralem habet; Britanniam majorem ab oriente; solum oceanum ab occidente. Ab aquilonari vero parte, trium dierum velifico cursu, borealium insularum maxima Yslandia jacet.

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[1] Cap. I., Cap. II., &c., are in no MS. that I have seen. I add them for convenience sake, but within brackets. In Ba. alone is there any numbering to the chapters; this MS. having I., II., &c., in the margin, opposite to the beginnings of the chapters. It begins, however, with placing I. at Cap. II. *infra*, II. at Cap. III., &c., and has other irregularities.

[2] *ejusdem*] H. C. A. Ba., &c.; ejus, R. B. F. The Harleian MS. 4003 (Hb.) now begins with the first chapter; the Introit *supra*, Table of Chapters, and Preface, being all omitted.

[3] *Wallia*] Spelt also frequently 'Guallia,' or 'Gwallia.' But 'Wallia' seems certainly the more frequent spelling in the earlier MSS., whether of Giraldus's Irish or Welsh treatises, and to it I shall adhere, without further notice of variations.

[4] *coarctatur*] After this is added, in A. and Bc., "Unde et Solinus "secies xx milibus passuum insu- "lam ab insula distare describit." It is plainly out of place here. See the beginning of Cap. III. *infra*, and note.

[Cap. II.]

De Hispanico[1] *mari, duobus brachiis Britanniam et Hiberniam complectente.*

Hispanicum autem mare, quod et Hiberum dicitur, vel ab Hibero flumine, vel quod hemisphærii formam Hispania prætendat, de occidentali se inter Hiberniam et Hispaniam recipiens oceano, gemino dirimitur brachio. Quorum unum Hispaniam interluit atque Britanniam; ac exinde in boream se convertens, Galliam dividit et Britanniam. Sed quamvis brachii istius ora crebris hinc inde terris, quibus nominari potuisset, accingitur, a Gallia tamen sola usitatius mare Gallicum nominatur. Aliud vero ejusdem Hiberi maris brachium Hiberniam in directum versus boream prælabitur et Britanniam. Cujus quanto longitudo protenditur, tanto latitudo arctoas minoratur[2] ad partes, donec se aquilonari oceano immisceat ad Orchades. Quæ videlicet Hibernia, quanto a cetero et communi orbe terrarum semota, et quasi alter orbis esse dignoscitur, tanto rebus quibusdam solito naturæ cursui incognitis, quasi peculiaris ejusdem naturæ thesaurus, ubi insignia et pretiosiora sui secreta reposuerit, esse videtur.

The Spanish sea and its branches.

4 b.

Sic quidem Hibernia Britanniæ collateraliter adjacet, ut quocunque ex portu Britannico in occidentem navigantibus aliqua se ex parte repræsentet. Britannia tamen duplo in quantitate Hiberniam excedit. Cum enim utriusque longitudo ab austro in boream extensa jaceat, illa octingenta milia passuum in longum, circiter vero

Nota Britanniam duplo Hibernia majorem.

Ireland about half the size of Britain.

[1] *De Hispanico, &c.*] This heading, and the whole of the first section of the chapter, "Hispanicum . . " . . videtur," not in H. P. What these MSS. contain of this second chapter of later editions forms part of their first chapter.

[2] *minoratur*] In Bc. only, a 16th century MS.; immoratur, in every other MS. that I have seen. And so in Camden.

ducenta[1] milia in latum habet: ista vero, a Brendanicis montibus usque ad[2] Columbinam quæ Thorach[3] dicitur insulam, octo dierum magnis et Hibernicis, quadraginta scilicet miliarium excursibus, in longum protenditur, quatuor vero a Dublinia usque ad[4] Patricii colles, Connacticumque mare, in latum[5] expanditur.

About equal to England, without Wales and Scotland.

Tantæ[6] siquidem Hibernia quantitatis esse potest, quantæ, circumscriptis Wallia et Scotia, potior insulæ Britannicæ pars, regibusque antiquitus appropriata; quam et Britones olim, a primævo Bruti filio Locrino, cui assignata fuerat, Loegriam dixere.

[Cap. III.]

De variis Solini, Horosii, et Ysidori,[7] sententiis; quibusdam veris, quibusdam erroneis.

Solinus on Ireland.

Solinus[8] vero in centum viginti milia passuum satis exquisite latitudinem Hiberniæ diffundi describit: sed de longitudine tacet. Quam et ob hoc arbitror ipsi incognitam, quoniam insulam inhumanæ magnitudinis esse testatur.

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[1] *ducenta*] C. A. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; duo, H. P. W.

[2] *usque ad*] W. R. B. F. Ba.; usque, H. C. A. Cl. Rb.

[3] *Thorach*] H. C. W. A. B. F. Ba. Rb.; Thorath, R.; Torach, Cl. Tory island, off the N.W. coast of Donegal. In the *Four Masters* called "Torach." It had a celebrated church, probably founded by St. Columba; one, at any rate, where his memory was especially venerated. *Reeves' St. Columba*, 279, 319; and *O'Donovan's note* (*x*) *to Four Masters*, A° 1202.

[4] *usque ad*] H. R. B. F. Ba.; usque, C. W. A. Cl. Rb.

[5] *in latum*] Here Bb. comes in again.

[6] *Tantæ, &c.*] This section not in H. P. W. Bb. In margin of C. In text of R. A., &c.

[7] *et Ysidori*] C. Bb. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; Ysidori et Bedæ, A. Hb. Rb., as in Table of Chapters *supra*. H. and P. have nothing of this chapter, except one short sentence towards the end: "Est autem Hibernia, pro "quantitatis suæ captu, multo ro-"tundior; Britannia vero oblon-"gior et arctior esse dignoscitur." This in continuation still of their first chapter.

[8] Solinus, *Polyhist.* xxv. (xxii., Salmasius), describes the sea between Ireland and Britain as "centum viginti millia passuum" across. But he has nothing, so far as I can see, about the breadth of Ireland itself. See note (4) *supra*, p. 22.

Horosius vero, certiori indagine, Hiberniam, Britanniæ propinquam, longe spatio terrarum angustiorem, sed cœli solisque[1] temperie magis utilem protestatur. Orosius, Histor. i. 2.

Ysidorus quoque concordat Horosio; dicens Hiberniam, proximam Britanniæ insulam, spatio terrarum angustiorem, sed situ fecundiorem. Isidore, Orig. xiv. 6.

Beda vero Hiberniam tam aeris salubritate quam serenitate multum Britanniæ præstare asserit: de salubritate verum, de serenitate vero,[2] vero contrarium scribens, sicut[3] ex sequentibus palam erit. Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 1.

Difference between the air of Britain and of Ireland.

Sicut[4] enim Gallia Britanniam, sic et Britannia Hiberniam, aeris tam serenitate quam subtilitate longe præcellit. Quanto namque ad euri partes magis acceditur, tanto cœli faciem quo purior et subtilior, tanto penetrabilior et inclementior aer illustrat: quanto vero ad circii zephyrique fines magis vergitur, occiduam temperiem quo nubilosior et obtusior, tanto benignior atque salubrior aura fecundat.

Terra quippe medio inter Yslandiam frigidam et Hispaniam torridam libramine porrecta, a contrariis hinc inde contracta temperantia, tam cœli temperie quam aeris salubritate feliciter Hibernia fecundatur.

Est autem Hibernia, pro quantitatis suæ captu, multo rotundior; in medio aliquantulum substricta; circa capita vero in amplitudinem dilatata. Britannia vero oblongior et arctior esse dignoscitur.

Sed sicut Hibernia contra aquilonem Britannia longe brevior et mutilatior, ita et in meridiem non minor. Verum etiam, juxta Bedæ assertionem, trans illius fines se multum protendit. Bed. H. E. i. 1.

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[1] *solique* in Orosius.

[2] *vero*] C. Bb. B. Ba. Cl., &c. Not in W. A. R. F. After this first "vero" is "salva pace veniaque "sua" in Hb. Rb. and in Camden who, however, has not the second "vero."

[3] *sicut . . . erit*] This in text of Bb., &c. In margin of C.

[4] *Sicut . . . fecundat*] This section not in Bb. W. In margin of C. In text of A. R. B., &c.

[Cap. IV.]

De qualitate Hiberniæ, et inæqualitate.

Ireland a hilly and wet country, 5. abounding with woods and bogs.

Hibernia quidem terra inæqualis est, et montuosa; mollis, et aquosa; silvestris et paludosa; et vere[1] terra deserta, invia, sed aquosa. Videas[2] hic igitur supra montes aquas stare: in summis enim aereorum arduorumque collium verticibus stagna reperies et paludes. Planities tamen habet per loca pulcherrimas; sed, respectu silvarum, modicas; ideoque,[3] natura disponente, speciosas magis quam spatiosas.

Has low sea coasts.

Est autem, per omnia fere sui latera, marinaque littora, terra valde demissa: interius tamen in colles varios, arduosque montes enormiter erecta;[4] non tantum circumferentias, verum etiam penitimas sui partes sabulosas magis habens quam saxosas.

Everywhere sandy rather than rocky.

[Cap. V.]

De glebæ fertilitate.

The great fertility of the soil: but in grass rather than grain.

Gleba præpingui, uberique frugum proventu, felix terra est et fecunda. Frugibus arva, pecore montes, nemorosa feris abundant. Pascuis tamen quam frugibus, gramine quam grano, fecundior est insula.

Multam fruges in herba, plurimam in culmis, minorem in granis spem promittunt. Tritici namque grana contracta sunt hic et minuta, et vix alicujus vanni beneficio purganda.

Abunde[5] satis et campi vestiuntur, et horrea farciuntur: sola vero granaria destituuntur.

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[1] *et vere . . . aquas stare*] Not in H. P. Compare Ps. lxii. 3: "In "terra deserta, et invia, et inaquosa."

[2] *Videas . . . stare*] In margin of C. In text of Bb. W. A. R., &c.

[3] *ideoque . . . spatiosas*] In A. R. B. F. Bc. Not in C. Bb. Ba. Cl., &c.

[4] *erecta*] H. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; electa, R. B. F., the latter with "elata" in margin. The first chapter of the first edition, as in H. P., ends with this fourth chapter of later editions.

[5] Here M. comes in again. For the future, in referring to the first edition, I shall generally cite this MS. only.

[CAP. VI.]

De[1] *ventositate, et pluviositate; earumque causis.*

Quod ver gignit et parturit, æstas nutrit et provehit, vix in messe pluvialis aquositas colligi permittit. Æolicis namque flatibus, et pluvialibus inundationibus, præ aliis terris hæc exuberat. Collateralis vero zephyro ab australi parte, frequentior et procellosior aliis, corus hic regnat; omnes fere occidentales arbores, in eminenti positas, partem in oppositam vel inclinans vel evertens.

Winds and rain.

Nota occidentales arbores a choro inclinatas.

Terra[2] nimirum mari immenso et ex omni latere ventis exposita, nullam penitus partibus ex illis seu propinquam seu remotam solidi obstaculi defensionem habet.

Ad hæc etiam, aquæ in nubibus attractæ et conglobatæ, ob tantam loci illius temperiem, nec ætherei caloris igne consumptæ, nec algoris aerei nexibus astrictæ, et in niveam glacialemve naturam concretæ, demum in pluvias facillime resolvuntur.

Item hæc quoque terra, sicut et alia quælibet montuosa, pluvias abunde gignit et nutrit. Terrea quippe,[3] montanaque præcipue frigiditate, consumptivi caloris vi evacuata, attracti humores in nativam originem de facili convertuntur.

Qui etiam juxta situs varios varia vocabula sortiri solent. Dum enim adhuc collibus incumbunt, nebulæ nuncupantur: altius elevati, et a terreno contagio libere sublimati, nubes vocantur: guttatim vero minu-

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[1] This heading not in M. What the first edition contained of this chapter formed part of the last chapter.

[2] This section, and the four succeeding ones, down to "pluviis "abundant," not in M.

[3] *Terrea quippe*] C. Bb. A. B. Ba., &c. And so R. originally, but 'terrea' altered to 'terra,' and 'gelida' inserted after 'quippe.' Terra quippe gelida, F.

timque ad ima revertentes, seu liquidi[1] seu concreti, nunc nives, nunc pluviæ dicuntur.

Hinc igitur Hibernia, Wallia, et Scotia, pluviis abundant.

No vineyards in Ireland. Pascuis et pratis, melle et lacte, vinis, non vineis, dives est insula.

Bed. H. E. i. 1. Beda tamen, inter alias insulæ laudes, dicit eam vinearum expertem non esse. Solinus vero, et Ysidorus[2] apibus eam carere asserunt.

Sed, salva ipsorum venia, circumspectius e diverso scripsissent; Vineis ipsam carere, et apium expertem non esse. Vineis enim et earum cultoribus semper caruit et caret insula. Vina tamen transmarina, ratione commercii, tam abunde terram replent, ut vix propaginis proventusque naturalis in aliquo defectum percipias.

But plenty of wine ;

from Poitou, in exchange for skins. Pictavia namque de plenitudine sua ei copiose vina transmittit. Cui et animalium coria, et pecudum ferarumque tergora, Hibernia non ingrata remittit.

Bees. Apes quidem, sicut aliæ regiones, hæc mellificas habet. In majori tamen, ut arbitror, copia scaturirent, si non venenosas et amaras, quibus silvescit insula,
5 b. fugerent examina taxos.[3] Vel potius,[4] si non aeris Hibernici tanta cum humiditate ventositas minuta corpuscula tam dispergeret quam corrumperet.

Verisimiliter[5] autem dici potest, tempore Bedæ nonnullas forsitan in insula vineas fuisse; et longe

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[1] *seu liquidi seu concreti, nunc nives, nunc*] This not in Bb. W. In margin of C. In text of A. R. B., &c.

[2] *et Ysidorus*] Not in M., which accordingly has 'asserit' instead of 'asserunt,' and 'utriusque' instead of 'ipsorum' in beginning of next section. The passage of Solinus referred to is in *Polyhist.* xxv. (xxii. Salmasius), and of Isidore in *Orig.* xiv. 6.

[3] "Sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos." Virg. *Ecl.* ix. 30.

[4] *Vel potius . . . . corrumperet*] Not in M. W. Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R. B., &c.

[5] *Verisimiliter*] M. C. Bb. A. R., &c.; Favorabiliter, Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

post Solini tempora, sanctum Dominicum Ossiriensem, ut asserunt quidam, apes in Hiberniam detulisse.

Ceterum[1] ipsos in hoc excusabiles vix invenio, quod adeo apibus inimicam hanc terram asserunt, ut advectos etiam inde pulveres seu lapillos si quis alibi intra alvearia sparserit, examina favos deserant.

Beda quoque cervorum caprearumque[2] venatu insulam istam dicit insignem; cum eandem tamen semper capreis caruisse constet, et carere. No roe-deer in Ireland.

Nec mirum tamen si a tramite veritatis interdum deviaverint, cum nihil oculata fide, nihil nisi per indicem et a remotis agnoverint.

Tunc enim res quælibet certissimo nititur de veritate subsidio, cum eodem utitur relatore quo teste.

Ob tantam[3] igitur tam solicitam, et in plerisque certissimam[4] remotissimarum rerum indaginem, debita sunt laude non indigni. Et quoniam nihil humanum omnino perfectum; omniumque habere notitiam, et in nullo peccare, potius divinitatis est quam humanitatis, errores forte, si qua ex parte irrepserint, tam imperfectionis conditio, quam ipsa locorum distantia reddat veniales.

Hanc igitur

"Veniam petimusque damusque vicissim;" Hor. A. P. 11.

nihil unquam humanum[5] a nobis alienum esse putantes.

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[1] This and the next section, "Ceterum . . . carere," not in M. The passages referred to will be found in Bede, Solinus, and Isidore, in the chapters of each already cited.

[2] *caprearumque*] R. F., with Bede; capreorumque, C. Bb. A. B. Ba., &c.

[3] *Ob tantam, &c.*] Remainder of chapter not in M.

[4] *et in plerisque certissimam*] C. R. F. Ba., &c.; et in multis certissimam, W. Bb. Not in A. B.

[5] *humanum*] Bb. A. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; humani, C. "Humani nihil "a me alienum puto." Ter. *Heaut.* i. 1, 25.

[CAP. VII.]

De fluminibus novem principalibus; et aliis pluribus nuper emersis.

The nine primary rivers of Ireland.

Fluminibus egregiis, primoque a tempore primi terræ istius post diluvium incolæ, scilicet Bartholani, principalibus et famosis novem scinditur et rigatur insula. Quorum nomina sunt hæc: Avenlifius[1] per Dubliniam, Banna per Ultoniam, Moadus per Connactiam, Slicheius[2] et Samairus per Kenelcunilliam,[3] Modarnus et Phinnus[4] per Keneleoniam, Saverennus et Luvius per Corcagiam.

Many others, but comparatively recent.

Sunt et alia plurima, sed quasi nova, et respectu priorum nuper nata, per Hiberniam manantia flumina; prædictis tamen non minora, et, nisi sola temporis antiquitate, non secunda. Quorum quædam ex terræ penetralibus, irriguisque fontium venis originaliter emersa, alia vero subito e stagnis erupta, illustres insulam per partes longis excursibus disterminant et distinguunt. Horum autem quædam commemorare non superfluum duxi.

Igitur de sub pede montis Bladinæ tres nobiles fluvii nascuntur; qui et tres sorores dicuntur, quia trium sororum nomina sunt sortiti; Berua scilicet per Lechliniam, Eoyrus per Ossiriam, Suirus per Archfinan et Tribracciam, et apud Waterfordiam[5] in mare de-

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[1] *Avenlifius*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; Avenliphius, R. B. F.

[2] *Slicheius*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; Slicheus, R. B. F.

[3] *Kenelcunilliam*] C. R. B. F. Ba.; Kenelcunnill, M. Bb. A.

[4] *Phinnus*] M. Bb. A. B. F.; Finnus, C. R.

[5] *Waterfordiam*] M. C. Bb. A.; Guaterfordiam, R. B. F. Ba. I shall adhere to "Waterfordia" for the future, without noticing the variations, as the more general form in the best MSS. So also to "Weise-"fordia," in preference to "Gueise-"fordia." It is not exactly correct to say that the Eoyrus and Suirus (the rivers Nore and Suir), rise from Mons Bladina (Sliabh Bladhma, *Anglice*, Slieve-Bloom); but they rise from Slieve Ailduin, which may be considered part of the range of Slieve Bladhma. *Camb. Evers.* i. 122, note.

scendit. Slana vero per Weisefordiam, Boandus per Mediam, Avenmorus Lismoriensis, et Sinnenus Limiricensis.

The Shannon the prince of Irish rivers.

Inter omnia vero Hiberniæ flumina, sive nova seu vetusta, non immerito principatum Sinnenus obtinet; tam quantitatis suæ majestate, longisque terrarum excursibus, quam fecundissima piscositate.

Oritur namque ex lacu quodam maximo et pulcherrimo, qui Connacciam Momoniamque disterminat, duoque brachia ad oppositas mundi partes expandit. Uno namque versus austrum, civitatem Killelonensem lateraliter permeans, Limiricumque complectens, centumque hinc[1] miliaribus et amplius duas ab invicem Momonias distinguens, Brendanicum in mare se transfundit: altero vero, nec minore, Mediam et ulteriores Ultoniæ partes a Connaccia dividens, multis variisque mæandris in oceanum tandem mergitur borealem.

Quartam igitur et occidentalem insulæ partem a tribus aliis, tanquam mediterraneum flumen, a mari usque ad mare separat et secernit.

6.
The five antient divisions of Ireland.

In quinque enim portiones fere æquales antiquitus hæc regio divisa fuit; has scilicet, Momoniam duplicem, borealem et australem, Lageniam, Ultoniam, et Connacciam. Quas omnes Merlini vaticinium in unum commemorat redigendas. Sed de his suo in loco plenius dicetur. Hic autem[2] notandum videtur, duas Momonias australes Hiberniæ partes obtinere, Ultoniam boreales, Lageniam orientales, Connacciam occidentales.

[1] *hinc*] M. Bb. A. R., &c.; huic, C. As to Giraldus's extraordinary account of the course of the Shannon, see *Camb. Evers.* i. 117, &c., and notes.

[2] *Hic autem, &c.*] This last clause not in M. In margin of C. In text of Bb. A. R., &c.

[Cap. VIII.]

De lacubus; et eorum insulis.

Lakes, and their islands.

Lacus quoque plurimos et pulcherrimos, piscosos et grandes, præ aliis terris quas vidimus, quasi speciale quid hæc terra profert. Qui et mediamnas,[1] aliquantulum elevatas, et valde amœnas, intra se continent. Ubi securitatis et refugii loca, propriaque domicilia, et præterquam navigio inaccessibilia, dominatores terrarum metari solent.

[Cap. IX.]

De marinis, et fluvialibus, et lacuum piscibus; eorumque defectibus.

Fish.

De piscibus. Marinis piscibus, per omnia latera, satis abundant maritima.

Flumina vero, lacusque, suis sibique innatis fecunda sunt piscibus; et præcipue generibus tribus, salmonibus, et turtris, anguillisque lutosis. Alosis præpinguibus,[2] murænis etiam oculosis, ad periculosas[3] divitum delicias, Sinnenus abundat.

Sed desunt eis[4] nobiles illi aliarum regionum, et dulcis aquæ generosi pisces; lucii videlicet, et perchii,[5] rochiæ, barbuli,[6] gardiones et gubiones.[7]

Desunt et minutæ, lochiæ scilicet,[8] capitones, et

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[1] *mediamnas . . . elevatas . . . amœnas*] C. Bb. R. B. F. Ba.; mediamnes . . . elevatos . . . amœnos, M. A. Bc.

[2] *Alosis præpinguibus*] Not in M. W. Bb. (text), A. In margin of C. In text of R. B., &c. 'Alosis quo- 'que præpinguibus, et,' in margin of Bb., 'etiam' after 'murenis' in text being erased.

[3] *periculosas*] Not in M.

[4] *eis*] M. A. R. (originally), B.; ei, C. Bb. R. (by alteration), F. Ba., &c.

[5] *perticæ*, M.

[6] *barbuli*] Not in M. In margin of C. In text of Bb. A. R., &c. In R. and F., but not in B., it is spelt 'barbili.'

[7] *gubiones*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba.; gobiones, R. B. F.

[8] *lochiæ scilicet*] A. R. B. F.; lochiæ, M. C. W. Bb. Not in Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb. Camden, which have, instead, after "trahunt," "Lochiæ "quoque vel nullæ sunt hic, vel "perraræ" (or "valde raræ," Hb. Rb.). This is also in margin of R., though "lochiæ scilicet" retained before; but not in B. F.

verones: et fere omnes qui non ex marinis fluctibus sementivam originem trahunt.

Quælibet[1] enim regna suos patiuntur rerum defectus. Britannia major tortuis et scorpionibus, Gallia cisalpina ursis[2] et leonibus; Italia perchiis, regio Palæstina luciis, et utraque salmonibus; [item[3] ut Italia, Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia salmonibus;] Hispania tota luciis, perchiis, et phasianis, Creta noctuis, mare mediterraneum halece,[4] Ungarorum regnum anguillis caret.

[Cap. X.]

De piscibus novis, et alibi non inventis.

Fishes peculiar to Ireland.

Habent autem e contra stagna terræ istius tria piscium genera, quæ nusquam alibi reperiuntur.

Sunt enim quidam turtris, quæ et salares dicuntur,[5] longiores et rotundiores, albis carnibus consertis et sapidis; thymallis,[6] qui vulgariter umbræ dicuntur, persimiles, nisi quod capite degenerant grossiore.

Sunt et alii, marino haleci[7] tam forma et quantitate, quam colore et sapore simillimi.

Sunt et tertii turtris, nisi quod maculis carent, per omnia similes. Primos Glassanos,[8] secundos Catos, tertios vero Bricios vocant.

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[1] This section not in M. After the first sentence, "Quælibet . . . "defectus," most of the rest in margin of C., which originally had only "Hispania phasianis, Unga-"rorum regnum anguillis caret."

[2] *ursis*] C. (margin), W. Bb. A. B. Ba.; pardis, R. (but altered), F. Cl.

[3] *item . . . salmonibus*] Not in W. Bb. A. R. B. F. Ba. Cl. Rb. In C. (margin), Hb. Camden. "Et utraque salmonibus," before this, also wanting in W. Bb. A. B.

[4] *Creta noctuis, mare Med. allecibus* is in margin of Bb., but not in W.

[5] *quæ et salares dicuntur*] Not in M. W. In margin of C. Bb. In text of A. R., &c.

[6] *thymallis qui . . . persimiles*] A. R., &c.; umbris persimiles, M. W., and C. Bb. originally, but these latter, by alteration, and addition in margin, made to agree with A. R., &c.

[7] *marino haleci*] C. A. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; marinis halecibus, M. W. Bb.

[8] *Primos . . . vocant*] Not in M.

Hæc autem tria piscium genera in æstate tantum, et nunquam in hieme comparent.

In Media, prope Foveram, sunt tres lacus, ab invicem non remoti, quorum quilibet piscium istorum suum genus continet. Ad quem alii pisces nunquam accedunt, licet tamen fluminis interlabentis beneficio vias habeant commeabiles.

Quinimmo, si piscis unius ad locum et lacum alterius deferatur, aut emoritur, aut ad priorem redit.

[Cap. XI.]

De avibus, earumque defectibus.[1]

Birds.

De avibus. Avibus quidem aquaticis natione, aereis habitatione, quibusdam, quibus aliæ regiones præditæ sunt, involatur ista: quibusdam vero ab antiquo prorsus est destituta.

[Cap. XII.]

De accipitre, falcone, et niso; eorumque natura.[2]

Hawks and falcons.

Accipitres ergo, falcones, et nisos, quibus ad nobilium delicias animosa pectora, rostraque recurva et acuta, pedes unguibus armatos, aptosque prædæ, natura dedit, præ aliis regionibus hæc copiose producit.

De avibus istis hoc mirandum, quod non hodie plures, quam multis retro seculis, nidis indulgent: et licet singulis annis earum crescant fetus, nunquam tamen nidificantium crescit exercitus. Altero tantum parium casu sublato, novus ei subrogatur. Pluribus
6 b. ex causis nidi deficiunt; nullis unquam in numero crescunt.

Cassiod. Variar. i. 24.

Item, juxta Cassiodorum, aves hujusmodi, "quarum "victus ex præda est, fetus suos novitate marcentes

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[1] To this is added, "et tam na-"turis quam allegoriis," in Cl. Hb. Rb.

[2] *natura*] M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F. Ba.; naturis, Cl. Hb. Rb.

"nidis proturbant, ne molle otium consuescant, alis "verberant,[1] cogunt pullos teneros ad volatum, ut "tales debeant existere, pro quibus possit parens "uterque[2] præsumere." Cum enim processu temporis firmum jam robur pennæ susceperint, natura cooperante, paulatim instruuntur ad rapinam: et a natali solo deportandi, statim ab impiis parentibus compelluntur irrevocabiliter exulare.

How birds of prey treat their young.

Quoniam[3] igitur longe facilius est informare rudes, quam reformare perversos, alitum istorum exemplo providi parentes in prima ætate filios moribus instruunt et informant. Et quoniam variam semper dant otia mentem, curis acuunt et exsuscitant; ne torpentis desidiæ vitia, quibus si[4] tenerior ætas imbuta fuerit, anni difficile dediscant maturiores.

Lessons therefrom.

Præterea filios quos diligit flagellat Deus: et ad veram illam invariabilem æternamque felicitatem animos efficacius ut provocet et invitet, præsentium infelicitate feliciter reddit infelices. Quia, ut ait Augustinus, "Nihil est infelicius felicitate peccantium, qua pœnalis "nutritur impunitas, et mala voluntas velut interior "hostis roboratur." Unde et Gregorius; "Tauri mac"tandi largioribus pastibus relinquuntur, reservandi "vero jugo supponuntur."

Sic et adulti jam filii pie satis et provide a patrum domiciliis interdum expelluntur; ut sibi relicti incuriam cura, desidiam diligentia, solicitudine torporem, ignaviam strenuitate dediscant. Raro namque deficit, qui sibi non diffidit. Qui de aliorum ex toto pendent auxiliis, frequentius fraudari videntur optatis.

Ad hæc etiam ecclesiastici parentes et pastores filios,

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[1] "immorantes" after *verberant*, in Cassiodorus.

[2] "de quibus possit materna pie"tas," in Cassiod.

[3] *Quoniam, &c.*] Four sections, ending with "exulare compellunt" *infra*, not in M. All omitted in Hb. until tenth section *infra*, "De nisis "autem," &c.

[4] *quibus si*] C. Bb. A. B. Ba. Cl. Rb.; quibus, R. F. Camden has "vitia discant, quibus si," &c.

firmioris intelligentiæ jam capaces, ad divini pabuli prædas paulatim erudiunt. "Regnum namque cœlorum "vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud." Ærumnosam quoque vitæ istius viam, vitiorumque voraginem, tam contemnere docent quam vitare; veramque patriam et permanentem totis nisibus affectare; et sic mundo mortificatos impietate piissima feliciter exulare compellunt.

Matt. xi. 12.

In birds of prey the female stronger and larger than the male.

Item cum,[1] in omni fere animantium genere, mares majori in robore natura producat; in his avibus, aliisque universis quæ rapto vivunt, et rapinis insistunt, quibusque præcipue ad vivendum[2] viribus opus est et violentia, degenerante masculorum privilegio, virilius et robustius feminei sexus efferuntur.

What signified thereby.

Forsan[3] et hoc signare potest, muliebrem sexum in omni malitia longe virili fortiorem. Quia, ut ait Tullius, "Viri forte, unius alicujus commodi causa, "unum aliquando scelus perpetrabunt; feminæ vero, "unius explendæ cupiditatis causa, omnia simul scelera "perpetrare non formidabunt." Item[4] in Ecclesiastico, "Brevis hominis malitia super malitiam mulieris."

Ecclus. xxv. 26.

A viris quoque victorias modis omnibus semper appetunt: et effeminatos a feminis viros debita virilitate feminæ[5] deprædantur.

1 Cor. i. 27.

Infirma quoque mundi, ut fortia quæque confunderet,[6] elegit Deus.

Item avium istarum adeo masculos debito favore natura destituit, ut advenientibus annis fere semper in deterius degenerando mutentur. Alteri vero sexui,

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[1] This section in M., but with another before it. See note (1), p. 37.

[2] *ad vivendum*] Not in M.

[3] *Forsan, &c.*] This section, and the three succeeding ones, down to "vigor accrescit," not in M.

[4] *Item, &c.*] This quotation not in Bb. W. A. B. In margin of C. R. F. (C. having "Unde et in libro" instead of "Item in.") In text of Ba. Cl., &c.

[5] *feminæ*] C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; not in R. B. F.

[6] *confunderet*] Bb. A. R., &c.; confunderent, C.; confundat, Ba. Cl., with Vulgate.

annorum numero, tam animositatis quam velocitatis vigor accrescit.

De nisis[1] autem hoc speciale videmus; quod maculis alii candidis, alii rubris, quidam vero mediis distinguuntur. Unde et ex arborum naturis, quibus innascuntur, hanc contrahi varietatem nonnulli conjectant. Sed quoniam in ejusdem arboris, ejusdemque nidi fetibus, hanc diversitatem plerumque videbis, certior habet opinio quod potius ex parentibus naturaliter 7. hæc proveniat discoloritas.

Sparrow-hawks differently marked.

Fertur[2] etiam hoc de niso: quod, ingruente fortius brumali algore, contra vesperam serotinam aviculam rapiat; cui nocte tota ob calefactionis gratiam insidendo, tanquam nocturnum obsequium indemnitate remunerans, eandem mane remittit illæsam.

How they keep themselves warm on a winter's night.

Item accipitres et nisi, quantitate magis dissimiles quam qualitate, promptiori quadam velocitate prædas persequuntur; et in primo fere impetu vel fraudantur vel fruuntur optatis.

The hawk's mode of pursuing his prey, different from that of the falcon.

Falcones vero, diversi generis, tam majores quam minores, tam generosi quam degeneres, meruli quoque minuti, et æstivales hobeli,[3] pigriores in primis, pernicius postmodum prædis insistunt, longosque per gyros semper ad ardua tendentes, impetuosius ab alto feruntur ad prædas. Quas dum assequuntur, quadrati pectoris ictu concutiunt violento, præpositisque talorum armaturis simul confodiunt et confundunt.

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[1] *De nisis, &c.*] In M. this section follows directly the section, "Item "juxta Cassiodorum," &c., of p. 34, *supra*, and is itself followed by the section, "Item cum . . . efferuntur," of p. 36. And this completed the chapter, as in the first edition.

[2] Hence to end of chapter not in M. This section, *Fertur . . illæsam*, not in C. W. Bb. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c. A like legend as this of the 'nisus' is told by Neckam of the 'accipiter' (p. 76), and again of the 'girofalco,' (p. 81). *De naturis rerum.*

[3] *hobeli*] A. R. B. F.; obeli, C. Bb. Cl.; oberi, Ba. "Æstivales "hobeli" are the Hobby, a summer visitant with us; "meruli minuti" the Merlin, the smallest of the British Falconidæ.

Tanta siquidem et tam infatigabili velocitate deferuntur, ut fugitivam aviculam, alternatis hinc illinc vicibus nunc a summis ad ima, nunc ab imis ad summa nitentem, cum intuentium non unius sed omnium delectatione, per tantam orbis aerei vastitatem nec artificiosa nec longa fuga pertinaci ab hoste tueatur.

Hawks more delicate, and require greater care, than the falcons.

Accipitres et nisi, naturæ cujusdam delicatioris, et carnes exquisitiores et bajulos exigunt diligentiores. Falcones vero in utroque firmiores, et nisu pertinaciores, et portitoris ad manum, quantum aut visus aut etiam auditus extenditur, longe redire promptiores.

Their respective representatives amongst men.

Avibus primis similes esse videntur qui cibis lautioribus, vecturis, et vestibus, variisque carnis illecebris dediti et deliniti, mollibus utentes terrena sapiunt, et in illis versantur. Et quoniam gravi perseverantique conamine prædam in alto non quærunt, in imis eorum conversatio, et non in cœlis est.

Avibus aliis assimilari possunt qui cibos delicatiores, omnesque omnino carnis delicias postponentes, divino intuitu duritiis potius affligi carnem eligunt. Et quoniam nulla nisi ardua virtus, ad alta virtute nitentes, longo difficilique nisu prædarum prædam quam violenti rapiunt, pretiumque laboris et præmium, petunt et appetunt in sublimi.

Derivations of their names.

Falcones igitur a falcando, quia in falcis modum circueundo perlustrant; gyrofalcones a gyro-faciendo, vel in gyrum falcando;[1] nisi a nisu, accipitres ab accipiendo, nomen acceperunt.

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[1] *vel in gyrum falcando*] Not in C. W. Bb. In A. R. B. F. Ba., &c.

[Cap. XIII.]

De aquila,[1] *ejusque natura.*

Aquilarum quoque non minorem hic copiam, quam alibi milvorum videas. Eagles: their number.

Aves istæ in ipsos solaris corporis radios irreverberato lumine aciem defigunt oculorum; tenerosque fetus, ut fertur, ad idem erudiunt vel invitos. Unde et[2] ab oculorum acumine aquilæ dicuntur. Their powerful vision.

Sic viri contemplativi in ipsam divinæ majestatis naturam, verumque justitiæ solem, toto et indeflexo mentis tendunt intuitu; et ad aratrum cœlestis paradisi manum mittentes, retro non respiciunt. Moral adaptation thereof.

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[1] Of this long and wearisome chapter, the first edition, as in M., &c., contained only the few lines that follow:

"Aquilarum quoque non mino-
" rem hic copiam, quam alibi mil-
" vorum videas. Hæc avis in ipsos
" solaris corporis radios irreverbe-
" rato lumine aciem defigit ocu-
" lorum; et tam ardua volatu ple- *Infra*, p. 40.
" rumque petit, ut ei pennæ æstu-
" antibus solis ignibus exurantur.
" Item et per tot secula durat, ut
" renovatæ juventutis beneficio cum
" ipsa videatur perennitate conten-
" dere. Sic viri contemplativi in
" ipsam divinæ majestatis naturam,
" verumque solem justitiæ, toto et
" indeflexo mentis tendunt intuitu;
" et ad aratrum cœlestis paradisi
" manum mittentes, retro non re-
" spiciunt.

p. 40. "Sic et in sacris scripturis, qui
" ultra concessos qui præteriri nec
" debent nec possunt terminos,
" cœlestium secretorum ardua et
" arcana scrutari nituntur, tanquam
" alis præsumptuosi ingenii quibus
" transportantur adustis, in se re-
" deuntes infra subsistunt.

"Cum ergo 'cœlum cœli Domino,' p. 45.
" et quod residuum fuerit igne
" comburi debeat, memores esse
" debemus nec ingrati, quod in
" partem admissi sumus cognitionis,
" non in plenitudinem vel intelli-
" gentiæ vel inquisitionis.

"Sic et viri sancti, renovata veræ p. 40.
" juventutis innocentia, cum vete-
" rem hominem jam exuti fuerint,
" et induti novum, ad perpetuæ
" vitæ fructum feliciter accedunt."

All of this, as shown by the marginal references, is embodied in the later editions.

W. has only the first eight sections, down to 'infra subsistunt,' *infra*. Its scribe refused to go on with matter so utterly foreign to the subject. The scribe of the corresponding MS., Bb., was more conscientious, and follows his author to the end of the chapter. Hb., continually in this treatise a large abbreviator, has only the two first sections, 'Aquilarum . . . dicuntur.'

[2] *Unde et . . . dicuntur*] Not in W. Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R. B., &c.

Ecclesiastici quoque parentes filios in tenera ætate ut bonis assuescant, ad divini luminis intuitum simul et desiderium oculos dirigere docent interiores.

Their great age, and renewal of youth.

Eædem quoque per tot secula durant, ut renovatæ juventutis beneficio cum ipsa videantur perennitate contendere.

Moral adaptation.

Sic et viri sancti, renovata veræ juventutis innocentia, cum veterem hominem jam exuti fuerint, et induti novum, ad perpetuæ vitæ fructum feliciter accedunt.

Their high flights.

Item et tam ardua volatu plerumque petunt, ut eis pennæ æstuantibus solis ignibus exurantur.

Moral adaptation.

Sic et in sacris scripturis qui ultra concessos, qui præteriri nec debent nec possunt terminos, cœlestium secretorum ardua et arcana scrutari nituntur, tanquam alis præsumptuosi ingenii quibus transportantur adustis, in se redeuntes infra subsistunt.

7 b.

A difficulty worthy to be solved.

Sed quoniam vindice dignus nodus hic incidit; multos enim hac in parte graviter errasse, multis in locis tam legi, quam ipse conspexi; paulo diutius et diligentius in his immorari venia dignissimum reputavi.

Lapideis saxis, terreæque moli, quæ nullum ex se motum habentia tantum ponderosa subsistunt et ad centrum tendunt, arbores et herbæ longe præcellunt; quas vi quadam quasi vitali, et vita vegetabili, sensim [1] sine sensu per se moveri, crescere constat, et augmentari.

Arbores et herbas multum animalia bruta præcedunt; [2] quæ sensibiliter de loco ad locum se ipsa moventia, vi quadam imaginaria præsepe cognoscunt, et præteritorum recordantur. Unde et in hac parte quædam eorum etiam rationalibus præferuntur. Ubi enim abundat ratio, ibi succumbit imaginatio.

His vero cunctis microcosmus homo longe præcellit.

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[1] *sensim*] C. Bb. A. B. Ba., &c.; sensum, R. F. Cl.

[2] *præcedunt*] Bb. A. R. B. F.; præcellunt, C. Ba. Cl. Rb.

Ingenio pollens et ratione, vultuque sublimi gaudens, et sermone, cunctarumque terrestrium creaturarum dignissima, colit et recolit Creatorem.

Sicut autem homo ceteris, sic et angelica natura præeminet universis; quantoque est homine subtilitate essentiæ situque sublimior, quantoque[1] Creatori cui semper assistit familiarior, tanto et intellectu capacior.

Cunctipotens vero et cuncticreator Deus, sicut fimo figulus, figura figurator, immo longe præcellentius quam vel exprimi vel excogitari possit, creaturis omnibus incomparabiliter antefertur. Qui nimirum "omnia Ps. cxiii. 3.
"quæcunque voluit fecit;" qui "dixit, et facta sunt; Ps. xxxii. 5.
"quique mandavit et creata sunt;" a quo omnis sapientia; de cujus quoque "plenitudine omnes acce- John i. 16.
"pimus;" a quo habemus et quod sumus, et quod intelligentes sumus; a quo quicquid ubique est intellectus, tanquam a fonte rivulus, originaliter emanat.

Cum igitur angelica natura tanto inferior et indignior humana subsistat, dic, homo, qua fronte, qua temeritate ea scrutari præsumis, et ad unguem exprimere, ad quorum indaginem ipsi se reputant angeli longe minores? Quanta elatione ea contendis intellectu comprimere, quæ nullo vel capi possunt ingenio vel comprehendi? Sicut enim incomprehensibilis est ipse, cujus majestatem adorant dominationes, tremunt potestates, sic et "Incomprehensibilia sunt judicia ejus, et Rom. xi. 33.
"investigabiles viæ ejus." "Non enim[2] cogitationes Isa. lv. 8.
"meæ, cogitationes vestræ; neque viæ meæ viæ vestræ, dicit Dominus. Quia sicut exaltantur cœli a terra, sic exaltatæ sunt viæ meæ a viis vestris, et cogitationes meæ a cogitationibus vestris." Numquid in tantum exaltatum est cor tuum, et elati sunt Ps. cxxx. 1.
oculi tui, ut in tam magnis ambules, et in mirabilibus super te? Num adeo a caritate te separat elatio, ut

[1] *quantoque*] C. Bb. A. B. Ba., &c.; quanto, R. F.

[2] *Non enim, &c.*] This quotation from Isaiah not in Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R. B., &c.

Rom. xii. 16. alta dum sapias, et altiora te cupias, humilibus con-
Rom. xii. 3. sentire postponas? Cum tamen "Non plus sapere "quam oportet sapere, sed sapere expediat ad sobrie- "tatem."

Cave igitur ne id intelligendo efficias ut minus intelligere videaris. Cave ne rationis et ingenii privilegio, quo Creatoris beneficio sub cœlo præcellis, dum in eundem abuteris, et jure priveris. Cave ne in
Isa. xiv. 13, 14. aquilonem sedem ponas, et frustra Altissimo assimilari
Ps. lxxiv. 6. quæras. Cave ne in altum cornu extollens, loquaris adversus Deum iniquitatem. Cave siquidem ne in altum tendens, cadas ab alto. Cave, inquam, ne tam enormiter elatus supra te, longe corruas infra te.

Ps. xciii. 8–11. "Intelligite ergo, insipientes[1] in populo; et stulti, "aliquando sapite. Numquid qui plantavit aurem "non audiet? Aut qui finxit oculum, non consi- "derat? Qui corripit hominem, non arguet; qui "docet hominem scientiam? Dominus novit cogita- "tiones hominum, quoniam vanæ sunt."

Attendite potius quam humiliter vir ille,[2] quem
8. secundum cor suum invenisse Dominus ipse testatur, rex scilicet et propheta David, in psalmis decantat;
Ps. cxxx. 1. "Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum, neque elati "sunt oculi mei; neque ambulavi in magnis, neque "in mirabilibus super me." Attendite quid inter reges terræ sapientissimus ille Salomon ad filium dixerit;
Ecclus. iii. 22. "Fili, altiora te ne scruteris; et fortiora te ne exqui- "sieris. Sed quæ præcepit tibi Deus, illa cogita "semper: et in pluribus operibus ejus ne fueris curio-
Prov. xxv. 27. "sus." Item;[3] "Mel nimis comedenti, malum[4] est;"

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[1] *insipientes . . . sapite. Numquid*] In margin of C. In text of Bb. A. R., &c.

[2] *vir ille . . . testatur*] In margin of C. In text of Bb. A. R., &c.

[3] These three quotations from Proverbs not in Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R., &c.

[4] *malum*] R. B. F. Ba. Cl. Rb.; amarum, A. Over 'malum' in text of Ba. is interlined 'vel amarum,' in a later hand. The Vulgate is; "Qui mel multum comedit, non est "ei bonum."

et alibi, "Mel invenisti, comede quod satis est; ne Prov. xxv. 16.
"forte satiatus evomas illud." Item, "Qui scrutator xxv. 27.
"est majestatis, opprimetur a gloria."

Et ut verbis Job ex parte fruamur, "Numquid homo Job iv. 17–19.
"Dei comparatione justificabitur, aut factore suo purior "erit vir? Ecce qui serviunt ei non sunt stabiles, "et in angelis suis reperit pravitatem. Quanto magis "hi, qui habitant domos luteas, qui terrenum habent "fundamentum," dum in cœlum os ponunt confundentur, et "consumentur velut a tinea." Item[1] in eodem, "Non justificabitur vir compositus[2] Deo." Job xxv. 4.

Dic itaque, fragilis testa, qua fronte de omnibus rationem reddere quæ sursum sunt et quæ deorsum, et de his præcipue quæ supra omnem rationem esse constat, et contra rationem præsumis, et contra fidem? Quid enim magis contra rationem, quam ratione conari ipsam transcendere rationem? Et quid magis contra fidem, quam credere nolle quicquid non possis ratione pertingere? Sed forsan illud Salmonis te movere potest; "Qui cito credit, levis est corde;" tan- Ecclus. xix. 4.
quam fidem voluerit ratione discutiendam. Sed scias hoc Salomonem non de fide in Deum, sed de mutua inter nos credulitate dixisse. Illam enimvero quæ in Deum est fidem Gregorius plane negat habere meritum, si ei humana ratio præbeat experimentum. Laudantur apostoli, quod ad unius jussionis vocem secuti sunt Redemptorem. Pro laude nimirum dictum fuit; "In Ps. xvii. 45.
"auditu auris obedivit mihi." Increpantur e regione discipuli, quod tardius credidissent. Denique laudatur Maria, quod rationem fide prævenit. Et punitur Zacharias, quod fidem ratione tentavit. Et rursum Abraam commendatur, "Qui contra spem in spem Rom. iv. 18.
"credidit."

Ut autem ad naturalia recurramus; quis unquam servo

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[1] *Item, &c.*] This quotation not in Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R., &c.

[2] *compositus*] So all the MSS.; comparatus, Vulgate.

dominus,[1] quisve Eurialo Nisus, quis Polinici Tideus, quis Piladi Horestes animi secreta sic cuncta commisit, quin potius intimo pectoris archivo arcana sibi perplurima, nulli vel unquam exposita vel exponenda reservaret? Quanto magis infinitissimus ille sibi reservat infinita. Num adeo dominator ille Dominus, et universitatis figulus, servis infimis luteisque testis se totum exposuit, ut tam fragili, tam corruptibili, tam vili materiæ, quæ circa tantam[2] tam inscrutabilem, tam ineffabilem divinitatis naturam quæ sunt vel esse possunt statim pateant universa? Quis unquam picturam vidit ad omnes pictoris artes eniti? Numquid[3] enim olla figulo suo dicet; Quare me superius arctam, amplam inferius compegisti? Unde et in libro Sapien-
Ecclus. i. 2. tiæ[4] legitur; "Arenam maris, et pluviæ guttas, et dies
" seculi, quis dinumerat?[5] Altitudinem cœli, et lati-
" tudinem terræ, et profundum abyssi, quis dimensus
" est? Sapientiam Dei præcedentem omnia quis in-
Ecclus. i. 6, &c. " vestigavit?" Iterum;[6] "Radix sapientiæ cui revelata
" est, et astutias illius quis agnovit? Disciplina sapi-
" entiæ cui revelata est, et manifestata? Et multi-
" plicationem gressus illius quis intellexit? Unus est
" Altissimus, et Creator omnipotens; rex potens, et
" metuendus nimis; sedens super thronum illius, et
" dominans Deus. Ipse creavit illam Spiritu Sancto;
" et vidit, et dinumeravit, et mensus est; et effudit
" illam super omnia opera sua, et super omnem car-
8 b. " nem; secundum datum suum præbuit illam diligen-
" tibus se."

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[1] *servo dominus*] A. R. (originally), B.; dominus servo, C.; domino servus, Bb. R. (by alteration), F. Ba., &c.

[2] *tantam*] C. Bb. R. B., &c.; tam subtilem, Ba.

[3] *Numquid, &c.*] Hence to end of section not in Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R. B., &c.

[4] *Sapientiæ*] A mistake. The passage quoted is in Ecclesiasticus.

[5] *dinumerat*] A. R. B. F.; dinumeret, Cl. Rb.; dinumeraret, C.; dinumeravit, Vulgate.

[6] *Iterum*] A. R. B. F.; Item, C. Cl., &c.

Sic igitur sapientia non totaliter sed particulatim, et quasi per rivulos, se suis exhibuit; ut ad ipsam semper, tanquam ad fontem vivum, puteum inexhaustum et indeficientem, in singulorum defectibus recurratur.

Quoniam itaque "Sapientia[1] Domini abyssus multa," Ps. xxxv. 7.
"cœlum cœlorum[2] Domino," et quod residuum fuerit Ps. cxiii. 16.
igne comburi jubetur,[3] memores esse debemus nec ingrati, quod in partem admissi sumus cognitionis, non in plenitudinem vel intelligentiæ vel inquisitionis.

Unde et cuidam nimis scrupulose quærenti, quidnam faceret Deus antequam mundus fieret, facete satis, et[4] ad hominem magis quam ad orationem, Augustinus[5] Aug. Confess. xi. 12.
respondit; Gehennam, inquit, stulte quærentibus præparavit.

Frustra siquidem circa hujusmodi animalis spiritus solicitatur. Ut enim quasi sub bipenni dilemmate finaliter concludam; anima benevola talia non exquirit, in malevolam vero animam[6] sapientia non introibit. Et, ut prophetæ verbis ad hæc utamur, "Quam mag- Ps. xci. 6.
"nificata sunt opera tua, Domine! nimis profundæ "factæ sunt cogitationes tuæ; vir sapiens[7] non requi- "ret, et stultus non intelliget hæc."

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[1] *Sapientia*] Instead of this, "Ju- "dicia" in Vulgate.

[2] *cœlorum*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; cœli, M., with Vulgate.

[3] *jubetur*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; debeat, M.

[4] *et*] Bb. A. R. B. F. Ba. Not in C. Cl. Rb.

[5] St. Augustine does not make this reply himself, but mentions it as having been made by some other person.

[6] *animam*] R. F. Ba. Rb. Not in C. Bb. A. B. Cl.

[7] *sapiens*] C. Bb. A. R. B. F. Cl.; insipiens, Ba. Rb. The Vulgate has, "Vir insipiens non cognoscet."

[Cap. XIV.]

De grue, ejusque natura.

The crane. In large flocks.

In tanta vero numerositate se grues ingerunt,[1] ut uno in grege centum, et circiter hunc numerum, frequenter invenias.

Its watchfulness.

Holds a stone in one foot.

Hæc avis, singulis vicissim alternis noctibus, natura dictante, communi indemnitate excubantibus, uni insidens pedi, altero implumato lapidem suspensum tenet; ut ejusdem casu, si forte sopor irrepserit, iterum ad vigilias statim redeat experrecta.

A type of prelates.

Aves istæ[2] prælatorum ecclesiæ typum gerunt. Quibus supra gregem vigilandum esse dignoscitur et excubandum, quia qua hora fur venturus sit, penitus ignoratur; et cura aliqua sacra animo tanquam lapis est suspendenda, quæ et torporem omnem prorsus[3] excutiat, et nihil præter se meditari permittat; quæ etiam si forte interdum exciderit, mens ipsam desuescere nesciens, eandem iterum tanquam a somnis experrecta resumat.

Periculum[4] quoque avis hæc clamore indicat. Sic et ecclesiastici pastores lupos divinis[5] ab ovili latratibus arcent, et infatigabili clamore tanquam tuba vocem exaltant.

Digests iron.

Avis eadem tam calidum, tam igneum jecur habet, ut ferrum forte ingestum transire nequeat indigestum.

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[1] *se grues ingerunt*] C. Bb. (by alteration), A. R. B., &c.; grues ingruunt, M. W.

[2] Different in M.: "Avis igitur "istius exemplo vigilandum nobis "est et excubandum;" with "igno"ramus" afterwards, instead of "ignoratur;" and "curam aliquam, "&c. . . . lapidem suspendamus," instead of "cura," &c., of the text. This section, and the three which follow, down to "jam compellunt," are omitted in Hb.

[3] *omnem prorsus*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; nobis, M.; omnem nobis, P.; omnem a nobis, H.

[4] *Periculum . . . exaltant*] This section not in M.

[5] *divinis*] In margin of C. In text of Bb. A. R., &c.

Sic igne caritatis accensa viscera ferreos olim et inexorabiles animos domant et mitigant, et ad pacis fraternæ concordiam mansuescere jam compellunt. Moral adaptation.

Pavones silvestres hic abundant. The capercaillie.

Gallinæ vero campestres, quas vulgariter grutas vocant, hic raræ sunt et modicæ; perdicibus tam in quantitate quam colore persimiles. Grouse.

Acetæ[1] vero, quæ et cardioli dicuntur,[2] tam majores et silvestres, quam minores et palustres, infinitissimæ. Minorum tamen et palustrium copia major. Woodcocks and snipes.

Item coturnices hic plurimi. Ratulæ vero raucæ et clamosæ infinitæ. Diemque[3] laudantes alaudæ innumeræ.[4] Quails, &c.

[Cap. XV.]

De bernacis ex abiete nascentibus; earumque natura.

Sunt et aves hic multæ, quæ bernacæ vocantur; quas mirum in modum, contra naturam, natura producit; aucis quidem palustribus similes, sed minores. Ex lignis namque abietinis, per æquora devolutis, primo quasi gummi nascuntur. Dehinc tanquam ab alga ligno cohærente, conchilibus testis ad liberiorem formationem inclusæ, per rostra dependent; et sic quousque processu temporis, firmam plumarum vestituram indutæ, vel in aquas decidunt, vel in aeris libertatem volatu se transferunt. Ex succo ligneo marinoque, occulta nimis admirandaque seminii ratione, alimenta simul incrementaque suscipiunt. The bernacle. Its marvellous generation.

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[1] *Acetæ . . . copia major*] This section not in M.

[2] *quæ et cardioli dicuntur*] Not in W. In margin of C. Bb. In text of A. R., &c.

[3] *Diemque, &c.*] This clause not in M. C. Bb. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c. Compare Neckam (p. 115), "Alauda a "laude diei nomen sortita est," &c.

[4] *innumeræ*] R. F.; infinitæ, Ba. Cl. Rb.

9. Of which Giraldus an eye-witness.

Vidi multoties oculis meis plusquam mille minuta hujusmodi avium[1] corpuscula,[2] in litore maris ab uno ligno dependentia, testis inclusa, et jam formata.

Non ex harum coitu, ut assolet,[3] ova gignuntur; non avis in earum procreatione unquam ovis incubat; in nullis terrarum angulis vel libidini vacare, vel nidificare videntur.

Its flesh eaten on fast-days.

Unde [4] et in quibusdam Hiberniæ partibus, avibus istis, tanquam non carneis quia de carne non natis, episcopi et viri religiosi jejuniorum tempore sine delectu vesci solent.

This wrong.

Sed hi [5] quidem scrupulose moventur ad delictum. Si quis enim ex primi parentis, carnei quidem licet de carne non nati, femore comedisset, eum a carnium esu non immunem arbitrarer.

The Jew refuted. Four modes of generation.

Resipisce, infelix Judæe, resipisce vel sero. Primam hominis generationem ex limo sine mare et femina, secundamque ex mare sine femina, ob legis venerationem diffiteri non audes. Tertiam solam, ex mare scilicet et femina, quia usualis est, dura cervice approbas et affirmas. Quartam vero, in qua sola salus est, ex femina scilicet sine mare, obstinata malitia in propriam perniciem detestaris.

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[1] *avium*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c. Not in R. B. F.

[2] *corpuscula*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; corpora, M.

[3] *assolet*] C. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; solet, M. Bb. A.

[4] *Unde, &c.*] Rest of this chapter omitted in Hb.

[5] *Sed hi . . . arbitrarer*] This section not in M. In Bb. is this marginal note, in a later hand: "Alexander Nequam libro primo "*De naturis rerum* sic scribit; "'Ex lignis abiegnis salo diurno "'(*sic*) tempore madefactis, origi- "'nem sumit avis quæ vulgo dici- "'tur Bernake. A superficie ita- "'que ligni exit quædam viscositas "'humorosa, quæ tractu temporis "'lineamenta corporis aviculæ plu- "'mis vestitæ suscipit: itaque a "'ligno dependere videtur avicula "'per rostrum. Hac quidem minus "'discreti etiam tempore jejunii "'vescuntur, eo quod ex ovo non "'prodierit, beneficio maternæ in- "'cubationis. Sed quid? Con- "'stat quod prius fuerint aves "'quam ova. Numquid ergo aves "'quæ ex ovis non eruperunt,'" (rest cut off in binding). This in Neckam i. 48, (p. 99).

Erubesce, miser, erubesce; et saltem ad naturam recurre. Quæ ad argumenta fidei, ad instructionem nostram, nova quotidie animalia sine omni mare vel femina procreat et producit.

Prima ergo generatio ex limo; et hæc ultima ex ligno. Illa quidem, quoniam[1] a Domino naturæ tantum semel, ideo semper obstupenda processit. Istam vero, non minus admirabilem, minus tamen admirandam quia sæpe, imitatrix natura ministrat. Sic enim composita est humana natura, ut nihil præter inusitatum,[2] et raro contingens, vel pretiosum ducat vel admirandum.

Only what is rare admired.

Solis ortum et occasum, quo nihil in mundo pulchrius, nihil stupore dignius, quia quotidie videmus, sine omni admiratione præterimus. Eclipsim vero solis, quia raro accidit, totus orbis obstupescit.

The rising and setting of the sun unnoticed: an eclipse an object of amazement.

Ad idem[3] etiam facere videtur, flatu solo, et occulta quadam inspiratione, citra omnem mixturam, apum ex cera[4] procreatio.

[Cap. XVI.]

De avibus biformibus, earumque naturis.

Aves quoque biformis naturæ, quas aurifrisios[5] vocant, sunt hic multæ; aquila quidem minores, accipitre majores. Quibus alterum pedem unguibus armatum, apertum et rapacem, alterum vero clausum et pacificum, solique natatui idoneum, naturæ ludentis opera contulit admiranda.

The osprey. One foot armed with talons, the other webbed.

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[1] *quoniam*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c. Not in R. B. F., which have also "et ideo" directly afterwards.

[2] *inusitatum*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; usitatum, R. F., and B. originally, but altered to "inusitatum."

[3] *Ad idem, &c.*] This section not in M.

[4] *cera*] Bb. A. R. B. F.; favo, C. Ba. Cl. Rb.

[5] *aurifrisios*] M. C. Bb. A. R. (originally), B.; haliætos, R. (by alteration), F. Ba. Cl. Rb. Neckam calls them "aurifrisii," and gives them the same two different feet, i. 58 (p. 108).

Their mode of fishing, as observed by Giraldus.

Mirum de avibus istis, quod et oculis plerumque conspexi, quia in aeris summitate supra marinos fluctus, ut oculorum aciem liberius in ima defigant, alarum remigio quietos se continent et sustentant. Cumque pisciculos in fundo fluctuum latitantes, per tantam aeris et aquæ turbulentam intercapedinem, lynceo acumine conspiciant, pernici velocitate se deorsum mittunt. Dumque mergunt emerguntque, pede natatili in aquis se gubernant, pede vero rapaci victores prædam extrahunt et asportant.

So the devil preys upon men.

Sic nos [1] hostis antiquus, in turbulentis hujus mundi fluctibus, quantumlibet occulta gerentes, acuto conspicit intuitu. Dumque in temporalium successibus quasi pede pacifico blande ad nos ingreditur, miseras tandem animas tanquam pede rapaci prædo cruentus rapit et dispergit.

[Cap. XVII.]

De avibus quasi adulterinis, et non veris.

Adulterine birds; not true to their species.

Notandum vero [2] quod in utroque avium genere, tam hoc quam priore, quædam inveniuntur aves aliis simillimæ, sed quasi adulterinæ tamen et non veræ; communem avium naturam sortientes, et ab utraque specialitate longe dissidentes. Verumtamen rerum quarumlibet tam similium differentias, quam differentium
9 b. similitudines, distinctius ab invicem mens non incauta discernit.

[Cap. XVIII.]

De martinetis, earumque naturis.

Kingfishers.

Sunt et aviculæ quas martinetas vocant, merula minores; hic, sicut alibi, raræ et fluviales; in modum

[1] *Sic nos, &c.*] Rest of this chapter omitted in IIb.

[2] *vero*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c. Not in R. B. F.

coturnicis curtæ ; et ad minutos pisciculos, quibus vescuntur, in aquam mergentes. Cumque alias naturam per omnia retineant, solo in colore variantur. Albo enim ventre, nigroque dorso hic degenerant;[1] cum in aliis regionibus ventre rubicundo, rostro pedibusque rubeis, tergo vero alisque in modum psittaci pavonisve lucida viriditate fulgentibus conspicuæ sint et formosæ.

Mirum de his aviculis, quia si mortuæ sicco in loco serventur, putrescere nesciunt; et inter vestes, aliasve res quascunque locatæ, eas indemnes a tinea conservant, et odoriferas reddunt. **Marvellous properties of these birds when dead.**

Et quod longe stupore dignius est, mortuæ quoque[2] in sicco per rostra suspensæ, rediviva plumarum renovatione singulis annis immutantur, tanquam vitalis spiritus ex parte superstitis occultis adhuc reliquiis vegetatæ.

Sic[3] viri sancti mundo mortui, igne caritatis accensi, et quasi in sicco positi, morum induunt incorruptionem, seque sibique adjunctos bonorum actuum studiis a vitiorum tinea purgant et elimant, bonoque virtutum odore laudabiles reddunt. **So with saintly men.**

Et dum tota mentis intentione in sublime suspenduntur, abjectu veterum, novisque virtutum incrementis, de die in diem renovantur in melius et mutantur; veterem prorsus exuentes hominem, et induentes novum.

Maximus quippe laudis profectus est, quoties sequentibus bonis priora vincuntur.

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[1] Giraldus seems certainly to be describing the water ouzel, which, from some similarity of habits, he took for a variety of the kingfisher.

[2] *mortuæ quoque*] Not in M. Bb.

[3] Rest of the chapter omitted in Hb.

[Cap. XIX.]

De cygnis, et ciconiis; earumque naturis.

Swans. Black storks. The death-song of swans.

In boreali Hiberniæ parte cygni abundant. Ciconiæ vero per totam insulam rarissimæ sunt; et illæ nigræ. Mirum de cygnis quod mortis discrimina doceant non dolenda; et imminente letali articulo, tanquam de necessitate virtutem facientes, funebria fata canendo contemnant.

So with saintly men.

Sic viri [1] virtutum meritis candidati, ab ærumnis hujus seculi læti discedunt; solumque Deum fontem vivum sitientes, a corpore mortis hujus liberari dissolvique cupiunt, et esse cum Christo.

Hibernation of storks, at bottom of rivers.

De ciconiis hoc mirandum, quod aquas gelidas petant, tepidas relinquant. Toto namque brumali tempore in fundo fluminum hiemantes, ad primam veris emergunt temperiem, et in aeris iterum se suscipiunt libertatem.

So with saintly men.

Sic [2] sancti, hiemali quod instat [3] mundi tempore, in terræ penetralibus dormientes, mundo in meliorem statum renovato, perpetuamque sine tempore temperiem jam sortito, ad primam archangeli vocem emergent,[4] obviamque Christo in aera rapti, et a dextris vocati, in veram filiorum libertatem transferentur.

[Cap. XX.]

De avibus, hiemali [5] tempore non comparentibus.

Hibernation of birds.

Mirum etiam de avibus istis, aliisque naturæ consimilis, quas [6] hiemali exilio naturæ rigor relegare solet,

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[1] *Sic viri, &c.*] This section not in Hb.

[2] *Sic sancti, &c.*] This section not in Hb.

[3] *quod instat*] Not in M.

[4] *emergent . . . transferentur*] R. F. Ba. Cl.; emergunt . . . transferuntur, C. Bb. A. B.

[5] *quæ hiemali temp. non comparent*] M. A.

[6] *quas hiemali . . . solet*] C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; and R. B. F., but with "consilio" instead of "exilio;" quæ hiemali tempore disparere solent, M.

quod interim nec vivæ nec mortuæ, vitali tamen spiritu vegetatæ, in extasim diuturnam, et statum quemdam inter mortem et vitam quasi medium, rapi videntur; et absque alimentorum juvamine, quibus animale corpus sustentari solet, tanto tempore occulto naturæ beneficio recreatæ, absque omni corporum detrimento, tanquam a somnis experrectæ, "cum zephyris" redeunt "et hirundine prima." Hor. 1 Ep. vii 13.

Haud aliter[1] animalia quædam; quæ et glires dicuntur, quia pingues eos efficit somnus, nam gliscere dicimus crescere;[2] hieme tota dormiunt, et immobiles quasi mortui jacent, tempore æstivo reviviscunt. Unde et quidam;[3] And of dormice.

"Tota mihi dormitur hiems; et pinguior illo
"Tempore sum, quo me nil nisi somnus alit."

Similis[4] hujus eorum extasis esse videtur, quorum
spiritus ad summa cœlorum habitacula, seu inferorum 10.
spectacula, divina permissione aliquamdiu rapiuntur: qui tandem ad corpora, in terris interim mirabili in statu destituta,[5] sine spiritu spirantia, sine vita viventia, nec morti tamen nec vitæ ad plenum obnoxia, completa legatione revertuntur.

[Cap. XXI.][6]

De cicadis, quæ decapitatæ dulcius canunt; diuque mortuæ per se reviviscunt.

Sunt in Apuliæ et Siciliæ partibus cicadæ quædam alatæ, non tibiarum nisu, sed alarum remigio se trans- The grasshoppers that sing

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[1] *Haud aliter, &c.*] This section not in M. Bb. W. In margin of C. In text of A. R. B. F. Ba., &c.

[2] After *crescere* is "sicut et concupiscere," in Hb. Rb. and Camden.

[3] After *quidam* is "tanquam animalis hujus sub persona," in Ba. Camden has "quasi pro bestiola loquens ait."

[4] *Similis, &c.*] This section not in Hb.

[5] *destituta*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; relicta, M.

[6] This chapter not in M.

best with their heads off, and dead.

ferentes, arterias sub gutture apertas habentes, quibus et voces canoras emittunt; dulciusque, ut fertur, decapitatæ quam integræ, meliusque mortuæ quam vivæ canunt. Unde et pastores terræ illius, ut dulcem vel morte cantum extorqueant, eas decapitare solent. Residuum namque vivificantis spiritus, donec moribundo a corpore per fenestras illas evaporaverit,[1] mirabilis emittitur harmonia.

Eædem quoque, primo hiemali algore suffocatæ, absque omni vitæ vestigio marcidæ fiunt, et pleræque putrescunt. Redeunte vero vernali tam tempore quam temperie, vitalem spiritum resumentes, revirescunt simul et reviviscunt.

Symbolizing the martyrs of Christ.

Quod[2] igitur mortuæ melius canunt quam vivæ, martyres Christi significare potest; qui capite pro ipso truncati, mortuique, melius quodammodo quam vivi prædicant. Christique ecclesiam eorum efficacius ædificat mors quam vita. Quod vero de revirentibus sequitur et reviventibus, expressum est nostræ resurrectionis argumentum.

Sic etenim Creator, ad instructionem et firmitudinem nostram, magis improbabiles probatæ fidei articulos familiaribus rerum naturalium fulcit et firmat exemplis. Quid enim aliud sibi vult vermiculorum, qui sericum evomunt, tam prodigiosa proprio ex pulvere procreatio? Quid illa phœnicis tam obstupenda proprio ex cinere reparatio?

[Cap. XXII.]

De cornicibus hic variis, earumque naturis.

Hooded crows.

Item cornices nigræ vel nullæ sunt hic, vel rarissimæ; omnes fere variæ.

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[1] *evaporaverit*] W. Bb. Ba. Cl. Rb.; exalaverit, A.; exala evaporaverit, R. B. F.

[2] Rest of this chapter omitted in Hb.

Aves istæ conchosos pisciculos contra litorea saxa[1] sursum in aera deferunt et demittunt: ut testam quam rostro frangere non prævalent,[2] lapidis altique casus injuria, collisione confringant.

Their mode of breaking the shells of fish.

Sic et hostis antiqui versuta malitia quos in imo humilique statu positos pervertere non prævalet, ad summa dignitatis culmina jam provectos audacius aggreditur; ut vel neglectu officii, vel arrogantiæ tumore nutantes impellens, quanto ab altiori gradu, tanto proniore casu in ima vitiorum lapsos gravius allidat et confringat.

So the devil destroys men.

Mirum de avibus istis, quia cum alias avium sint omnium argutissimæ, in sola nidi positione, ubi et aves fatuæ ingeniosæ reperiuntur, istas ingenio natura destituit.

Their foolish tameness in breeding time.

In publica namque strata, vel alia qualibet hominum frequentia, arbore demissa vel saxo nidificantes, nec ventos cogitant, nec angues, nec humanos accessus reformidant.

Sic[3] sapiens quisque, quanto magis ingenii viribus, et sapientiæ dote præfulget, tanto, libidini datus, et laqueis illectus amoris, modum et modestiam minus observat.

So wise men foolish in matters of love.

In David hoc claruit, et Salomone. Quorum alterum in homicidii, alterum in apostasiæ crimen, muliercularum furibundus amor induxit.

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[1] *contra litorea saxa*] Not in M. In margin of C. In text of Bb. A. R., &c.

[2] *prævalent*] C. Bb. A. R. &c.; valent, M.

[3] Rest of this chapter not in Hb.

[Cap. XXIII.]

De croeriis[1] *hic albis; earumque naturis.*

Butcher-birds (?).

Item, sicut albæ in Creta merulæ sunt omnes, sic et Hibernicæ croeriæ albæ sunt. Avium istarum natura est, scarabæos in spina suspendere. Unde et venenosum spina sortitur acumen. Mirum igitur malitiam, quam in nullo trium per se reperies, in trium tamen compositione non evitari.

10 b. Sic quoque Creator, contrariorum junctura mirabili, spiritum carni connectit: unde et peccati malitia statim contrahitur, quæ tamen in nullo trium per se posset reperiri.

Birds wanting in Ireland.

Falcones Hibernia præter generosos non habet. Desunt enim degeneres illi, quos vulgari vocabulo Lanerios vocant. Desunt et gyrofalcones; quos borealis arctoaque regio gignit et mittit. Desunt perdices et phasiani. Desunt picæ.[2] Desunt et philomenæ.

[Communiter[3] etiam omnium avium, maxime vero minutarum, minorem hic copiam quam alibi videas. Quod et Orosium de Hibernia loquentem latere non potuit. Ait enim; "Anguis hic nullus, avis rara, apes "nulla:" de duobus prioribus indices veros, de tertio vero fallacem habens. Ad hæc etiam[4] aucæ minores albæ, qui et Gantes[5] dicuntur, et gregatim in multitudine magna et garrula venire solent, in hos terrarum fines rarius adveniunt, et tunc valde raræ. Majores

[1] The heading of this chapter, and the two first sections, down to "reperiri," not in M. W. Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R. B., &c. The third section, "Falcones ". . . philomenæ," in M. W. Bb. forms the conclusion of the last chapter. So also originally in C.

[2] After *picæ* all is missing in Bb. until "sunt insulæ variæ," &c., at beginning of Distinc. II., cap. xi. *infra*, several folios being lost.

[3] *Communiter, &c.*] This section not in M. C. W. A. R. B. F. In Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[4] *etiam*] Ba. Hb. Rb.; autem, Cl.

[5] *Gantes*] Ba. Hb. Rb.; gautes, Cl.

autem, quæ[1] vulgari vocabulo Bisiæ vel etiam Grisiæ[2] vocantur, cum bruma statim in grege magno, flante aquilone, advectantur; et post hiemales protinus algores, contra nidificationis tempora, austro spirante revertuntur.]

[Cap. XXIV.]

De feris, earumque naturis.[3]

Ferarum quoque, quas occidentales pariunt regiones, cunctas fere species continet ista. Habet enim cervos, præ nimia pinguedine minus fugere prævalentes; quantoque minores sunt corporis quantitate, tanto præcellentius efferuntur, capitis et cornuum dignitate. Wild beasts. Deer.

Aprorum quidem et silvestrium porcorum nusquam terrarum tantam copiam vidimus. Sunt tamen exigui, deformes, et fugitivi: nec minus audacia et animositate, quam corporis compositione degeneres. Wild boars.

Sunt et lepores multi, sed minuti; cuniculis quidem tam sui modicitate, quam delicata pilositate consimiles. Hares: their peculiar fur.

Ut autem breviter complectar; omnium animalium, ferarum, et avium corpora, hic quam alibi suo in genere minora reperies: solis hominibus suam retinentibus majestatem. All animals smaller in Ireland than elsewhere.

Mirum de leporibus istis, quia contra aliorum naturam, a canibus inventi, semper in denso, tanquam vulpes, et in operto non in aperto diffugiunt: ad campana nunquam, patentesque[4] semitas, nisi coacti et inviti se transferentes. Hares more hideling in their habits.

Hanc[5] autem varietatem nimia, ut arbitror, terræ ipsius cursum præpediens facit herbositas.

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[1] *quæ*] Ba. Hb. Rb.; qui, Cl.

[2] *Grisiæ*] Ba. Hb. Rb.; Trisiæ, Cl.

[3] After *naturis* M. and A. have "et defectibus," as in the Table of Capitula *supra*.

[4] *patentesque*] C. W. A. R., &c.; petrosasque, M. H.

[5] *Hanc . . . herbositas*] Not in M.

Martins abundant.

Martrinarum [1] copia abundant hic silvestria. Quarum venatio in igne noctes diebus continuat.

Sub arbore [2] namque, qua fugitiva a canibus bestia vespere se recipit, igne succenso nocte tota, splendorem igneum ab alto indeflexibiliter intuens, ejusdem vel amoris vel potius timoris causa, revertente diluculo ibidem a venatore mane conspicitur.

[Cap. XXV.]

De taxo, ejusque natura.

The badger.

Est et hic [3] taxus, qui et Melota dicitur; animal [4] mordax et immundum, mollia [5] frequentans et montana. Scrobes subterraneos, tanquam refugii loca munimentaque, pedibus scalpens et effodiens sibi ipse conformat.

Its mode of carrying earth.

Quidam vero ex his, naturæ imperio servire parati, terram ab aliis effossam, ventrique supino impositam quatuor pedibus complectentes, lignoque in ore ex transverso locato, dentibus ab aliis hinc inde cohærentibus, retrogradeque trahentibus, non absque intuentium admiratione simul cum oneribus extrahuntur.

[Cap. XXVI.]

De castore, ejusque natura.

A like artifice used by the beaver.

Simili naturæ artificio castores utuntur; qui, dum castra sibi in fluviis construunt, sui generis servis quasi pro rheda utentes, a silvis ad aquas lignea robora miro vecturæ modo contrahunt et conducunt.

In utroque animalium genere, servi notabiles inve-

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[1] *Martrinarum*] C. A. R. F.; Martinarum, B.; Martrinarum seu martricum, Ba.

[2] *Sub arbore, &c.*] This section not in M.

[3] *hic*] Not in M. W. A.

[4] *animal*] C. R. B., &c.; hic est animal, M.; hic animal, W. A.

[5] *mollia . . . et montana*] C. W. R. B., &c.; montana . . et saxosa, M. A.

niuntur[1] tam degenerante quadam naturæ deformitate, quam abrasa et attrita dorsorum depilatione.

Taxos Hibernia, non castores habet. Habentur tamen in Wallia, Teyvensi tantum in flumine apud Keirdigan. Habentur et in Scotia similiter rari. No beavers in Ireland. A few in Wales and Scotland.

Notandum vero quod castores caudas habent latas, et non longas; in modum palmæ humanæ spissas; quibus tanquam pro remigio natando funguntur. Cumque totum corpus reliquum valde pilosum habeant, hanc partem omni pilositate carentem, in modum phocæ marinæ, planam habent et levigatam.

Unde et in Germania, arctoisque regionibus, ubi abundant beveres, caudis hujusmodi, piscium naturam, ut aiunt, tam sapore quam colore sortitis, viri etiam[2] magni et religiosi jejuniorum tempore pro pisce vescuntur. 11. Their tails, as having the nature of fish, eaten on fast-days.

Videtur[3] tamen quod juris in toto quoad totum, hoc in parte quoad partem: nec pars a toto tanta generis diversitate distare consuevit.

Sed de his et eorum natura, qualiter et quanto artificio mediis in fluctibus munimenta connectant, qualiterque et quam laudabili in bestia dispensatione, damno partis, hoste urgente, totum redimant, cum de utriusque terræ, Walliæ scilicet et Scotiæ situ et proprietate, de utriusque gentis origine et natura tractabimus, plenius explicabitur.

Sed alias hinc, aliique beneficio, Deo duce, vitaque comite, locum faciemus.

Defectum vero et aliarum quarundam patitur insula ferarum. Caret enim capreis, caret et damis; caret ericiis, caret erminis,[4] caret et putaciis. Other beasts not in Ireland.

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[1] *inveniuntur*] C. W. A. R., &c.; sunt, M. What is said in this chapter of the beaver, is repeated, with large additions, in *Itin. Kamb.* ii. 3, and in *Descr. Kamb.* i. 5.

[2] *etiam*] C. W. A. R., &c. Not in M.

[3] *Videtur, &c.*] This section not in M. In margin of C. In text of W. A. R., &c.

[4] *caret erminis*] Not in M. C. W. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

[Cap. XXVII.][1]

De mustelis, earumque naturis.

Weasels.

Virg. Georg. iv. 83.

Mustelæ hic multæ, sed minutæ plurimum et subrufæ. Hæc bestiola, plus cordis habens quam corporis, animosaque magis quam robusta, "ingentes animos "angusto in pectore versans," vindicis est iracundiæ, et renovatæ potius quam continuæ; injuriarum pro loco dissimulatrix et ultrix; gravis murium majorum tyrannus, et vestium corrosiva. Item lepores huic præda, caprei quoque,[2] cuniculique.

Their conflicts with snakes, and clever strategy.

Cum colubro plerumque duello congreditur. In quo conflictu interdum fugam simulans, ad cumulum se confert ante prævisum, et in crucis modum tam ex opposito utrinque per medium latere, quam etiam superius ad hoc perforatum. Ubi et vermem sequacem, nec per foraminis angustiam se replicare valentem, agilitatis innatæ beneficio, a superiori foramine dentibus in medio conterit et comprehendit indemnis. Sicque mirabili, ne dicam ingenio, vi quadam ingenita et quasi discretiva, venenosi capitis malitiam vitans, horrendum hostem arte magis quam marte triumphat.

Restore their dead young to life.

Item fetus hæc teneros, læsione quacunque mortificatos, crocei cujusdam floris beneficio, refocillare solet et vitæ restituere. Ut enim perhibent qui viderunt, et catellos periculi istius causa morti dederunt, primo læsuræ, postmodum ori et naribus quasi inspirando, ceterisque per ordinem corpusculi fenestris omnibus allatum ore florem apponit. Et sic demum tam floris illius quam oris spiraculo, vel potius herbæ virtuosissimæ tactu, qui penitus expirasse videbantur, aliquo

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[1] Of this chapter M. has nothing except the last section, "Talpæ, "&c.," with which Cap. XXVI. in M. ends.

[2] *caprei quoque*] A. R. B. F. Not in C. W. Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

forte vitæ vestigio adhuc manente licet occulto, respirare compellit.

Præterea, qui solo cetera necat aspectu, mors mustela basilisco. Sic qui tanto premit omnia fastu leonem, minima minctu confundit hyæna. Idem,[1] exiguo scorpionis aculeo exagitatus, occiditur. Elephanto quoque inter animantia mus terribilis esse perhibetur. Death to the basilisk.

Sic etenim, optimi dispensatoris[2] providentia, minimis quibusdam majora quæque premuntur: ut vel ex his attendi valeat et deprehendi, nihil in terris maximum, nihilque beatum, quod plena[3] queat[4] felicitate gaudere. Quid homine sub cœlo dignius? Quid colubro, quid aranea, quid culice vilius? Nihil enim sine causa, nullumque malum suo absque remedio inter creaturas Creator admisit.[5]

Talpæ quidem, [sicut et cicadæ],[6] vel naturali defectu, vel[7] propter nimiam terræ humiditatem, aut nullæ sunt hic, aut rarissimæ. [Sicut autem[8] talpas sol excæcat, sic et cicadas dies eadem creat et necat. Unde quidam;[9] No moles in Ireland.

" Mors et vita dies una cicada tibi."]

Sed mures infinitissimi: qui et enormius quam alibi grana consumunt; et vestes, serratas etiam et clausas, demoliendo corrodunt. Duo tantum animalium genera nociva insulam habere Beda describit; lupos scilicet et vulpes. Nos tertium hoc addimus, et nocentissimum. 11 b. Mice in immense numbers.

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[1] *Idem . . . perhibetur*] Not in W. In margin of C. In text of A. R., &c.

[2] *dispensatoris*] A. R. B. F.; dispositoris, C. W. Ba., &c.

[3] *plena*] C. W. A. F. (by alteration), Ba. Cl., &c.; plene, R. B. F. (originally).

[4] *queat*] W. A. R. B. F. Hb.; nequeat, C. Ba. Cl. Rb.

[5] *admisit*] C. (by alteration), A. R. B. F. Rb.; emisit, C. (originally), Cl.; and W. Ba., but these with "vel admisit" interlined over.

[6] *sicut et cicadæ*] This added in Ba. Cl., &c.

[7] *vel nat. def. vel*] Not in M.

[8] *Sicut autem . . . . tibi*] This added in Ba. Cl., &c.

[9] After *quidam* is, in Hb. and Rb., but not in Ba. or Cl., " tanquam ad " vermiculum ipsum apostrophan- " do." This in Camden.

[Cap. XXVIII.]

De vermibus, eorumque defectibus; et venenosis omnibus hic deficientibus.

No poisonous reptiles in Ireland.

De vermibus. Inter omnia vermium genera, solis non nocivis Hibernia gaudet. Venenosis enim omnibus caret. Caret serpentibus et colubris; caret bufonibus et ranis; caret tortuis et scorpionibus; caret et draconibus.

Defectus vermium.

Habet tamen araneas, habet sanguisugas, habet et lacertas; sed has prorsus innocuas.

[Unde[1] satis historice, satisque facete, dici vel etiam scribi potest; Ranæ in Gallia et Italia clamosæ et garrulæ, in Britannia mutæ, in Hibernia nullæ.]

A flattering figment, that St. Patrick drove reptiles out of Ireland.

Quidam vero, figmento satis favorabili, conjectant, sanctum Patricium, aliosque terræ sanctos, pestiferis cunctis insulam purgasse. Sed probabilior asserit historia, a primis temporibus, longeque ante omnia fidei fundamenta,[2] sicut aliarum quarundam rerum, sic et istarum, naturali quodam defectu, semper insulam destitutam fuisse.

[Cap. XXIX.]

De venenosis vermibus, qui huc allati statim moriuntur; et toxico malitiam amittente.

No poisonous reptile, brought from elsewhere, able to exist in Ireland.

Nec mihi mirandum videtur, quod vermium istorum, sicut et piscium, avium, et ferarum quarundam, naturalem defectum terra patitur. Sed hoc stupore dignum occurrit, quod nihil venenosum aliunde advectum unquam continere vel potuit vel potest. Legitur namque in antiquis terræ istius sanctorum scriptis, quod[3] ali-

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[1] *Unde . . . nullæ*] This added in Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[2] *omnia fidei fundamenta*] M. C. W. A. R. B. F.; omnem fidei revelatæ gratiam, Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[3] *quod*] C. A. Ba. Cl., &c.; vel, R. B. F.

quoties, experiendi gratia, serpentes in ollis æneis delati sunt. Sed quam cito medium maris Hibernici cursum transmeaverant, exanimes et mortui reperti sunt.

Toxicum quoque, similiter allatum,[1] mediis in fluctibus innata malitia benignior aura privavit.

De his[2] autem Beda scribit, in hunc modum de Hibernia loquens: "Nullum ibi reptile videri soleat, "nullus vivere serpens valeat. Nam sæpe illo de "Britannia allati serpentes, mox ut, proximante terris "navigio, odore aeris illius afflati[3] fuerint, intereant. "Quin potius omnia pene, quæ de eadem insula sunt, "contra venena valent." Bede. Hist. Eccl. i. 1.

Scrutatores tamen oceani mercatores asserentes audivimus, quod cum naves in portu Hibernico aliquoties exonerassent,[4] bufones casu illatos in fundo navium invenerunt; quos dum vivos in terram projecissent, statim verso ventre, videntibus et admirantibus multis, medii crepuerunt et interierunt.

Constat igitur quod, [vel[5] sanctorum meritis, sicut vulgata per orbem asserit opinio], sive ex aeris nova quidem et inaudita, benignissima tamen clementia, sive ex terræ ipsius vi quadam occulta et venenis inimica, nec animal venenosum hic subsistere potest; et venenum quodlibet, aliunde advectum, omnem malignitatis efficaciam prorsus amittit.

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[1] *similiter allatum*] C. W. A. R., &c.; si similiter allatum fuerit, M.

[2] *De his, &c.*] This section not in M. C. W. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba. Cl., &c.

[3] *afflati*] Instead of this, "attacti" in Bede.

[4] *aliquoties exonerassent*] C. W. A. R., &c.; aliquando exoneraverint, M.

[5] *vel . . . opinio*] Not in M. C. W. A. R. B. F. In Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[Cap. XXX.]

De pulvere terræ istius venenosos vermes necante.

Its dust, exported, fatal to such reptiles.

In tantum siquidem terra hæc inimica veneno est, ut si aliarum regionum seu viridaria, seu quælibet alia loca, pulvere ipsius aspergantur, venenosos abinde vermes procul exterminat.[1]

[Cap. XXXI.]

De corrigiis terræ istius contra venena conferentibus.

Leather thongs from Ireland powerful against poison.

Corrigiæ quoque terræ istius, non adulterinæ sed veræ, et de coriis animalium quæ hic nata sunt factæ, contra serpentum bufonumque morsus, in aqua rasæ et potæ,[2] efficax remedium ferre solent.

Effect of one upon a toad, as witnessed by Giraldus.

Vidi oculis meis corrigiam hujusmodi,[3] strictam et arctam, bufoni circulariter periculi causa circumpositam. Ad quam perveniens et transire volens, statim tanquam capite percussus retro cecidit: partesque ad oppositas se transferens, et corrigiam undique inventam tanquam pestem fugiens, in medio tandem circuli spatio terram fimosam[4] subito pedibus effossam multis intuentibus subintravit.

Other things equally efficacious against poison, according to Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 1.

Quinimmo,[5] omnia pene quæ de eadem insula sunt, juxta Bedæ assertionem, contra venena valent. Asserit enim se vidisse, "quibusdam a serpentibus percussis, "folia codicum, qui de Hibernia fuerant, et ipsam "rasuram aquæ immissam,[6] protinus totam vim veneni "grassantis, totum inflati corporis absumpsisse ac se-"dasse tumorem."

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[1] *exterminat*] M. C. B.; exterminet, A. R. F. Ba. Cl. Rb.

[2] *potæ*] M. C. A. R., &c.; potatæ, W. Ba. (altered from 'potæ').

[3] *hujusmodi*] M. C. A. R., &c.; hujus terræ, W.

[4] *fimosam*] C. W. R. B., &c. Not in M. A.

[5] *Quinimmo, &c.*] Rest of chapter not in M.

[6] After *immissam* Bede has, "ac "potui datam, talibus."

[Contigit[1] autem nostris diebus, in borealibus Angliæ finibus, juvenis os dormientis colubrum intrasse, et per guttur apertum in ventrem descendisse. Qui male suum incontinenti remunerans hospitem, ejus intestina rodere dentibus et lacerare[2] non cessavit. Adeo ut juvenis ille tantis angustiis torqueretur, quod morte mori mallet, quam vitam ducere mortis. Post cibum tamen sumptum, aliquam respectu temporis alterius quietem habebat; ante vero penitus nullam. Cum autem loca sanctorum diu per Angliam lustrasset[3] et incassum, tandem saniori consilio in Hiberniam transvectus, statim aquis terræ illius salubriter haustis, et cibariis sumptis, letalem hostem letaliter extinctum per inferiora transmisit, et lætus sanitate resumpta[4] repatriavit.]

A youth, with a snake inside him, gnawing his entrails; gets no help from English saints; but relieved at once in Ireland.

[Cap. XXXII.]

De rana in Hibernia nuper[5] inventa.

Nostris tamen temporibus, apud Waterfordiam, herbosis in pascuis rana reperta[6] fuit; et coram Roberto 12.
Poer,[7] tunc ibi rectore, aliisque multis tam Anglicis quam Hibernicis, in curiam viva delata est. Cumque ipsam multum Anglici, multoque plus Hibernici cum admiratione conspexissent, demum Duvenaldus rex Ossiriensis, vir prudens in gente sua et fidelis, tunc forte præsens existens, cum grandi capitis concussione, gravique cordis dolore, verbum hoc eructavit; "Pessi-

A frog found at Waterford, circa A.D. 1179, Exp. Hib. ii. 20.

[1] *Contigit, &c.*] This section not in M. C. W. A. R. B. F. In Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[2] *et lacerare*] Ba. Cl. Rb. Not in Hb.

[3] *diu per Angliam lustrasset*] Ba.; Domini per Ang. lust., Cl.; Dei per Ang. lust. diu, Hb. Camden; per Ang. lust. diu, Rb.

[4] *resumpta*] Ba. Cl. Rb.; sumpta, Hb.

[5] *nuper*] C. R. B. F. Ba. Cl. Not in M. W. A.

[6] *reperta*] C. B. R. F.; inventa, M. W. A. Ba., &c.

[7] *Poer*] M. C. W. A.; Poerio, R. B. F. Ba., &c.

"mos in Hiberniam rumores vermis iste portavit." Utensque tanquam prognostico vero, certissimum hoc signum esse dicebat adventus Anglorum, imminentisque conquisitionis et expugnationis gentis suæ.

Arbitrari tamen nemo præsumat, quod unquam vermis iste hic natus fuisset; quia non hic, ut alibi,

Ov. Met. xv. 375.

"Semina limus habet virides generantia ranas."

Quod si foret, frequentius et numerosius vel ante vel post inventæ fuissent.

Sed forte[1] liquidi et limosi seminis particulam, æthereo calore in nubes attractam, et vi ventorum huc impulsam; vel etiam vermiculum ipsum jam formatum, nubeculæ descendentis concavitate sursum elevatum, et huc casu advectum, terra inhospita et inimica suscepit. Vel potius rana portu propinquo forte fortuitu nave devecta, et in terram projecta, quia vermis venenosa non est, aliquamdiu subsistere et vivere prævaluit.

[Cap. XXXIII.]

De variis insulæ laudibus, terræque naturis.

Ireland the most temperate of lands.

Terra terrarum hæc omnium temperatissima. Non cancri calor exæstuans compellit ad umbras; non ad focos capricorni rigor urgenter invitat.

Nives hic raro, et tunc modico tempore durare videbis.

Na quod ex omni vento hic modice, ex nullo brumescit immoderate.

Ex omni tamen vento, non minus subsolari, favonioque, et zephyro, quam circio et boreali, quandoque brumescit. Ex omni quidem modice, ex nullo immoderate.

Sicut æstivo, sic et hiemali tempore herbosa vi-

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[1] *Sed forte . . . suscepit*] Not in M., which begins the next sentence with "Sed portu propinquo," &c.

rescunt pascua. Unde nec ad pabula fena secari, nec armentis unquam stabula parari solent.

Veris amœnitate, temperieque, tempora fere cuncta tepescunt.

Aeris quoque clementia tanta est, ut nec nebula inficiens, nec spiritus hic pestilens, nec aura corrumpens. And very healthy.

Na medicis insulam parum indigere. Medicorum opera parum indiget insula. Morbidos enim homines, præter moribundos, paucos invenies. Inter sanitatem continuam, mortemque supremam, nihil fere medium.

Advenarum[1] tamen una hic fere est passio, et unica vexatio. Ob humida namque nutrimenta, immoderatum ventris fluxum vix in primis ullus evadit. Præterea, per totum pene anni circulum carnes ad esum et vaccinæ valent, et porcinæ nocent.

Na Hybernienses tantum acuta vexari. Item, nemo unquam indigenarum hic natus, terram aeremque salubrem non egressus, ulla trium generum specie febricitavit. Sola vexantur acuta, eaque perraro.

Hic quidem tenor naturaliter rebus inerat. Sed mundo senescente, et tanquam in decrepitæ ætatis senium jam vergente, et ad finem tendente, cunctarum fere natura rerum corrupta, et in deterius est mutata.

Tanta siquidem pluviarum hic jam inundat ubertas, tanta nebularum et nubium incumbit impuritas, ut vix tres dies vel æstivos continua serenitate clarescere videas. Very subject to heavy rains.

Nulla tamen aeris turbulentia, nulla temporis intemperies, vel sanos et hilares hic contristat, vel etiam delicati capitis cerebrum turbat.

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[1] *Advenarum . . . nocent*] This section not in M. In margin of C. In text of W. A. R., &c.

[Cap. XXXIV.]

De comparatione[1] *orientis et occidentis.*

The East not to be compared with the West.

Quas[2] igitur his comparabiles orientalis regio divitias jactat?[3] Habet quidem, vermiculorum[4] beneficio, lanuginem sericam vario colore fucatam. Habet pretiosa metallorum genera: habet gemmas perlucidas, et species odoriferas.

Sed quid hæc cum vitæ sanitatisque dispendio; cum continua tam familiaris hostis, aeris scilicet inclusi et
12 b. includentis inimicitia?

[Cap. XXXV.]

Quod omnia elementa in oriente pestifera.

In the East, sickness and death everywhere.

Omnia quidem elementa, licet ad usum hominum creata, miseris ibi[5] mortalibus mortem interminando, et bonam valetudinem exterminant, et vitam terminant.

Terram nudo vestigio teras, mors imminet. Marmori minus caute insideas, mors imminet.

Aquam si vel crudam potes, vel corruptam jejunis naribus olfacias, mors imminet.

Auram nudato capite liberius carpas, si frigida penetrat, si calida perturbat, mors imminet.

Cœlum tonitruis terret, fulminibus infestat. Sol æstuantibus radiis inquietat.

Præterea, cibum majori in quantitate sumas, mors in januis. Vinum non aquatum bibas, mors in januis. Si longe citra satietatem manum non suspendas, mors in januis.

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[1] *De comparatione, &c.*] C. R. B. F. Ba. Cl. Rb.; Quod occidentalia commoda sunt orientalibus præferenda, M. A. has both, with no connecting 'et.'

[2] *Quas*] M. C. A. R., &c.; Haud,

[3] *jactat*] C. W. A. R., &c.; habet, M.

[4] *vermiculorum*] C. W. R., &c.; bombicum, M. A.

[5] *ibi*] R. B. F. Ba. Cl., &c.; hic, M. C. W. A.

[Cap. XXXVI.]

De venenorum ibidem malitia.

Item et novercæ privigno, et matronæ offensæ marito, et coci corrupti domino, venenosa manus est formidanda. Poisoners and poisons in the East.

Nec tantum cibaria et pocula, verum etiam vestes, sellæ, et subsellia, veneno suspecta sunt.

Insidiantur venena; insidiantur et venenosa animalia; insidiatur omnium rerum nocivarum res nocentissima, homini homo.

Præter enim[1] usualia quæ hic abundant incommoda, infestant et invident humanæ saluti pantheræ veloces[2] et variæ, virgineoque capti amore rhinoceri, flatuque horribiles cocodrilli,[3] fluviales ypotami, lynces penetrabiles,[4] solisque leonibus solo hyænæ minctu terribiles. Noxious animals.

Infestant aspides et viperæ; infestant dracones; et solo invisus visu, soloque timendus aspectu basiliscus. Infestat seps, serpens exiguus, modicitatem tamen malitia supplens. Non solum enim carnem, sed et ossa veneno consumit. Cujus poeta sic meminit, Asps, vipers, dragons, &c.

"Ossaque dissolvit cum corpore tabificus seps." Lucan, Phars. ix. 723.

Dipsa quoque, serpens modicus; cujus venenum ante extinguit quam sentiatur; cujus tam dirum virus, ut, in ejus morsu, doloris sensum mors anticipet.

Contigit temporibus nostris quemdam de Britanniæ partibus Ierosolymam, ut assolet, peregre transvectum, cum annonam equis apponendam manu forte purgaret, Death of an English pilgrim from bite of a snake.

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1 *Præter enim, &c.*] Of the rest of this chapter, M. has only the last clause, "Inter tot . . . vita?"

2 *veloces et*] Not in C. W. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

3 *cocodrilli*] C. W. R. B. F. Ba. Cl.; corcodrilli, A.; cocodulli, Rb.

4 *penetrabiles visu*, W.

a vermiculo ibidem latitante in digito[1] percussam esse; statimque totum corpus ejus, cum carnibus et ossibus, in massam quamdam informem et quasi piceam est resolutum. Inquisita vero a sociis mortis hujus, vel potius mutationis causa, et vermis natura, invenerunt ibidem anguem modicum, anguillulæ nigræ formam præferentem. Ab accolis etiam acceperunt, anguem istum Galeam vocatum; et a desertis Babiloniæ raro, sed et crebro nimis, intra triginta scilicet annorum spatium, ad partes illas accedere solere, et in hominem seu bestiam sæviendo, tanta tam irremediabili malitia terribilem adventum indicare.

Vermium itaque hujusmodi, qui in oriente scaturiunt, quot genera sunt, tot venena; quot species, tot pernicies; quot colores, tot dolores; quot varietates, tot adversitates.

Inter tot igitur mortis pericula, quæ vitæ securitas? Vel potius, inter tot mortes, quæ vita?

[Cap. XXXVII.]

De aeris nostri clementia incomparabili.

The salubrity of our air a compensation for all the wealth of the East.

Habeat igitur oriens venenosas, habeat toxicatas opulentias suas. Nos, cum aurea rerum mediocritate, quæ et usui decenter suppetat, et naturæ sufficiat, omnes orientales pompas sola aeris nostri clementia compensamus.

O Dei donum in terris incomparabile! O inæstimabilem, et nondum intellectam mortalibus gratiam divinitus collatam!

13. Secure sub divo, securi nudo in marmore dormimus. Non auram vel algore penetrabilem, vel æstu periculosam, vel corruptione pestiferam formidamus. Et quod spirando includimus, et quo continenter includimur, benigna salubritate fœderatur.

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[1] *digitum*] A.

Quanto [1] siquidem ad eoos tractus, cœlique fervorem magis acceditur, tanto glebæ fertilitate, fructiferaque fecunditate terra felicior. Item [2] et pretiosa metallorum, gemmarumque [genera],[3] bombycini sericique velleris, et gazarum omnium copia major. Gens quoque, subtilioris aeris beneficio, exili corpore, subtili ingenio pollet. Unde et venenis vincere solet quam viribus, et arte magis quam marte vigere.

People of the East smaller in body, but of a more subtle genius.

Sed quanto ad circii zephyrique partes magis vergitur, gleba sterilior, sed aura salubrior; gens acuta minus, sed robusta magis. Aere namque præpingui arva minus, Minerva magis impinguatur. Et quoniam

"Omnis in arctois sanguis [4] quicunque pruinis
"Nascitur, indomitus bellis, et martis [5] amator,"

Luc. Phars. viii. 363.

gens hæc ingentes animos ingenti corpore versant. Regnant igitur in oriente Bacchus et Ceres, eorumque pedissequa et [semper] [6] his sine frigens Venus. Regnat quoque delicati aeris semper alumna et amica Minerva. Mars hic, Mercurius, Arcadiæque deus. Ibi igitur gazarum superabundans copia; hic modesta et honesta sufficientia. Ibi aeris serenitas; hic salubritas. Ibi gens arguta, hic robusta. Ibi venenis dimicatur, hic viribus. Ibi ars, hic Mars. Ibi sapientiæ studium, hic eloquentiæ. Ibi Apollo, hic Mercurius. Ibi Minerva, hic Pallas atque Diana.

Virg. Georg. iv. 83.

Ter. Eun. 4, 5, 6.

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[1] *Quanto, &c.*] Rest of this chapter not in M.

[2] *Item . . . major*] Not in W.

[3] *genera*] Added in Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[4] "populus" instead of *sanguis* in Lucan.

[5] *martis*] C. A. R. F. Cl., &c.; mortis, W. B. Ba. "Mortis" is the generally-received reading in Lucan, and "Martis" a not-approved *alias*.

[6] *semper*] Added in Cl. Hb. Rb.; but not in Ba.

[CAP. XXXVIII.]

De laudabilibus hic quarundam rerum defectibus.

Other evils wanting in the West.

Sunt et aliarum quarundam rerum, sicut et vermium, defectus hic laudabiles. Terræmotus hic nunquam: vix semel in anno tonitruum audies.

Non hic tonitrua terrent, non fulmina feriunt. Non cataractæ obruunt; non terræmotus absorbent; non leo rapit; non pardus lacerat; non ursa devorat; non tigris absumit.

Item, non cibariorum xenia, etiam ab hostibus facta, ulla veneni suspicio reddit infesta.

Non novercæ privignus, non matronæ quantumlibet offensæ maritus toxicata pocula reformidat.

[CAP. XXXIX.]

Quod fons venenorum in oriente.

In the East the fountain of poisons, which lose their venom at this distance from their source.

Fons venenorum ebullit in oriente. Quantoque remotius ab origine[1] derivatur, tanto naturalis efficaciæ vim minorem exercet.

Per tot igitur tantaque locorum interstitia longa derivatione paulatim deficiens, in his tandem extremitatibus venenosus vigor prorsus evanuit.

Sol quanto in remotiores a zodiaco partes radios mittit, minorem[2] in subjecta vim caloris exercet. Unde et quædam arctoæ regionis ultimæ partes caloris ejus beneficio prorsus sunt destitutæ.

Sed dicas; lapidibus pretiosis, et radicibus virtuosis oriens præcellit.

Provido gestum est naturæ consilio, ut ubi multa

[1] *ab origine*] H. C. A. R. B. F. Cl. Rb.; ab oriente, M. W.; abinde,

[2] *tanto minorem*, W.

mala, ibi et malorum remedia pullularent. Cogunt enim multas invenire medicinas multorum experimenta morborum.

Hic vero ubi rarissima pericula, et rariora remedia.

[Cap. XL.][1]

Quod occidentalia commoda sunt orientalibus præferenda.

Quanto igitur solicitudine appetibilior est tranquillitas, quanto conservativa potior est quam curativa, quanto satius est continua sanitate gaudere, quam post varias læsiones remedia quærere, tanto occidentis commoda orientalibus præeminent et præcellunt; tantoque zephyri quam euri regna oculo benigniore natura respexit. The West to be preferred to the East.

Verisimile[2] tamen esse videtur, quod sicut in occasu, sic et in ortu, quasi circa primam et ultimam ætatem, 13 b. phœbei fervoris sit longe malitia minor. Contra meridionales autem plagas, eisque dispositione conterminas, tanquam Phœbo in finibus illis juvenilibus jam æstuante medullis, intemperies et inclementia major.

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[1] No new chapter in M.; the first section of this chapter, "Quanto . . " . . respexit," forming the conclusion of its last chapter; and the second section, "Verisimile," &c., not in it.

[2] *Verisimile, &c.*] This section not in C. also, or W. In A. R. B. F., as I give it. Different in Ba. Cl. Ilb. Rb.: "Verisimile tamen vide-" tur esse, quod sicut mane diei et " vesperam, primos hominis annos " et ultimos, medio fervente, mador " mitigat et humectat; sic meridio-" nales plagas, eisque conterminas, " Phœbo in finibus illis tanquam " juvenilibus æstuante medullis, " aeris intemperie distemperante, " ortus ejusdem terminos et occasus " natura reddit humidior tempera-" tos."

INCIPIT[1] DISTINCTIO SECUNDA, DE MIRABILIBUS HIBERNIÆ ET MIRACULIS.

The marvels and miracles of Ireland now to be described.

Nunc ad ea, quæ contra naturæ cursum edita[2] digna stupore videntur, calamum vertamus. Ex his igitur quæ per se miranda, suique novitate conspicua, in his terrarum finibus natura reposuit; ex his etiam quæ sanctorum meritis egregie nimis et valde miraculose gesta sunt, quorumque memoria ex certis quibusdam indiciis perenniter extat memoratu dignissima, stilo perstringere non superfluum duxi. Ut sicut orientalium regionum prodigia, diligenti auctorum opera, in publicæ notitiæ lucem dudum prodiere, sic et occidentalia, hactenus quidem abdita fere et incognita, nostro tandem labore his vel occiduis temporibus inveniant editorem.

Nothing here but what Giraldus himself saw, or was assured of by the most authentic testimony.

Scio tamen et certus sum, me nonnulla scripturum quæ lectori vel impossibilia prorsus, vel etiam ridiculosa videbuntur.

Sed ita me Dii amabilem præstent, ut nihil in libello apposuerim, cujus veritatem vel oculata fide, vel probatissimorum et authenticorum comprovincialium virorum testimonio, cum summa diligentia non elicuerim.

Nec[3] mihi calumniæ nubila livor obducat. Quæ

[1] This Preface to second Distinction not in Hb. In the *Symb. Elect.* (vol. i., 393) it is called "Topo-"graphiæ præfatio tertia."

[2] *edita*] C. W. R., &c.; prolata, M. A.

[3] Of the rest of this preface, M. has only this: "Nec mirum tamen "si circa ejus opera, qui omnia "quæcunque voluit fecit, mira scri-"bantur; cum 'Mirabilis sit Deus "'in sanctis suis,' et magnus in "omnibus operibus suis; cumque "alibi per psalmistam dicatur, "'Venite et videte opera Domini, "'quæ posuit prodigia super ter-

nam oculis subjecta fidelibus ipse conspexi, firmiter et indubitanter hæc assero: quæ vero tantum demissa per aures, quia segnius irritant, horum non assertor sed recitator existo. Singulis tamen, prout a multis et authenticis viris, a quibus et visa sunt, accepi, fidem adhibeo; aliorumque fidei et assertioni non incredulus acquiesco.

Nec mirum tamen, si circa ejus opera, qui omnia quæcunque voluit fecit, mira reperiantur, referantur, et scribantur; apud quem nihil impossibile; quique naturam, utpote naturæ dominus, quo vult inflectit, et quasi de non natura naturam facit. Præterea, contra primævam et veram, quæ Deus est, naturam, qualiter vere fieri quicquam dicetur, quod ipso constat auctore patratum? Contra naturam igitur usuali sermone quam proprio magis ea sola fieri dicuntur, quæ contra ejusdem non potentiam sed frequentiam prodire videntur. Cum itaque "Mirabilis sit Deus in sanctis suis," et Ps. lxvii. 36.
magnus in omnibus operibus suis, "Venite et videte Ps. xlv. 9.
"opera Domini, quæ posuit prodigia super terram."

Quælibet nimirum regiones, insulæ præsertim et partes a centro remotissimæ, propriis quibusdam prodigiis pollent. Semper enim,[1] et quasi ex industria, seria sui negotia novis quibusdam natura depingit; ut sic manifeste doceat et declaret, quod licet humanis utcunque ingeniis usualia ejusdem opera valeant attendi, potentialis tamen effectus nequeat comprehendi.

Hoc etiam diligens lector advertat, quia historia veritati non parcit, potiusque vera quam verisimilia sectatur.

" 'ram.' Hoc etiam diligens lector " advertat, quia historia veritati " non parcit, potiusque vera quam " verisimilia sectatur. Habeat hic " igitur et præsens tempus quod " laceret, et posteritas quod laudet; " habeat hoc quod lædat, illa quod " legat; habeat hoc quod damnet, " illa quod amet; habeat hoc quod " reprobet, illa quod probet." And of this, the last period, "Habeat " hic . . . probet," is not in H.

[1] *Semper enim . . . comprehendi*] This clause repeated in the first preface of *Expug. Hibern.*

Si quid[1] ergo novum hic et inauditum emerserit, non statim lividi vel contemnant, vel demordeant: sed nunc ignoscendo,[2] nunc approbando, studia procedere sinant. Nam, ut ait poeta,

Hor. 2 Ep. i. 90.

" Si patribus nostris[3] novitas invisa fuisset,
" Ut nobis, quid nunc esset vetus, aut quid haberet
" Quod legeret tereretque viritim publicus usus ?"

Desinant ergo aliquid damnare, quia sit novum; quod, labentis temporis beneficio, dum novitatis arguitur, desinit esse novum.

14. Habeat hic[4] igitur et præsens tempus quod laceret, et posteritas quod laudet: habeat hoc quod lædat, illa quod legat: habeat hoc quod damnet, illa quod amet: habeat hoc quod reprobet, illa quod probet.

[Cap. I.][5]

De Hibernico mari undosissimo; variisque fluxibus ejusdem et refluxibus.

The rough Irish sea.

Hibernicum[6] igitur mare, concurrentibus fluctibus undosissimum, fere semper est inquietum. Ita ut, vix etiam æstivo tempore, paucis diebus se navigantibus tranquillum exhibeat.

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[1] *Si quid, &c.*] And hence to the end is also at the end of first preface of *Expug. Hibern.* The two sections, *Si quid . . . . novum*, not in M. W. In margin of C. In text of A. R., &c.

[2] *ignoscendo*] T. Ba. Cl. Rb. Exp. Hib.; agnoscendo, C. A. R. B. F.

[3] Instead of *Si patribus nostris*, Horace has " Quod si tam Graiis."

[4] *hic*] M. C. W. A. Ba., &c. Not in R. B. F.

[5] Chapters I. and II. come after IV. in Hb.

[6] This chapter is taken from Solinus, 25 (22 Salmasius); not in exactly the same words. Dr. Lynch denounces it as a libel on the Irish sea. *Camb. Evers.*, ii. 116.

[Cap. II.]

De contrariis æquoreis fluxibus in Hibernia et Britannia.

Dubliniæ portum quoties medio refluxu retrogradis undis mare destituit, Britannicum Milverdiæ, navium receptioni sinum optimum, medio influxu redeuntibus aquis jam restituit. Ulteriora vero Bristolli [1] littora fugitivis undis ex toto nudata tunc primo revertens æquor paulatim inserpit. Differences in the tides.

Similiter et e diverso per contrarium de fluxu intelligas.

Est et portus apud Wikingelo, [2] eo latere Hiberniæ quo proximius [3] Wallias respicit, qui in generali maris refluxu undas recipit influentes: in reversione vero fluctuum, quas jam recepit emittit et amittit.

Est et aliud ibi notabile, quia cum totum jam sinum elapsis undis refluum mare deseruit, per omnem tamen anfractum continua salsedine fluvius influens amaricatur.

E contrario vero contingit in portu proximo apud Archelo. Ubi non minus influentibus, sinumque replentibus, quam elapsis omnino marinis aquis, fluvius qui illabitur innatæ [4] dulcedinis saporem retinet illibatum, et usque in ipsum mare impermixtas salsedini undas observat.

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[1] *Bristolli*] C. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; Bristolliæ, M. A.; Britanniæ, W. All the statements in this chapter Dr. Lynch makes out to be false. *Camb. Evers.*, ii. 118.

[2] *Wikingelo*] Frequently spelt also "Guikingelo." Now Wicklow.

[3] *proximius*] C. W. A. R. B. Ba.; proximus, M. F. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[4] *innatæ*] M. C. W. R. B., &c.; in mare, H. A.

[Cap. III.][1]

Quod luna tam liquores moderatur quam humores.

Influence of the moon upon the tides.

Luna meridiem tenente, semper oceanus, ad occulta receptacula pedisequas revocans undas, australia Britanniæ[2] littora prorsus evacuat.

Hibernica vero Dubliniæ latera plenaria fluctuum reversione tunc adæquat. Weisefordiæ namque littora non Hibernicos Dubliniæ, sed Britannicos Milverdiæ fluxus imitantur.

Et, quod vehementius est admirandum, est rupis quædam marina non procul ab Archelo, cujus cum ex uno latere æquor influit, ex altero refluit.

Luna revertentibus radiis cum ultra medietatem jam tumescit, et quasi ventrem facit, occidentis æquora secretis quibusdam naturæ causis exasperari incipiunt et moveri; et usque ad orbicularis perfectionis rotunditatem, undosis fluctuationibus de die in diem amplius intumescunt, longeque trans usuales metas abundantius littora complent. Eadem vero fugitivis ignibus decrescente, et quasi vultum avertente, paulatim tumor ille detumescit; et juxta lunares defectus, tanquam residente derivationis exuberatione, proprios iterum redit in canales.

Upon other things.

Adeo[3] quidem Phœbe totius humoris fons est et fomentum, ut non tantum æquoreas undas, verum etiam in ipsis animantibus ossium medullas, capitum cerebra, arborum herbarumque succos, juxta sui vel incrementa vel detrimenta[4] proportionaliter dirigat et disponat. Unde et, luna debita luminositate destituta, destitui contentis cuncta videbis. Eadem iterum

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[1] This chapter omitted in Hb.

[2] *australia Britanniæ*] C. A. R. B., &c.; Britannica, M. W.

[3] *Adeo*] M. C. W. A. Cl., &c.; Ideo, R. B. F. Ba.

[4] *detrimenta*] M. C. W. A. R. B. F. Cl.; decrementa, H. Ba. Rb.

orbiculariter illustrata, ossa medullis, capita cerebris, cetera succis plena reperies. Hinc[1] est quod lunatici dicuntur, qui singulis mensibus pro lunæ augmento cerebro excrescente languescunt. Et a *mene* mensis dicitur, hoc est defectu; quia cum luna deficit, et cum eadem cursum complet et consummat. On lunaticks.

Notandum tamen, quod super hunc locum Evangelii, "Lunaticos[2] et paralyticos curavit," expositor scribit in hunc modum: "Lunaticos illos[3] dicit, quorum "dolor in ascensione lunæ crescit. Non quod hæc "insania sit per lunam; sed diabolus, qui insaniam "facit, lunaria tempora servat, ut infamet creaturam "in Creatoris blasphemiam." Matt. iv. 24.

Potuisset autem, ut arbitror, salva ejusdem venia, non minus vere dixisse, propter varios humores in plenilunio nimis enormiter excrescentes, valetudinariis hæc accidere.

Rerum autem hujusmodi rationes, et quare potius sensibiliusque occidentalis oceanus quam medius et mediterraneus[4] hujuscemodi fluxus et refluxus ordinata quadam et indeficiente vivacitate[5] sibi appropriaverit, qualiterque, humorum magistra luna disponente, hæc omnia fiant, majoris est operæ causas evolvere.

In libello tamen, quem *De philosophicis flosculis*[6] metrice conscripsimus, dilucida brevitate sunt hæc explanata. 14 b.

Ut autem[7] ad evidentiorem tantæ diversitatis indaginem, et exquisitiorem tam subtilium causarum Four things to be especially

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[1] *Hinc . . . . valetudinariis hæc accidere*] Not in M. C. W. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

[2] *Lunaticos*] R. F. Ba. Cl.; lunaticos illos, Rb.

[3] *Lunaticos illos*] Ba. Cl. Rb.; lunaticos, R. F.

[4] *medius et mediterraneus*] C. W. A. R., &c.; orientalis, M.

[5] *humoris vivacitate* in W.

[6] No such work of Giraldus is now known to exist. Nor do I find it mentioned in the letter to the chapter of Hereford (vol. i. p. 409, &c.), or in other places where he gives an account of his various writings.

[7] Hence to end of chapter not in M.

observed as to the tides. inquisitionem, lectoris intentio paucis impellatur, quatuor hæc[1] diligentius advertantur; tam fluminum quam fontium incidentium, et mare quodammodo moventium et vivificantium, semper circa terrarum extrema longe copia major; ex quatuor oppositis et remotissimis oceani partibus violenta quædam maris attractio, absorptio vicissim et ebullitio; cujuslibet humoris[2] tam diminutionis quam augmenti statim circa extremitates passio patens. Ad hæc[3] etiam, quia liberiorem circa extrema et absque impedimento discursum, sive fluendo sive refluendo, oceanus habet; intra terras autem undique complexus, et tanquam in stagni morem tantis obstaculis stare compulsus, libere vagari non permittitur.

[Cap. IV.]

De duabus insulis; in quarum altera nemo moritur; in alteram[4] feminei sexus animal non intrat.

The lake in Munster, with its two islands. Est lacus in Momonia boreali, duas continens insulas, unam majorem et alteram minorem. Major ecclesiam habet antiquæ religionis. Minor vero capellam, cui pauci cœlibes, quos Cœlicolas vel Colideos vocant, devote deserviunt.

In one of which no creature of the female sex can exist. In majorem nunquam femina, vel feminei sexus animal aliquod, intrare potuit quin statim moreretur. Probatum est hoc multoties per canes et catos, aliaque sexus illius animalia, quæ periculi causa frequenter advecta statim occubuerunt.

Mirum de avibus terræ illius, quia cum masculæ

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[1] *quatuor hæc*] F. Ba., &c., and R. (by alteration); tria, C. W. A. B. See note 3 *infra*.

[2] *humoris*] Not in A. Bc. B. An interlineation in R. In C. W. F. Ba., &c.

[3] *Ad hæc, &c.*] This fourth cause not in C. W. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba. Cl., &c.

[4] *alteram*] M. C. A. B. Ba., &c.; altera, W. R. F.

fruticibus insulæ passim insideant, alterius sexus aviculæ prætervolando pares ibi relinquunt, et tanquam insitæ virtutis non ignaræ, insulam illam quasi pestem fugiunt.

In minori vero insula nemo unquam mortuus fuit, vel morte naturali mori potuit. Unde et viventium insula vocatur. in the other no one can die.

Morbo tamen letali gravissime interdum vexantur, et usque ad extremam exhalationem miserabiliter afficiuntur. Cumque nihil amplius spei, nihil jam vitæ vitalis superesse præsentiunt; cumque, invalescente valetudine, tam finaliter afflicti fuerint, ut morte mori malint quam vitam ducere mortis, in majorem [1] demum insulam se navicula deferri faciunt. Qui statim ut terram attingunt, spiritum reddunt.

Hic [2] mihi [3] notandum videtur, quod in primo libro *Scholasticæ Historiæ,* circa [4] principium, de insulis hujusmodi viventium sit mentio; ubi de arbore solis dicitur, quia qui fructu ejus vescitur, sicut rex Alexander Aristoteli scribit, vitam extendit in immensum.

Est et in Ultonia cœmiterium quoddam, locusque sacer sanctorum virorum diutina frequentia consecratus. Femineus hic quoque sexus non admittitur. Huc sponsum sponsa non sequitur: celebratoque locali divortio, consortes orationum non effecti, in hac parte A sanctuary in Ulster, where the female sex not admitted.

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[1] *majorem*] F. Ba. Cl. Rb., and M. W. R. by alteration; minorem, H. C. A. B., and M. W. R. originally. Dr. Lynch makes out that this account of the isle of the living is a mere idle invention of Giraldus. In Mr. Kelly's note, however, it is shown that he is not quite so far guilty. "The isle of the living was " three miles from Roscrea, parish " of Corbally, in a lake called Loch " Cre, now dried up. The *Wonders* " *of Ireland* (Irish Nennius, 217) " state that no female of any species " could enter the island, and that " no sinner could die or be buried " in it;—a version, however, which " differs materially from Giral- " dus's." *Camb. Evers.*, i. 123.

[2] Hence to end of chapter not in M.

[3] The first section, *Hic mihi . . . . immensum*, not in C. W. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

[4] *circa*] R. F. Ba.; et circa, Cl. Rb.

jam ad imparia judicantur. Huc sine gallina gallus intrabit: ubi et, pastu quolibet intus invento, mirabile visu, voce monitoria sociæ quoque suadet introitum, nec persuadet.

Est in boreali Britanniæ parte insula quædam, quæ et Sancta vocatur, ubi mulieres non pariunt. Concipiunt tamen, et prægnantes effectæ usque ad pariendi articulum naturaliter intumescunt. Quo imminente, ad alteram insulam advectæ, naturali libertate naturæ indulgent. Quæ si forte detentæ fuerint, sicut aliquoties probandi gratia [1] compertum est, intolerabili statim vexatione torquentur; et usque ad ipsas fere mortis angustias, donec emittantur, dolore premuntur.

[Cap. V.]

De insula, cujus pars una bonis, altera malis spiritibus est frequentata.

The island in a lake of Ulster, containing the Purgatory of St. Patrick.

Est lacus in partibus Ultoniæ continens insulam bipartitam. Cujus pars altera, probatæ religionis ecclesiam habens, spectabilis valde est et amœna; angelorum visitatione, sanctorumque loci illius visibili frequentia, incomparabiliter illustrata.

Pars altera, hispida nimis et horribilis, solis dæmo-
15. niis dicitur assignata; quæ et visibilibus cacodæmonum turbis et pompis fere semper manet exposita.

Pars ista novem in se foveas habet. In quarum aliqua si quis forte pernoctare præsumpserit, quod a temerariis hominibus nonnunquam constat esse probatum, a malignis spiritibus statim arripitur, et nocte tota tam gravibus pœnis cruciatur, tot tantisque et tam ineffabilibus ignis et aquæ variique generis tormentis incessanter affligitur, ut mane facto vix vel

[1] *gratia*] A. R. F. B.; causa, C. W. Ba. Cl. Rb.

minimæ spiritus superstitis reliquiæ misero in corpore reperiantur.

Hæc, ut asserunt, tormenta si quis semel ex injuncta pœnitentia sustinuerit, infernales amplius pœnas, nisi graviora commiserit, non subibit.

Hic autem[1] locus Purgatorium Patricii ab incolis vocatur.

De infernalibus[2] namque reproborum pœnis, de vera post mortem, perpetuaque electorum vita, vir sanctus cum gente incredula dum disputasset, ut tanta tam inusitata, tam inopinabilis rerum novitas, rudibus infidelium animis oculata fide certius imprimeretur, efficaci orationum instantia magnam et admirabilem utriusque rei notitiam, duræque cervicis populo perutilem, meruit in terris obtinere.

[Cap. VI.]

De insula, ubi hominum corpora sub divo posita non putrescunt.

The island where the bodies of the dead remain incorrupt.

Est insula quædam, in occidentali Connactiæ salo sita, cui nomen Aren;[3] a sancto Brendano,[4] ut aiunt, consecrata,

In hac hominum corpora nec humantur, nec putrescunt. Sed sub divo posita et exposita, permanent incorrupta.

Hic homines avos, atavos, et tritavos, longamque

[1] *Hic autem, &c.*] Rest of the chapter not in M.

[2] *De infernalibus, &c.*] This section in margin of C. In text of W. A. R., &c. St. Patrick's Purgatory was on an island in Lough Derg, in county Donegal. Giraldus is peculiar in his account of it: no other mention is to be found of his division of the island between good and bad spirits, or of his nine pits. *Camb. Evers.*, i. 141, &c.

[3] *cui nomen Aren*] Not in M. W. In C. A. R., &c. Giraldus is wrong in attributing this legend to Aran. It belonged to Inisgluair, off the coast of Erris, county Mayo. *Camb. Evers.*, i. 129, and note (*q*).

[4] *Brendano*] C. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; Brandano, M. W.

stirpis suæ retro seriem, admirando[1] conspiciunt et cognoscunt.

And where no mice.

Est et aliud ibi notabile; quia cum per totam Hiberniam copiose nimis mures abundent, hæc tamen insula mure caret.

Mus enim nec nascitur hic, nec vivit invectus. Sed si forte allatus fuerit, statim cursu præpeti in proximum mare se præcipitat. Sin autem impediatur, [statim][2] emoritur.

[Cap. VII.]

De mirandis fontium naturis.

Wonderful wells: In Munster;

Est fons in Momonia, cujus aquis si quis abluitur, statim[3] canus efficitur.

Vidi hominem, cujus pars barbæ lymphis istis lota canis incanduerat; altera parte tota in sui natura fusca manente.

Ulster;

Est e contra fons in Ultonia ulteriore,[4] quo si quis abluitur non canescet amplius. Hunc[5] autem fontem feminæ frequentant, et viri canitiem vitare volentes.

Connaught; the ebbing well.

Est in Connactia fons dulcis aquæ, in vertice montis excelsi, et procul a mari; qui die naturali bis[6] undis deficiens, et toties exuberans, marinas imitatur instabilitates.

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[1] *admirando*] A. R. B. F.; mirando, M. C. W. Ba. Cl. Rb.

[2] *statim*] Added in Ba., &c.

[3] *statim*] M. C. W. A. Ba., &c. Not in R. B. F. A well that turned the hair grey is mentioned in the *Wonders of Ireland* (Irish Nennius, 195): not, however, in Munster, but in parish of Gallorn, in county Monaghan. The Ulster and Connaught wells of Giraldus, which follow, are unknown to collectors of Irish mirabilia. *Camb. Evers.*, i. 130, note (*r*).

[4] *Ultonia ulteriore*] C. W. A. R., &c.; Lagenia, M.

[5] *Hunc . . . volentes*] Not in M. C. W. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

[6] *bis*] C. (by alteration), A. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; ter, M. C. (originally), W.

Est etiam in Wallia, juxta castellum[1] Dinevor, in provincia tamen de Canterbocan,[2] fons similis inconstantiæ lymphas habens.[3] A similar well in Wales.

[Item[4] refert Trogus Pompeius, quia Gramantum est oppidum in quo fons ebullit, qui vicissim nocte dieque friget et fervet.]

In meridionali[5] quoque Britanniæ parte, quæ a ducis nomine nomen accepit, sunt fontes plurimi vivis e saxis erumpentes, non multum ab invicem remoti et procul a mari, marinæ tamen mobilitatis sortiti naturam. Sed hi nec dulcis aquæ, nèc ad plenum salsæ; sed inter utrumque insipidæ. Quorum unus, in summitate rupis arduæ, et in modum turris elevatæ, ad menstrua maris incrementa, lunæque plenitudinem imitantia, cum intuentium admiratione longe abundantius solito aquas evomit excrescentes. Many such wells in the south of England.

Item in ejusdem Britanniæ Chiltrensi territorio sunt fontes multi, quibus in generali frugum fertilitate penitus desiccatis, aquarum inopia tellus arescit. Contra defectum vero famemque, ruptis aquarum venis, et reseratis fontium claustris, malorum prænuntia undique videas exuberare fluenta. English wells dry in a fruitful season: and the contrary.

In Francorum regno, Vimocensi territorio, et Nicbatensi[6] vico, est fons quidam ejusdem prognostici 15 b.
prodigio pollens.

In Normanniæ vero partibus quibusdam secus contingit. Abundant enim in abundantia, in defectu quoque frugum aquæ deficiunt. Otherwise in Normandy.

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[1] *juxta castellum*] M. C. W. A. R. B. F.; non procul a castello, Ba. Cl., &c.

[2] *in prov. . . . Canterbocan*] Not in M. C. W. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c. In *Itin. Kamb.*, i. 10, where this well is again mentioned, it is said to be "in Can- "trefbochan."

[3] *fons . . . habens*] M. C. W. A. R. B. F.; fons qui . . . habere solet, Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[4] *Item . . . . fervet*] This from Solinus, 29. It is not in M. C. W. A. R. B. F. Ba. In Cl. Hb. Rb.

[5] *In meridionali, &c.*] This, and the three following sections, down to "aquæ deficiunt," not in M.

[6] *Nicbatensi*] C. R. B. F.; Nachbatensi, Cl.; Nichatensi, A. Ba. Rb.; Nicatensi, W.

The petrifying well of Ulster.

Est fons in ulteriori et boreali Ultoniæ parte, qui, ob nimiam sui frigiditatem, ligna imposita per septennii spatium in lapides obdurat.

A like well in Norway.

Nª tam ligna quam lina in lapides converti.

Est et in Norwagia fons similis naturæ; sed tanto tamen efficaciæ majoris, quanto ad frigidam zonam magis accedit. In hoc enim non tantum ligna, sed et lina, lineaque tela, per annum imposita, durissimum in lapidem congelantur.

Unde et Waldemaro Dacorum regi, nostris diebus regnanti, quidam episcopus Norwagiæ mappale, quod anno præterito probandi causa ab eodem susceperat, naturæ jam retulit bipartitæ. Parte enim media, fonti imposita, lapis erat; altera parte, quæ extra jacuerat, in sua natura permanente.

And in a wood near Wimborne Minster: where the ground also petrifying.

In [1] Britannia majore, non procul a cœnobio Wiburnensi, est nemus quoddam fruticosum. Cujus cum ligna in aquam forte vel terram eo in loco deciderint, post annum reperies in lapidem conversa. Unde et pali sepibus inserti, soloque infixi, infra supraque naturam induunt bipartitam. Denique quascunque formas lignis insculptas,[2] et aquæ terræve loci illius per annum impositas, easdem indigenæ in lapidem extrahunt jam conversas.

And in Cappadocia.

Quod [3] autem Palladius de talibus refert, et hic interserere dignum duxi. Est in Cappadocia, itinere quod est inter Mazaca et Tuana lacus amplus. In quem lacum pars sive arundinis sive alii generis si demissa fuerit, et postero die exempta, ea pars quæ fuerit exempta invenietur lapidea. Quæ autem pars extra aquam manserit, permanet in sua proprietate.

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[1] This section, and the ten which follow it, down to "assignare præ-"sumat," *infra* p. 88, not in M.

[2] *lignis insculptas*] A. W.; ligni insculptas, R. B. F.; lignis exsculptas, C. Ba. Cl. Rb.

[3] *Quod . . . complet*] These two sections not in C. W. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

Ecce quantæ efficaciæ lacus est iste, quia quod alibi per annuum,[1] vel etiam per septennale spatium completur, aquæ istius natura unius diei naturalis spatio complet.

Est fons in Ungaria,[2] cujus rivuli, non procul ab origine derivati, crystallinam in glaciem obdurantur. Et quod vehementius est admirandum, ad primos, quorum potius dissolvere est, solares radios, solidissimum in lapidem, visuique penitus impervium condensantur. Unde et ex liquidis, contra naturæ cursum in solidam naturam tam præmature conversis, in quantitate non modica saxea rupis excrevit. Hungary; glaciers.

Est fons[3] in Suevia provincia quæ Suitis appellatur, in vertice montis excelsi, qui non, nisi sole super horizontem elucente, scaturigines emittit. Statim enim cum sol sub horizontem descenderit; quanquam[4] diutius tamen quam corpus solare visui subjaceat, diei claritudinem donet; scaturire desistit. Mane vero, non tamen statim ut diescit, sed sole recens orto et super horizontem emerso, in magna quantitate aquas emittit; nocte tota, quanquam tamen noctis naturæ, quæ humida est et frigida, magis aquæ proprietas convenire soleat, nec stillam præbens. The day-well in Suevia.

Est fons[5] in Pictavia, apud Sanctum Johannem Dangele, ubi caput Baptistæ reconditum habetur, qui in hieme nullis, in æstate vero, [contra communem fontium naturam][6] uberrimis solet[7] manare fluentis. The summer-well at St. Jean d'Angeli.

Est in Cornubia silva quædam, cujus ligna, quantumlibet modica, in aquam missa aqua non sustinet. The leaden wood in Cornwall.

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[1] *annuum*] R. F. Ba.; annum, Cl. Rb.

[2] *Ungaria*] A. R. B. F. Cl. Rb.; Hungaria, C. W. Ba.

[3] This section not in C. W. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

[4] *quanquam . . . donet*] R. F. Ba. Cl.; et donec iterum per revolutionem se nobis mane præsentaverit, Hb. Rb.

[5] This section not in C. W. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

[6] *contra com. font. naturam*] Not in R. F. Cl. In Ba. Hb. Rb.

[7] *solet*] Ba. Cl. Rb. soleat, R. F.

So, partly, in a wood near Paris.

Est et in Gallia silva quædam, Parisiensi ab urbe parum distans, Secanæ fluvio lateraliter conjuncta, quam publica quædam strata disterminat. Cujus una ex parte si ligna in aquam projeceris, occulta quadam, innata tamen gravitate, ligneæque naturæ nimis aliena, ad fundum fluminis lapideo statim tam more quam mole descendunt. Ex altera vero viæ parte, communem ligneæ levitatis naturam observant.

Est[1] igitur hæc silva duplici prodigio monstruosa. Admiranda est in ipsa tam innaturalis levium gravitas: admiranda quoque est sub modico discrimine tam magna diversitas.

A wood in Auvergne, where, the underwood destroyed, vines spring up.

Est et in eodem Francorum regno, circa Alverniæ partes, silva, silvestrem nimis, solitæque silvarum naturæ prorsus incognitam, præferens naturam. Cujus partem igne injecto si quis forte stirpitus adusserit, citra omnem cultoris operam per se vinea sponte succrescit.

Sed talium causas quis vel inquirere, vel assignare præsumat?

A well in Connaught, good for men, pestilent for animals.

Cum elementorum usum cunctis constet animantibus naturaliter esse communem, est in Connaccia fons quidam aquas habens solis hominibus acceptabiles, jumentis vero et pecoribus, aliisque animalibus quibuscunque, si gustatæ fuerint, pestilentes. Item fontis hujus arenæ petrosæ sitibundis et aridis ori impositæ sitim extinguunt.

A well in Hungary, poisonous to all.

Est[2] fons in Ungaria tanto malitiæ majoris, quanto generalius ipsa malitia se diffundit.[3] Hujus enimvero fluenta non minus hominibus, quam aliis quibuslibet animantibus, libamina propinant venenosa.

A well in France, good for

Est et in Francorum regno, non procul a castro Pascensi, fons quidam, aquas habens masculorum usui

[1] This section not in W.

[2] Three sections, down to "indifferenter accedunt," not in M.

[3] *diffundit*] C. W. A. Ba. Cl.; transfundit, R. B. F.; infundit, Hb. Rb.

competentes ; mulieribus vero nec ad interiorem, nec ad exteriorem usum utiliter accedentes. Ejusdem, ut fertur, aquæ, nulla naturalem frigiditatem calefactione, nullo habitum [1] artificio vel actualiter mutant ; nulla unquam naturam arte, nullo proprium accidente, vel ad horam dissimulant vel dediscunt.

men, bad for women.

16.

In Teutonicorum regno, Cameracensi scilicet provincia, Galliarum parti contermina, est fluvius quidam, vadum habens duobus sepibus infra supraque ex transverso fluminis cancellatum. Intra quos aquæ potæ equis omnibus sunt pestiferæ. Utrinque vero, trans sepem, ad communem tam equorum quam animalium quorumlibet usum indifferenter accedunt.

The river in province of Cambray, poisonous for horses in one place only.

Est fons in Momonia, qui si tactus ab homine, vel etiam visus fuerit, statim tota provincia pluviis inundabit. Quæ non cessabunt, donec sacerdos ad hoc deputatus, qui et virgo fuerit a nativitate,[2] missæ celebratione, in capella quæ non procul a fonte ad hoc dignoscitur esse fundata, et aquæ benedictæ, lactisque vaccæ unius coloris aspersione, barbaro satis ritu et ratione carente, fontem reconciliaverit.

The well in Munster, flooding the whole province.

[Cap. VIII.]

De duobus, Britanniæ scilicet Armoricæ, et Siciliæ, fontibus admirandis.

Est fons in Armorica Britannia, similis hujus ex parte naturæ. Cujus aquis in cornu bubali haustis, si

A somewhat similar well in Britanny.

[1] *habitum*] C. W. B. Ba., &c.; hominum, A.; habitum in text of R., with "hominum" in margin; habitum hominum in text of F.

[2] *a nativitate*] C. W. A. R., &c.; tam mente quam corpore, M. The *Wonders of Ireland* (Irish Nennius, p. 197) call this well the "Well of Sliabh Bladhma" (Slieve Bloom), and say of it; "If any "one gaze at it, or touches it, the "sky will not cease to pour down "rain until mass and sacrifice are "celebrated." This well is the source of the river Barrow. There is no authority for Giraldus's account of the mass celebrated at the well, or of the barbarous ceremonies related by him. *Camb. Evers.* i. 130, note (*r*), and 136, note (*x*).

petram ei proximam forte perfuderis, tempore quantumlibet sereno et a pluviis alieno, pluvias incontinenti non evades.

The Sicilian well that leaps up at anything of a red colour.

Est et in Scicilia fons miræ naturæ. Ad quem rubro indutus vestimento si quis accesserit, statim ad ejusdem staturæ modum in altum prosiliens, fontis ebullit scaturigo. Quæ, ad alios prorsus immota colores, ad hujus etiam abscessum solitæ mensuræ se conformans, pristinos iterum redit in canales.

Virg. Georg. ii. 490.

"Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,"
"Et fontem[1] lustrare boni."

Sed quoniam humanis ingeniis modus est positus, et longe citra perfectum est omne quod humanum est, rerum hujusmodi rationes vos

Virg. Ecl. viii. 63.

"Dicite, Pierides; non omnia possumus omnes."

Istorum enimvero et similium[2] causas inter arcana sui miracula, sibique soli reserata, invida natura reservavit.

Connaught marvels.

Est[3] in littore Connactici maris acervus lapideus, mediocriter magnus. Qui quantum præeminet littore fluctibus vacuato, tantum prænatare videtur redeuntibus undis et grandiora quæque velantibus jam repleto.

Est in Connactia locus quidam muratus, ampli castellarii similitudinem præferens; a sancto Patricio, ut aiunt, consecratus. In quem tot armenta nunquam introeunt; cum tamen totius provinciæ præda, refugii causa, sæpissime includi soleat; quin multo plura intrare potuerint, donec forte vel sufficientiæ vel diffidentiæ[4] verbum eruperit.

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[1] *Et font. lust. boni*] Not in M.

[2] *similium*] C. W. A. R., &c.; persimilium, M.

[3] *Est*] M. C. W. A. Ba., &c.; Est et, R. B. F.

[4] *diffidentiæ*] C. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; hæsitationis, M. W. A.

[CAP. IX.]

De lacu magno, miram originem habente.

Est lacus in Ultonia miræ magnitudinis ; triginta millia passuum in longum, et quindecim in latum habens. Ex quo eximiæ pulchritudinis, qui et Banna vocatur, fluvius erumpit, et in borealem oceanum se transfundit.

Lough Neagh. The river Bann.

Hic piscatores nimiam frequentius piscium conclusionem, retiumque rupturas, quam defectus conqueruntur.

Abounds with fish.

Hic, nostris temporibus, piscis inventus fuit, non marinus sed de lacu descendens, salmonis prope formam habens ; tantæ quantitatis,[1] ut integer nullatenus vel trahi vel ferri potuisset. Unde et[2] frustatim per provinciam deferebatur.

Enormous fish lately taken.

Huic vero lacui mirabilis,[3] ut aiunt, casus initium dedit.

Fuit in terra illa, quam nunc lacus obtinet, gens ab antiquis temporibus vitiosissima ; et præcipue vitio coeundi cum bestiis, præ omni alio Hiberniæ populo incorrigibiliter involuta.

Legend of this lake.

Fuerat autem in ore populi verbum celebre, quod quam cito fons quidam terræ illius, qui ex reverentia de barbara superstitione sibi exhibita operculum habebat et signaculum, discoopertus relinqueretur, tanta statim inundatione fons exuberaret, ut totam provinciam illam et gentem simul dilueret et deleret. 16 b.

Contigit autem aliquando mulierculam quandam hauriendi causa ad fontem accessisse : quæ, vase impleto, necdum fonte signato, ad parvulum suum, quem

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[1] *quantitatis*] C. W. A. R., &c.; magnitudinis, M.

[2] *Unde et . . . . deferebatur*] C. W. A. R., &c ; sed . . . deferretur, M.

[3] *mirabilis*] C. W. A. R., &c.; mirabili, M.

non procul inde positum plorantem audivit, commota mater[1] ocius accurrit.[2] Et quia vox populi vox Dei, maturans reditum, tanta scaturigine fontem exuberantem offendit, ut et ipsam statim cum puero, totamque gentem illam et pecora, tanquam diluvio quodam particulari seu provinciali, in hora submergeret. Cumque totam terræ illius faciem aquarum jam velaret ubertas, stabilis permanens stagnum fecit: tanquam terram, tam turpium contra naturam facinorum consciam, non tantum primis, sed et cunctis imposterum habitatoribus indignam auctor naturæ judicasset.

Round towers beneath its waters.

Hujus autem eventus argumentum est non improbabile, quod piscatores aquæ illius turres ecclesiasticas, quæ more patriæ arctæ sunt et altæ, necnon et rotundæ, sub undis manifeste sereno tempore conspiciunt; et extraneis transeuntibus, reique casum admirantibus, frequenter ostendunt.

Haud[3] longe dissimiliter regio Pentapolis, ob detestandi criminis culpam, in lacum bituminosum, qui et Mare Mortuum ac Sterile dicitur, quia nec aves, nec pisces, nec quicquam in eo vivere valeat, est conversa. Primum tamen, igne sulphureo cœlitus emisso, funditus exusta est; deinde perpetua inundatione submersa. Et sic, propter excessus enormitatem, duplici fuerat contritione deleta.

Notandum autem quod fluvius ille, qui nunc in magna quantitate de lacu descendit, a primo post diluvium Bartholani tempore, de prædicto fonte, aliis

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[1] *mater*] M. W. A. R. B. F. Ba. Cl.; mater ejus, C. Hb. Rb.

[2] *accurrit*] W. A. R. B. Ba. Cl. &c.; occurrit, H. F; cucurrit, M. C. This account of Giraldus of the origin of Lough Neagh agrees well enough with Irish traditions, except in this material point,—that they have not a word about unnatural crimes having caused the eruption. Tighearnach assigns A.D. 65–73 as the date of the eruption (Irish Nennius, p. 195). *Camb. Evers.* ii. 254 and 259, notes.

[3] *Haud . . . deleta*] This section not in M. C. W. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

opitulantibus aquis, originem trahens, per eandem terram, longe tamen in minore quantitate manavit. Et de novem principalibus fluviis[1] unus hic fuit.

[Cap. X.]

De pisce, tres dentes aureos habente.

Non multo[2] ante adventum Anglorum in insulam tempore, in Ultonia apud Karlenefordiam, inventus est piscis tam quantitatis[3] immensæ, quam qualitatis inusitatæ: inter alia sui prodigia, tres dentes, ut fertur,[4] aureos habens [quinquaginta[5] unciarum pondus continentes]. Quos aureos[6] quidem exteriore quadam similitudine, aurique[7] nitore potius quam natura, crediderim; assumpti coloris fuco aurea forte[8] imminentis et proximo futuræ conquisitionis tempora præsagientes.

A fish with three golden teeth.

A presage of the golden days of the English conquest.

Nostris[9] quoque diebus, in Britannia majori, foresta scilicet Dunholmensi, inventa et capta est cerva, omnes in ore dentes aurei coloris habens.

A hind with golden teeth.

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[1] *Supra*, i. 7, p. 30.

[2] *Non multo . . . . insulam tempore*] C. A. R. B., &c.; Biennio elapso . . . . insulam, M.; Non multum . . . . insulam, W. Dr. Lynch makes out, and it sounds very probable, that Giraldus has here given to his own times an event which occured, if it occurred at all, more than 400 years before. In the year 743, according to Irish traditions, a whale with three golden teeth was cast up on the coast of Ulster. *Camb. Evers.* i. 357.

[3] *tam quantitatis . . . inusitatæ*] C. W. A. R., &c.; tam qualitatis quam quantitatis inusitatæ, M.

[4] *ut fertur*] C. W. A. R., &c. Not in M.

[5] *quinquaginta . . . continentes*] In M. W. Not in C. A. R., &c.

[6] *Quos aureos . . . coloris fuco*] Not in M. W.

[7] *aurique . . . fuco*] In margin of C. In text of A. R., &c.

[8] *aurea forte . . . præsagientes*] C. W. A. R., &c.; aurea, ut videtur, . . . præsagiens, M.

[9] *Nostris, &c.*] This section not in M. C. W. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

[Cap. XI.]

De insulis borealibus;[1] *quarum fere omnium dominium Norwagienses habent.*

The Orkney and Shetland islands.

In boreali oceano trans Ultoniam et Galwediam sunt[2] insulæ variæ, scilicet Orcades, et Incades, et aliæ multæ: quarum fere omnium dominium et subjectionem Norwagienses obtinuerunt. Licet enim aliis regionibus longe proximius[3] adjaceant, gens tamen ista, scrutatrix oceani, præ omni gente magis piraticam vitam ducere solet. Unde et omnes eorum expeditiones et bella navali certamine fiunt.

Orosius, Histor. i. 2. Isidore, Orig. xiv. 6.

Notandum[4] autem quod tam Horosius quam Ysidorus triginta tres Orcadum insulas esse describunt; quarum viginti desertæ sunt, tredecim incoluntur. Hodie tamen major earum pars est inhabitata.[5]

[Cap. XII.]

De insula primo instabili, tandem per ignem stabili facta.

A new island.

Inter alias vero insulas una est nuper nata, quam Phantasticam vocant: cui talis eventus originem dedit. Die quodam sereno emersit in mari cumulus terræ non modicus, ubi nunquam antea terra visa fuerat, videntibus et admirantibus insulanis. Quidam enim ex his dicebant balænam, vel aliam marinam belluam monstruosam esse. Alii vero, considerantes quod sine

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[1] *De ins. bor.*] This all the heading in R. B. F.

[2] Here Bb comes in again, "sunt "insulæ variæ, &c.," after the loss of several leaves. *Supra*, p. 56, note (2).

[3] *proximius*] M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F.; propinquius, Ba. Cl. Rb.; proximioribus, H.

[4] *Notandum, &c.*] This section not in M.

[5] *inhabitata*] A. R. B. F.; habitata, C. Bb. Ba., &c.

omni motu persisteret, dicebant; "Nequaquam, sed "terra est."

Ut autem hanc ambiguitatis contentionem certitudo dirimeret, electi juvenes de insula quadam proximiore[1] illud navicula remis adire statuerunt.

Accedentes vero tam prope, ut applicare se jam arbitrati fuerint, tanquam in mare descendens ab oculis eorum insula prorsus evanuit. In crastino vero similiter apparens, eosdem juvenes simili delusione decepit. 17.

Tertio tandem die senioris cujusdam consilio accedentes, sagittam igniti ferri in insulam arcu præmiserunt, et sic applicantes terram stabilem et habitabilem invenerunt.

Multis itaque patet argumentis, phantasmati cuilibet[2] ignem semper inimicissimum. Unde et qui phantasma viderint, igneum splendorem incontinenti sine passione syncopica non admittunt.

Fire the most noble of the elements.

Ignis enim, tam situ quam natura elementorum dignissimum, tanquam cœlestium conscius est secretorum. Igneum cœlum, ignei[3] planetæ; igne rubus accensus, nec incensus erat. Igneis linguis in apostolos Spiritus Sanctus insedit.

[Cap. XIII.]

De Yslandia,[4] quæ gentem breviloquam et veridicam habet, et juramento non utentem.

Iceland; only three days' sail from Ireland.

Est et Yslandia borealium insularum maxima; trium dierum naturalium navigatione in aquilonares partes ab Hibernia remota.

Truthfulness of the

Gentem hæc breviloquam et veridicam habet. Raro namque brevique fungens sermone, juramento non uti-

[1] *proximiore*] M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F.; propinquiore, Ba. Cl. Rb.

[2] *phantasmati cuilibet*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; phantasmis omnibus, M. W.

[3] *ignei*] M. C. Bb. R. &c.; igneæ, W. A.

[4] *De Yslandia* all the heading in R. B. F.

inhabitants.

tur; quia mentiri non novit. Nihil enim magis quam mendacium detestatur.

Their bishop their king.

Gens hæc eodem utitur rege quo sacerdote; eodem principe quo pontifice. Penes enim episcopum tam regni quam sacerdotii jura consistunt.

Hæc terra girofalcones et accipitres grandes et generosos gignit et mittit.

Few thunder-storms: but a greater pest.

Nunquam[1] hic aut rarissime vel coruscant fulgura, vel cadunt fulmina, vel terrent tonitrua. Sed habent e contra pestem aliam, et longe majorem. In anno namque semel,[2] vel biennio, per aliquam insulæ partem ignis emergens, in modum turbinis cum vehementia spiritus excurrens, quicquid obviam offendit funditus exurit. Sed ignis iste unde causaliter vel infra vel desuper ortum habeat, incertum habetur.

[Cap. XIV.]

De voragine maris naves absorbente.

The northern Whirlpool.

Non procul ab insulis[3] ex parte boreali,[4] est maris quædam miranda vorago. Ad quam a remotis partibus omnes undique marini fluctus tanquam ex condicto confluunt et concurrunt: qui in secreta naturæ penetralia se ibi transfundentes, quasi in abyssum vorantur.

Si vero navem hac[5] forte transire contigerit, tanta rapitur et attrahitur fluctuum violentia, ut eam statim irrevocabiliter vis voracitatis absorbeat.

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[1] *Nunquam . . . habetur*] This section not in M. Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R. B., &c. In the later MSS., Ba. Cl., &c., it comes before the last section, "Hæc "terra . . . mittit."

[2] *semel*] Not in A. B. In R. by interlineation. In C. F. Ba., &c.

[3] *insulis*] M. C. Bb. R., &c.; Yslandia insula, H.

[4] *ex parte boreali*] So all the MSS. except A. and Bc.; which have instead, "ex parte Albaniæ, "quasi medio videlicet inter Alba-"niam et insulas spatio."

[5] *hac*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; hanc, M. Rb.

Quatuor[1] hujusmodi[2] oceani voragines, a quatuor oppositis mundi partibus, philosophi describunt. Unde et tam marinos fluxus,[3] quam etiam æolicos flatus causaliter provenire nonnulli conjectant.

[Cap. XV.]

De Mania[4] insula; quæ, ratione venenosorum vermium, quos admittit, Britanniæ censetur applicanda.

Est insula quædam, inter minores insulas non modica, quæ nunc Manna vocatur, antiquitus tamen Ewania dicta, medio ut asserunt libramine inter boreales Hiberniæ et Britanniæ partes porrecta.[5] De qua, utri terrarum applicari de jure debuerat, ab antiquis non mediocriter ambigebatur.

The island of Man determined to belong to Britain, because of its admitting venomous reptiles.

Demum tamen [in hunc modum][6] lis ista quievit. Quoniam enimvero[7] advectos periculi causa[8] venenosos hæc terra vermes admisit, eam Britanniæ applicandam communis omnium censura dictavit.

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[1] *Quatuor, &c.*] This section not in M.

[2] *hujusmodi*] C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; hujuscemodi, R. B. F.

[3] *fluxus*] C. Bb. Ba., &c.; fluctus, A. R. B. F.

[4] *Mania*] C. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; Manna, M. A. Bb. "De Mania "insula" is all the heading in R. B. F.

[5] *Hiberniæ et Brit. par. porrecta*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; Hiberniæ partes et Britanniæ sita, M.; Hiberniæ et Britanniæ insulas sita, H.

[6] *in hunc modum*] Not in M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F. Cl. In Ba. Hb. Rb.

[7] *enimvero*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; enim, M.

[8] *advectos periculi causa*] C. Bb. R. B. Ba., &c.; Not in M. A. Bc.

[Cap. XVI.]

Quod longe post diluvium, nec subito[1] *sed paulatim, et quasi per eluvionem, insulæ natæ sunt.*

Islands probably formed long after the Deluge.

Sive ante diluvium, sive per diluvium insulæ natæ fuerint, cum[2] cuncta animantium semina in arca conclusa fuerint, non indignum videtur dubitatione qualiter animalia nociva, necnon et reptilia venenosa, insulas impleverint remotiores; cum ea constet neminem sani capitis unquam transferre voluisse.

Probabiliter tamen ad hoc dici potest, longe post diluvium, terra multiplicatis jam animantibus ubique repleta, non violenter et subito, sed paulatim, et tanquam per eluvionem insulas natas fuisse.

[Cap. XVII.]

De Tyle, occidentali insula;[3] *quæ apud orientales est famosissima, cum occidentalibus sit prorsus incognita.*

Tyle unknown to the people of the West.

17 b.

Mirum de Tyle, quæ inter occidentales ultima fertur insulas, quod apud orientales tam nomine quam natura sit famosissima; cum occidentalibus sit prorsus incognita. Virgilius Augusto,[4] "Tibi serviat ultima "Tyle."

Solinus, Polyhist. 25.

Solinus, inter multas quæ circa Britanniam sunt insulas, Tylen ultimam esse commemorat. In qua æstivo solstitio dicit noctem nullam; brumali vero perinde diem nullum.[5]

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[1] *nec subito . . . eluvionem*] Not in R. B. F.

[2] *cum*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; vel, R. R. F.

[3] *De Tyle occidentali insula* is all the heading in R. B. F.

[4] Virg. Georg. i. 30. This quotation not in M. A.

[5] After *diem nullum* M. has, "Sed "de nomine quicquid dicatur, "nullam occidentalium insularum "hanc constat habere naturam."

Ultra Tylen[1] vero pigrum et concretum mare tam Solinus quam Ysidorus esse commemorat. Tylen quoque ultimam oceani insulam Ysidorus inter septentrionem et occidentalem plagam ultra Britanniam sitam esse describit; a sole nomen habentem, quia in ea æstivum solstitium sol faciat, et nullus ultra eam dies sit. Isidore, Orig. xiv. 6.

Sed adeo occidentalibus incognita est hæc insula, ut nullam occidentalium, vel etiam septentrionalium insularum, nedum naturam vel etiam nomen hoc habere constet.

In remotissimis tamen arctoæ regionis partibus, sol regirans a Cancro aliquot noctium tempore juxta limbum terræ, supra horizontem tamen, continue ab incolis circueundo videtur.[2]

Eodem quoque a Capricorni sidere revertente, quasi sub opacis Antarctici poli finibus totidem dierum spatio desiderati luminis splendor evanescit.

Aut[3] ergo Tyle fabulosa non minus quam famosa est insula; aut in ultimis et extremis borealis oceani secessibus, longe sub arctico polo requiratur.

Unde et Horosius, certius aliis de incertis loquens, Tylen dicit "per infinitum a ceteris separatam,[4] circium versus medio sitam oceano, vix paucis notam haberi." Orosius, Histor. i. 2.

Augustinus[5] tamen, xxi°. libro *De civitate Dei*, dicit Tylen, "Indiæ insulam, eo præferri ceteris terris, quod omnis arbor quæ in ea gignitur nunquam nudatur Aug. de Civ. Dei, xxi. 5.

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[1] *Ultra Tylen, &c.*] This section, and the next, "Sed adeo . . . . "constet," not in M.

[2] *continue ab inc. circ. videtur*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; circuire videtur, M.

[3] Hence to end of chapter not in M.

[4] After *separatam*, Camden has "undique terris." There is no MS. authority for this addition, so far as I have seen. Giraldus here quotes word for word from Orosius; but has made the sentence appear imperfect, by giving beforehand simply "Tyle," instead of the "insula Thule" of Orosius.

[5] *Augustinus, &c.*] This section not in Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R. B., &c.

"tegmine foliorum." Unde et in India esse videtur. Sed æquivocatio te non decipiat; quam[1] in obliquo reperies, et non in recto. Illa enim Tylis, hæc Tyle vocatur. Unde et Ysidorus; Tylis insula est Indiæ, foliis omni tempore virens. Iterum et Solinus; "Tylis insula Indiæ est; et affert palmas, oleam creat, "vineis abundat; terrarum omnes miraculo sola vincit, "quod quæcunque in ea arbor nascitur, nunquam "caret folio."

Isid. Orig. xiv. 6. Solin. Polyhist, 55 (52 of Salmasius).

[Cap. XVIII.]

De chorea gigantum, ab Hibernia in Britanniam translata.

The Stones called the Giants' Dance; from Africa; in Kildare, near Naas.

Fuit antiquis temporibus in Hibernia lapidum congeries admiranda; quæ et Chorea gigantum dicta fuit, quia gigantes eam ab ultimis Affricæ finibus in Hiberniam attulerant,[2] et in Kildarensi planitie, non procul a castro Nasensi,[3] tam ingenii quam virium ope mirabiliter erexerant. Unde[4] et ibidem lapides quidam, aliis simillimi, similique modo erecti, usque in hodiernum conspiciuntur.

Mirum qualiter tanti lapides et tot magni unquam unum in locum vel congesti fuerint, vel erecti; quantoque artificio lapidibus tam magnis et altis alii superpositi sint non minores. Qui sic in pendulo, et tanquam in inani suspendi videntur, ut potius artificum studio quam suppositorum podio inniti videantur.

Removed by Merlin

Juxta Britannicam historiam,[5] lapides istos rex

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[1] *quam*] A. R. B. Ba., &c.; quoniam, C.

[2] *attulerant*] M. C. Bb. Ba., &c.; attulerunt, A. R. B. F.

[3] *et in Kildarensi . . . Nasensi*] C. Bb. A. R. B. Ba., &c.; et juxta quosdam in monte de Killarao, juxta alios apud Ophelan prope castellum de Nas, M; et juxta quorundam assertionem in monte de Kildaria, aliorum vero apud Ophelan juxta castellum de Nas., H.

[4] *Unde . . . conspiciuntur*] Not in M.

[5] Geoffrey of Monmouth, viii. 10–12.

Britonum Aurelius Ambrosius, divina Merlini diligentia, de Hibernia in Britanniam advehi procuravit. Et ut tanti facinoris egregium[1] aliquod memoriale relinqueret, eodem ordine et arte qua prius in loco constituit, ubi occultis Saxonum cultris Britanniæ flos cecidit, et sub pacis obtentu nequitiæ telis male tuta regni juventus occubuit.

into England.

[Cap. XIX.]

De mirabilibus nostri temporis. Et primo, de lupo cum sacerdote loquente.

Nunc ea, quæ nostris hic temporibus digna stupore contigerunt, explicemus.

Now the wonders of our own times.

Circa triennium ante adventum domini[2] Johannis in Hiberniam, contigit quendam presbyterum, de partibus Ultoniæ versus Mediam itinerantem, in silva quadam conjuncta Mediæ pernoctasse. Cumque ad igniculum, quem sibi sub arbore quadam frondosa congesserat, uno tantum comitatus puerulo lucubrasset, ecce lupus ad eos accedens, qui et statim in hujusmodi verba prorupit; "Securi estote, et nolite timere; non "enim trepidandum vobis est, ubi timor non est." Cumque ipsi tanto vehementius consternatis animis obstupuissent, verba de Deo sana subjunxit. Et obtestatus a sacerdote, adjuratusque per Deum omnipotentem, et per fidem Trinitatis, ne eis noceret, et quænam creatura fuisset,[3] quæ sub bestiali forma humana verba proferret, catholicum in omnibus responsum præbens, tandem tamen subjecit;

The interview of a priest with a man and woman turned into wolves. 18.

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[1] A leaf is lost here in Ba, which contained "egregium &c." . . . . down to "statim ut ipsum" at beginning of fifth section of next chapter.

[2] *domini*] M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F.; comitis, Cl. Hb. Rb. This adventure of the priest with the wolves was in 1182 or 83. *Expug. Hibern.* ii. 23.

[3] *fuisset*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; esset, M.

"De quodam hominum genere sumus Ossiriensium. "Unde, quolibet septennio, per imprecationem sancti "cujusdam, Natalis scilicet abbatis, duo, videlicet mas "et femina, tam a formis quam finibus exulare co-"guntur. Formam enim humanam prorsus exuentes, "induunt lupinam. Completo vero septennii spatio, "si forte superstites fuerint, aliis duobus ipsorum loco "simili conditione subrogatis, ad pristinam redeunt "tam patriam quam naturam.

The woman-wolf grievously sick.

"Et mihi quidem peregrinationis hujus socia non "procul hinc graviter infirmatur. Cui, si placet, jam "in extremis agenti, sacerdotale solatium intuitu di-"vinæ pietatis indulgeas." Quo dicto, lupum præcedentem usque ad arborem quandam satis propinquam presbyter sequitur tremebundus. In cujus concavitate lupam conspicit, sub specie ferina gemitus et planctus humanos emittentem.

Quæ statim ut ipsum vidit, præmittens salutationem satis humanam, gratias etiam Deo retulit, quod in tali articulo tanto eam solatio dignatus esset.

The priest administers the last sacred rites of the church to her.

Et sic usque ad extremam communionem a sacerdote cuncta rite peracta suscepit: quam[1] et ipsa constanter efflagitans, attentius supplicavit ut viatici largitione beneficium consummaret.

Quo sacerdos cum se carere firmiter asseruisset, lupus qui parumper abscesserat iterum accessit, ostendens ei perulam, librum manualem et aliquot hostias consecratas continentem; quæ more patriæ presbyter itinerans [sub indumento][2] a collo suspensa deferebat. Rogabat etiam ne Dei donum et subsidium, eis divina providentia destinatum, aliquatenus denegaret. Et ut omnem abstergeret dubietatem, pede quasi pro manu fungens, pellem totam a capite lupæ retrahens, usque

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[1] *quam*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; quem, R. B. F.

[2] *sub indumento*] Not in M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F. In Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

ad umbilicum replicavit: et statim expressa forma vetulæ cujusdam apparuit. Quo viso, tandem sacerdos obnixe postulantem et devote suscipientem, terrore tamen magis quam ratione compulsus, communicavit. Et statim pellis, a lupo retracta, priori se formæ coaptavit.

His ergo rite potius quam recte peractis, humanam magis quam bestialem societatem eis ad igniculum nocte tota lupus exhibuit. Mane vero facto, extra silvam ipsos conducens, presbyteroque præbens iter,[1] viam ei certissimam longe[2] præostendit. Multas etiam sacerdoti super impenso beneficio gratias in discessu referebat; promittens efficaciores multo se gratias ei relaturum, si Dominus ipsum[3] ab hoc exilio, cujus jam duas partes compleverat, revocaverit.

The man-wolf's prophecy as to the success of the English invasion.

Inter[4] ultima vero confabulationis hujus verba, quæsivit presbyter a lupo utrum gens inimica, quæ in insulam supervenerat olim, foret diu[5] in ea permansura. Cui lupus: "Propter peccata," inquit, "populi nostri, "et vitiorum enormitates, ira Dei descendens in "generationem pravam, dedit eam in manus inimi- "corum. Quamdiu ergo gens ea mandata Domini "custodierit, et in viis ejus ambulaverit, tuta manebit "et inconvulsa. Sin autem, quia proclivis est cursus "ad voluptates, et imitatrix natura vitiorum, ad nos- "tros ex convictu mores forte descenderint,[6] divinam "in se quoque proculdubio vindictam provocabunt."

[Similem[7] quoque sententiam in Levitico reperies; Domino ad populum Israeliticum loquente in hunc

[1] *presbytero præbens iter*] This not in M., which has also "viam "eis," instead of "viam ei."

[2] *longe*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c. Not in R. B. F.

[3] *ipsum*] M. A. R. B. F.; eum, C. Bb. Ba., &c.

[4] *Inter . . . . provocabunt*] This section not in M. C. Bb. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

[5] *diu*] Ba. and F. (as altered); diuque, R. Cl., &c.

[6] *descenderint*] R. F. Ba.; condescenderint, Cl. Rb.

[7] *Similem . . . dolos*] This section not in M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F. In Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

Lev. xviii. 27, 28. modum : "Omnes execrationes istas," prædictas scilicet, "fecerunt accolæ terræ qui fuerunt ante vos, et "polluerunt eam. Cavete ergo, ne et vos similiter "evomat, cum paria feceritis, sicut evomuit gentem "quæ fuit ante vos." Totum hoc autem postmodum contigit eis, primo per Chaldæos, et postea per Romanos. Item et in Ecclesiastico : "Regnum a gente in "gentem transfertur, propter injustitias, et injurias, et "contumelias, et diversos dolos."] Ecclus. x. 8.

Giraldus himself consulted by the bishop and synod about this action of the priest.

Biennio fere post elapso, contigit me per Mediam transitum fecisse, ubi episcopus terræ illius synodum tunc forte convocaverat; episcopos etiam et abbates vicinos acciverat, ut super hac re, quam ex sacerdotis confessione jam didicerat, quid agendum ei foret communicato consilio certius instrueretur. Audiens ergo
18 b. me per partes illas transire, duos mihi de clericis suis transmisit, rogans ut tanto negotio tractando in propria persona, si fieri posset, interessem; sin autem de assensu meo literis saltem eos certificarem. Audito ergo ab illis seriatim negotio, quod et prius tamen ab aliis audieram, quia causis quibusdam urgentibus adesse non poteram, literarum beneficio consilio quidem absens non fui. Cui et episcopus cum synodo obtemperans, sacerdotem ipsum, cum literis suis rem gestam et sacerdotis confessionem continentibus, appositis etiam episcoporum et abbatum qui intererant sigillis, ad summum pontificem destinavit.

His counsel followed, and the priest sent to the pope.

Non itaque[1] discredendum, sed potius fide certissima est amplectendum, divinam naturam pro mundi salute humanam naturam assumpsisse; cum hic, solo Dei nutu, ad declarandam sui potentiam et vindictam, non minori miraculo humana natura[2] lupinam assumpserit.[3]

[1] *Non itaque, &c.*] Rest of this chapter not in M. Bb., nor originally in C. The section, "Non itaque . . . assumpserit," not in C. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

[2] *humana natura*] Ba. Cl., &c.; humanam naturam, R. F.

[3] *assumpserit*] R. F. Ba. Rb.; assumpsit, Cl.

Sed[1] animal hujusmodi brutum an homo dicetur? Animal namque rationale a bruto longe alienum esse videtur. Præterea animal quadrupes, pronum in terram, nec risibile, humanæ naturæ quis adjunget? Item, qui hoc animal occiderit, nunquid homicida dicetur? Sed miracula divina sunt admiranda, non in rationem humanæ disputationis trahenda. Was this creature man or brute?

Augustinus[2] tamen, xvi°. libro *De Civitate Dei*, ubi de monstruosis hominum generibus quos oriens parit quæstionem movet; quorum quidam caninis capitibus, alii vero capite carentes oculos in armis habere dicuntur, et variis deformati formis; utrum a primo parente propagati revera homines dicendi sint, tandem subjungit; Idem de istis sentiendum, quod et de monstruosis hominum partubus, quos fieri persæpe videmus. Et quicquid hominis definitionem, animal scilicet rationale mortale, sub quacunque forma recipit, illud hominem esse vera ratione testatur. De Civ. Dei, xvi. 8.

Idem, in xviii°. libro *De Civitate Dei*, refert de Archadibus, "qui sorte ducti transnatabant quoddam "stagnum atque ibi convertebantur in lupos, et cum "similibus feris per illius regionis deserta vivebant. "Si autem carne non vescerentur humana, rursum "post novem annos, renatato stagno, reformabantur in "homines." Cumque ibidem de variis hominum in lupos mutationibus sermonem produxerit, demum subnectit; "Nam et nos, cum essemus in Italia, audie-"bamus talia de quadam regione illarum partium; "ubi stabularias mulieres, imbutas his malis artibus, "in caseo dare solere dicebant viatoribus, unde in "jumenta illico verterentur, et necessaria quæque por-"tarent, postque perfuncta opera iterum ad se redi-"rent: nec tamen in eis mentem fieri bestialem, sed Ibid. xviii. 17. Ibid. xviii. 18.

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[1] *Sed . . . trahenda*] This section in margin of C. In text of A. R., &c.

[2] *Augustinus, &c.*] Hence to end of the chapter is on an inserted leaf in C. In text of A. R., &c. This first quotation from St. Augustine is only in brief substance.

" rationalem humanamque servari. Sicut Apuleius, in " libris quos *Asini Aurei* titulo inscripsit, sibi ipsi " refert accidisse, ut accepto veneno, humano animo " permanente, asinus fieret."

Magical producers of phantom red pigs, seen by Giraldus.

Nostris quoque temporibus quosdam vidimus, qui, magicis artibus imbuti, pingues ut videbatur porcos, sed tantum rubros, ex quacunque præjacente materia producentes, in nundinis vendebant. Sed hi statim ut aquam aliquam transibant evanescentes, in propriam et veram revertebantur naturam. Quantalibet autem[1] industria servatis, assumpta species ultra triduum non durabat.

Witches, in the form of hares, sucking cows.

Item, vetulas quasdam, tam in Wallia quam Hibernia et Scotia, se in leporinam transmutare formam, ut adulterina sub specie ubera sugendo, lac alienum occultius surripiant, vetus quidem et adhuc frequens querela est.

Dæmones igitur seu malos homines sicut nec creare, ita nec naturas veraciter mutare posse, simul cum

De Civ. Dei, xviii. 18.

Augustino sentimus. Sed specietenus, quæ a vero Deo creata sunt, ipso permittente, commutant; ut scilicet

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videantur esse quod non sunt; sensibus hominum mira illusione captis et sopitis, quatinus res non videant[2] sicut se habent, sed ad falsas quasdam et fictitias videndum formas, vi phantasmatis seu magicæ incantationis, mirabiliter abstrahantur.

Sed omnipotentem Deum, sicut naturas creare, sic et easdem cum voluerit in se invicem permutare, seu vindicando, seu divinam potentiam declarando, vel unam in alteram penitus transferre, sicut uxoris Loth contra dominicum præceptum respicientis in statuam salis, sicut etiam aquæ in vinum mutatione, vel interiore manente natura solum exterius transformare, sicut in propositis patet exemplis, potentissimum esse, et indubitata veritate credendum.

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[1] *autem*] C. A. Ba., &c. Not in R. B. F.

[2] *videant*] A. R. B., &c.; videantur, C.

De illa vero speciali panis in corpus Christi mutatione, nec speciali tamen, immo verius substantiali, quia specie tota manente substantia sola mutatur, hic prætereundum tutius existimavi. Quoniam supra humanam longe intelligentiam alta nimis et ardua est ejus complexio.

[Cap. XX.]

De muliere barbata, et in tergo cristata.[1]

Duvenaldus, rex Limericensis, mulierem habebat umbilico tenus barbatam. Quæ et cristam habuit a collo superius per spinam deorsum, in modum pulli annui, crine vestitam. The woman with the beard and mane.

Mulier ista, duplici prodigio monstruosa, non hermaphrodita tamen, sed alias muliebri natura tantum emollita, ad intuentium tam risum quam stuporem, curiam assidue sequebatur.

In spinæ quidem pilositate, neutri; in barbæ vero prolixitate, morem gerens patriæ non naturæ.

[Nostris[2] quoque diebus visa est in Connactia curiam sequens[3] mulier, utriusque sexus naturam præferens, et hermaphrodita. Quæ barbam a dextris per labri utriusque et menti medium, more virili, densam nimis[4] et longam habebat; faciem vero sinistram, cum labri et menti parte, muliebriter planam, et omni pilositate carentem.] The half-bearded woman.

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[1] *cristata*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; jubata, R. B. F. To this heading is added in Ba., "Necnon et alia "quadam hermofrodita, et cum "barba bipartita." This first woman is mentioned in the *Expug. Hibern.* i. 11 (end), under A.D. 1169.

[2] *Nostris, &c.*] This section not in M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F. In Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[3] *sequens*] Ba. Cl. Rb.; assidue frequens, Hb.

[4] *nimis*] Ba. Hb. Rb. Not in Cl.

[Cap. XXI.]

De semibove viro semiviroque bove.

The half-ox man.

In partibus de Wikingelo, tempore[1] quo Mauricius Giraldi filius terram illam et castrum obtinuerat, visus fuit homo prodigiosus, si tamen eum hominem dici fas est. Habebat enim totum corpus humanum præter extremitates, quæ bovinæ fuerant. A juncturis namque quibus et manus a brachiis, et pedes a tibiis porriguntur, ungulas bovis expressas præferebat.

Caput ei sine crine totum; tam in occipite, quam anteriori parte, calvitio deforme; raras tantum lanugines per loca pro capillis habens.

Oculi grossi; tam rotunditate quam colore bovini.

Facies oretenus subinde plana; pro naso, præter duo narium foramina, nullam eminentiam habens.

Verba ei nulla. Mugitum enim tantum pro sermone reddebat.

Curiam hic Mauricii diu frequentabat; quotidie ad prandium veniens, et quod ei dabatur ad vescendum, intra fissuras ungularum, quas pro manibus gestabat, stringens, ori apponebat.

Illusis vero sæpissime Hiberniensibus terræ illius a juventute castri, quod tales in vaccis genuissent, ex suorum malitia et invidia quam non meruerat occulta nece demum interiit.

The half-man ox.

Parum enim ante adventum Anglorum in insulam, ex coitu viri cum vacca, quo vitio præcipue gens ista laborat,[2] in montanis de Glindalachan vitulum virilem bos edidit. Ut credere valeas semibovemque virum semivirumque bovem iterum fuisse progenitum. Et

[1] Wicklow was given to Maurice Fitz-Gerald in 1174. *Expug. Hibern.* ii. 4. This half-ox man is mentioned in the *Expugnatio* (ii. 15), under A.D. 1176.

[2] *laborat*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; laborabat, M.

cum fere per annum inter alios vitulos matrem lactando sequeretur, tandem, quia plus hominis habebat quam pecoris, ad humanos convictus transferebatur.

Sed et[1] hujus animalis interemptor nunquid homicida dicetur? Animal monstruosum, animal irrationale, omni penitus tam ratione quam oratione carens, rationalium gregi quis associabit?[2] Præterea animal erectum, risibile, bipes, ab humana proprietate quis separabit? 19 b.
Nunquid enim[3] natura

> "Os bruto sublime dedit, cœlumque videre
> "Jussit?" Ov. Met. i. 85.

Sed excursus hujusmodi sunt excusandi: potiusque timenda est naturæ vindicta, quam disputatione discutienda.

[Cap. XXII.]

De vacca cervina.

The half-deer cow, at Chester.

Apud Cestriam Britanniæ, temporibus nostris, ad vaccam cervus accesserat; unde et vacca cervina[4] processit. Parte enim anteriore tota usque ad inguina bos erat; coxas subinde cum cauda, tibias, et pedes, expresse cum pilositate et colore cervinos habens. Sed quia plus pecoris quam feræ præferebat, inter armenta resedit.

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[1] *Sed et, &c.*] Rest of chapter not in M. Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R., &c.

[2] *associabit*] A. R., &c.; sociabit, C.

[3] *enim*] A. R. B. F. Not in C. Ba., &c. The quotation is an adaptation from Ovid's "Os homini "sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri "jussit."

[4] This cow mentioned again by Giraldus in the *Itinerarium Kambriæ*, ii. 11 (near end).

[Cap. XXIII.]

De hirco ad mulierem accedente.

The he-goat and the woman.

Rothericus, rex Connactiæ, hircum habebat domesticum album, tam pilositate prælonga quam cornuum elatione suo in genere conspicuum.

Hic mulierem quandam, cujus custodiæ deputatus fuerat, bestialiter adamabat. Cui miserrima, et potius se bestiam patiendo quam ille agendo probans, se etiam ad abusum supponebat. O indignum facinus et nefandum!

O quam enormiter sensualitati succumbit ratio! Quam degenerante naturæ privilegio in bestiam brutescit bestiarum dominator, cum bruto animali tam turpi commercio rationale se submittit.

Quamvis enim utrunque detestabile nimis sit et abominabile, longe tamen minus est bruta rationalibus in omnibus[1] esse subjecta; et quia bruta, et quoniam naturaliter servire parata; licet tamen non ad abusum sed ad usum creata.

In metrum igitur natura forte negante prorumpit indignatio:

"Omnia jam novitate juvant;[2] nova grata voluptas,
"Et naturalis inveterata Venus.
"Arte minus natura placet; consumitur usus
"In reprobos ratio, jam ratione carens.
"Vis genitiva[3] gemit, violata cupidinis arte;
"Et violans vindex publicat ira scelus.
"Pandit enim natura nefas; proditque pudorem
"Criminis infandi, prodigiosa creans."

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[1] *in omnibus*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c. Not in R. B. F.

[2] *juvant*] C. Bb. R., &c.; placent, M. A. These lines amongst Giraldus's elegant extracts in the *Symbolum Electorum* (vol. i. 354).

[3] *Vis genitiva, &c.*] These four last lines not in M. Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R., &c.

[Cap. XXIV.]

De leone mulierem adamante.

Parisiis leonem vidimus, quem cardinalis quidam Philippo Lodowici regis filio tunc puero catulum transmiserat. The lion and the woman.

Hic fatuam quandam, Johannam nomine, bestiali amore amplecti[1] solebat. Qui cum e carcere aliquotiens erupisset, et in tantam commotus iram ut ausus accedere nemo fuisset, tunc accita Johanna iram ejus et malitiam incontinenti mitigabat. Et muliebribus ipsum[2] demulcens illecebris, et quo voluerat ducebat, et omnem statim furorem in amorem convertebat.

O utramque bestiam turpi morte dignissimam! Nec tamen modernis tantum temporibus scelera hujusmodi sunt attentata; verum etiam antiqua tempora, majori innocentia et simplicitate laudabilia, nefandis hujusmodi criminibus maculam contraxerunt. Unde et in Levitico scriptum est; "Mulier quæ accesserit ad omne "pecus ascendenda ab eo, mulierem interficietis, et "pecus morte moriatur. Rei enim sunt."[3] Lev. xx. 16.

Pecus interfici jubetur non propter culpam, a qua bestialitas excusat; sed propter memoriæ refricationem, quæ ad mentem facinus revocare solet.

De Pasiphe[4] quoque, taurum adamante, multorum opinione non fabula quidem sed res gesta fuit.

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[1] *amplecti*] C. Bb. R., &c.; complecti, M. A.

[2] *ipsum*] M. C Bb. A. Ba., &c.; illum, R. B. F.

[3] *Rei enim sunt*] C. Bb. R., &c. Not in M. A. This quotation does not agree verbally with the Vulgate.

[4] *De Pasiphe, &c.*] This section not in M. Pasiphe, A. R., &c.; Pasiffe, C. Bb.

[Cap. XXV.]

De gallis aliter in Hibernia quam alibi vociferantibus.

How Irish cocks crow differently from others.

Galli gallinacei non hic, ut alibi, tertiam et extremam noctis partem a duabus primis triplici intervallo vociferando distinguunt. Parum enim ante diem hic audiuntur; et quantum alibi a tertia, tantum hic a prima galli voce dies distare dignoscitur.

20. Nec arbitrandum tamen est, aliam hic quam alibi gallos habere naturam. Haud aliter enim vociferant huc aliunde advecti.

And why.

Sed sicut brevi contenta Britannia nocte est, sic et Hibernia; et tanto breviore, quanto solis adjacet occasui spatio proximiore.[1] Quanto igitur nox hic contractior, tanto post galli cantum dies acceleratior. Unde et semper æstivo tempore, tanquam aurora surgente perclare diescat, ex solis splendore, parum sub terra gyrantis, nocte tota supra horizontem polus albescit.

[Cap. XXVI.]

De lupis in Decembri catulos habentibus.

Wolves have young in December.

Lupi in Hibernia plerumque in mense Decembri catulos habent; vel propter nimiam terræ temperantiam; vel potius proditionis et rapinæ incommoda, quæ præmature hic pullulant, designantes.

[Cap. XXVII.]

De corvis et ululis circa Natale pullos habentibus.

Crows and owls had young at

Circa Natale quo dominus[2] Johannes ab insula primo discessit, pluribus in Hibernia locis, et præcipue

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[1] *proximiore*] M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F.; propinquiore, Ba. Cl., &c.

[2] *dominus*] M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F.; comes, Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

circa partes Mediæ,[1] corvi et ululæ pullos habuere; alicujus forte novi et præmaturi facinoris prognosticantes eventum. Christmas, in A.D. 1185.

Sicut[2] eodem anno, terræ illius dominatoris, Hugonis scilicet de Laci, mors perniciosa suorum malitia est protestata.

[Cap. XXVIII.]

De miraculis; et primo de pomis, et corvis, et merula sancti Keivini.

Miracles. And 1st, of St. Kevin.

Nunc ad miracula transeamus. Et a sancto Keivino, nobili confessore et abbate, initium sumamus. Sanctus igitur Keivinus cum apud Glindelachan vita et sanctitate claruisset, puer quidam nobilis, quem alumnum habuerat, ægrotans forte poma desiderabat. Cui sancto compatiente, et orationem ad Dominum fundente, salix quædam non procul ab ecclesia poma protulit, tam puero quam aliis ægrotantibus salutifera. Et usque in hodiernum diem tam salix illa, quam aliæ ex ea circa cœmiterium transplantatæ more pomerii, salicis tamen alias per omnia tam foliis quam frondibus natura manente, singulis annis poma producunt. Sunt autem hæc poma alba et oblonga, salubria magis quam sapida; in magna reverentia ab indigenis habita. Quæ etiam ad remotas Hiberniæ partes, contra varios conferentia morbos, a multis deferuntur; et sancti Keivini poma dicuntur.

The apple-bearing willow.

Die solemnitatis ejusdem sancti, corvi de Glindelachan, quia forte lac alumni ipsius fuderant, per ejus imprecationem nec ad terram descendunt, nec cibum sumunt. Sed circa villam et ecclesiam cum magno

Fast-day of the ravens at Glendalough.

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[1] *et præcipue . . . Mediæ*] Not in M.

[2] *Sicut, &c.*] This section not in M. Hugh de Laci was treacherously killed in 1186: *Hoveden* and *Four Masters*, sub anno.

clamore volantes, eo die tam a requie suspenduntur quam refectione.

Feast-day of the ravens of Italy at Ravenna.

In[1] Italia quoque, apud urbem nobilem Ravennam, die solemnitatis sancti Apollinaris, omnes undique corvi, cornices, et monedulæ, a cunctis Ytaliæ partibus singulis annis tanquam ex condicto conveniunt. Quibus, eodem die, ex antiqua consuetudine equi unius cadaver datur. Si rei istius rationem quæras, assignare non præsumo. Nisi forte longo ex usu tractu temporis inolito, et quasi in naturam jam converso, ubi corpus fuerit, ibi et[2] aviculæ congregantur: vel potius aliquo sancti illius miraculo ista contingunt. Unde et quoniam, ab hoc corvorum conventu, Teutonica lingua primo Ravennesburch, id est *Corvorum urbs* est dicta, inde et Ravennam vocatam nonnulli conjectant.

Hence the name Ravenna.

St. Vincent's ravens.

Item, decollato in Hispania beato Vincentio, corvi, qui ad corpus ejus tanquam ad cadaver descenderunt, statim omnes occubuerunt. Et quoniam personale delictum in genus plerumque redundat, in ausus illius vindictam, divina procurante gratia, quæ[3] in sanctis suis se mirabilem ostendit, ab illa semper hora circa corpus martyris corvi[4] tanquam excubatores assistunt. Unde et eodem corpore a Cartagine, Hispanica dico non Affrica,[5] Ulixbonam per mare translato, et corvi
20 b. in nave circa corpus ejus[6] jugiter affuerunt.

In ecclesia quoque sancti Vincentii Ulixbonensi in urbe, ubi corpus ejusdem nobili in feretro reconditum jacet, corvi circa altare usque ad moderna fere tempora excubare solent; circa senarium numerum vel infra; nec semper iidem, sed successive diversi.

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[1] Of the rest of this chapter, M. has only the last section about St. Kevin and his blackbird.

[2] *ibi et*] A. R. B. F.; et, C. Bb. Ba., &c.

[3] *quæ*] W. A. R. B. F. Ba.; quem, C. Bb. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[4] *corvi*] C. Bb. Ba. Cl., &c. Not in A. R. B. F.

[5] *Affrica*] So all the MSS., except the most imperfect W., which has *Africana*, with Camden.

[6] *ejus*] A. R. B. F Not in C. Bb. Ba., &c.

In hujus rei signum signacula, quæ a peregrinis abinde deferuntur, cum martyris imagine inscriptam et corvi imaginem habent. Vulgari quoque nuncupatione sanctus Vincentius *de Corvo* vocatur; et quod in vita non habuit, post mortem eventus agnomen dedit.

In quibusdam Provinciæ partibus, cum corpus beati Firmini, Uscesciensis episcopi et natione Narbonensis, Uscesciam deferretur, bobus forte qui rhedam trahebant ad pascua solutis, unus eorum ab urso quodam subito est devoratus. Quo comperto, sanctus Ferreolus, qui et Firmini nepos et nobilis vecturæ procurator extiterat, eidemque [1] Firmino in episcopalem sedem statim successit, divina obtestatione ad se incontinenti ursum accivit: qui et eadem accedens hora se jugo sponte supposuit, et bovi perdito quasi vicarius ad trahendum devotusque successit. Et sic pluribus abinde miliaribus Firmino Uscesciam tam miraculose transvecto, ejusdemque [2] exequiis celebriter ibidem et gloriose completis, accepta quasi a Ferreolo licentia, ursus indemnis ad montana secessit. Qui et singulis postmodum quamdiu vixerat [3] annis, die solemnitatis sancti Firmini ad ecclesiam eandem ex consuetudine veniebat, et omnino bestiali feritate interim exuta, se populo quasi mansuetum, palpabilem, et tractabilem exhibebat; tanquam ob ausum pœnalem, crimenque commissum, servire, pœnamque subire paratus. Unde et corium ejusdem usque hodie in ecclesia sancti Firmini in veneratione quadam reconditum habetur; et ob tanti tam insignis miraculi memoriam, transeuntibus et peregrinis solet ostendi.

The bear of St. Firminus.

In partibus Constantinopolitanis, regione videlicet Crebonensi,[4] corpore beati Clementis in mari miracu-

The sea receding for pil-

[1] *eidemque*] C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; eidem, R. B. F.

[2] *ejusdemque*] C. Bb. Ba., &c.; ejus denique, A. R. B. F.

[3] vixerit, Bb.; vixit, W.

[4] *regione videlicet Crebonensi*] Not in Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R., &c.

grims to St. Clement.

lose reperto, singulis annis die solemnitatis ejusdem sancti, et circiter eundem octo, præter solitum a seculo cursum, mare ibidem se refluum exhibere, et peregrinis populisque devote accedentibus, revelata terræ facie, miraculosum iter ostendere solet. Quibus solemniter completis, ad antiquas rediens metas, mare spatiosum undique se transfundens statim occupat universa; nec nisi revoluto fere anni curriculo, ulla viæ illius vestigia comparebunt.

Sic itaque nostris diebus, in quos seculorum fines devenerunt, famosum illud Rubri maris miraculum singulis annis ex parte repræsentari solet.

Igitur benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, qui facit mirabilia magna solus; et benedictum nomen majestatis ejus in æternum. Quoniam ad declaranda sanctorum suorum merita, et ut glorificatos in cœlis amplius glorificet et[1] in terris, aves, feræ, maria, obediunt ei. Sed hæc hactenus: ad Keivinum nostrum de cetero redeamus.

St. Kevin and the blackbird.

Sanctus[2] igitur Keivinus, quadragesimali quodam tempore hominum frequentiam ex consuetudine fugiens, solitudine quadam, tugurio modico, quo sole[3] tantum et pluvia defenderetur, soli contemplationi vacans, lectioni et orationi insistebat. Qui cum manum, more solito, per fenestram ad cœlum elevaret, ei forte merula insedit, et quasi nido fungens ova posuit. Cui sanctus tanta patientia et mansuetudine compassus est, ut nec manum clauderet nec retraheret; sed usque ad plenam pullorum exclusionem eam infatiganter extenderet et aptaret. In hujus autem signi perpetuam memoriam, omnes imagines sancti Keivini per Hiberniam in manu extensa merulam habent.

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[1] *et*] C. Bb. A. Ba., &c. Not in R. B. F.

[2] *Sanctus, &c.*] This last section in M., which has "Item sanctus," instead of *Sanctus igitur* of after editions.

[3] *sole*] So all the MSS.; a sole, Camden.

[Cap. XXIX.]

De cercellis sancti Colemanni, quasi mansuetis, et ad injurias fugitivis. 21.

Est in Lagenia stagnum modicum, aves sancti Colemanni continens; anates scilicet minores, quæ vulgari vocabulo cercellæ vocantur. Hæ[1] a tempore sancti tam mansuetæ factæ sunt, ut de manibus cibos sumant, et usque hodie hominum accessus non reformident. Sunt[2] autem semper, quasi conventum adimplentes, circa tredecim numero. Quoties vero vel ecclesiæ et clero, vel ipsis aviculis injuria forte vel aliqua molestia illata fuerit, statim evolantes in lacu quodam procul inde remoto se recipiunt; nec ad priorem locum redeunt, donec condigna satisfactio fuerit subsecuta. Interim vero, dum absentes fuerint, aquæ stagni illius, quæ limpidissimæ prius et claræ fuerant, fœtidæ fiunt et corruptæ; et nec ad hominum, nec ad pecorum usus accedunt.

St. Colman's teal.

Their resentment of injuries.

Contigit aliquando, quodam ibi aquam nocturno tempore hauriente, unam avicularum non sponte sed casu simul hausisse. Et cum carnes in aqua illa diu coquerentur, nec excoqui possent, tandem avis in olla supernatans inventa est prorsus illæsa: quæ cum ad stagnum relata fuisset, statim carnes excoctæ fuerunt.

Not to be boiled;

Contigit etiam temporibus nostris, Roberto filio Stephani cum Dermitio rege Lageniæ per locum illum transeunte, sagittarium quemdam unam avium illarum sagitta percussisse. Quam cum secum ad hospitium detulisset, et in olla quadam cum carnibus coquendam imposuisset, trium ignium consumpta materia, usque

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[1] *Hæ*] H. C. Bb. A. R. B. Ba. Rb.; Hæc, M. F. Cl.

[2] *Sunt autem . . . numero*] Not in M. C. Bb. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba. Cl. Rb.

ad mediam noctem coquendo non profecit. Sed jam tertio carnes extractæ semper non minus crudæ repertæ sunt, quam cum fuerant impositæ. Tandem vero, cum hospes inter frusta carnium aviculam illam[1] conspexisset, audiensque quod de stagno illo fuisset, statim cum lacrimis exclamavit; "Me miserum, quod unquam "infortunium istud in domo mea contingere debuit. "De avibus enim sancti Colemanni una hæc erat." Et statim carnes per se impositæ cocturam quam amiserant admiserunt.

Sagittarius vero non multo post rebus humanis miserabiliter exemptus est.

or fed upon by kite;

Præterea[2] accidit et milvum, cum una avicularum istarum quam rapuerat, in arbore quadam propinqua se recepisse. Qui et, multis intuentibus, membris omnibus statim irriguit; nec prædam sub pedibus prædo respexit.

or fox.

Accidit etiam glaciali quodam in tempore, vulpeculam avium istarum unam rapuisse. Quæ mane facto, in tugurio quodam lacui conjuncto, et sancti Colemanni conversatione olim venerabili, intra fauces avicula vitalem spiritum præcludente, bestia inventa est suffocata. Relatis igitur ad lacum avibus prorsus illæsis, optimi patroni beneficio, præda indemni, mortis pœnas prædo persolvit uterque.

[Cap. XXX.]

De lapide, vinum quotidie miraculose continente.

Miraculous supply of wine to a church in South Munster.

In australi Momonia circa partes Corcagiæ est insula quædam, ecclesiam continens sancti Michaelis, antiquæ nimis et authenticæ religionis. Ubi lapis quidam est extra ostium ecclesiæ a dextris, ipsi fere cohærens ostio; in cujus superioris partis concavitate,

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[1] *illam*] Not in Ba.

[2] *Præterea, &c.*] Rest of the chapter not in M.

quotidie mane, per merita sanctorum loci illius, tantum vini reperitur quantum ad missarum solemnia, juxta numerum sacerdotum qui ibidem eodem die celebraturi fuerint, convenienter sufficere possit.

Simile[1] huic miraculum in *Dialogo* reperies. Refert enim Gregorius de Martino Campaniæ monacho, qui monte Marisco[2] multis annis in specu angustissimo inclusus fuerat, "cujus hoc miraculum primum fuit, "quod ut[3] se prædicti montis foramine contulit, ex "petra eadem, quæ in se ipsa concava angustum specum "fecerat, aquæ stilla de novo[4] prorupit, quæ Dei "famulo in usu quotidiano sufficeret; et nec plus "adesset, nec necessitati deesset."

St. Greg. Dial. iii. 16.

21 b.

[Cap. XXXI.]

De pulicibus, a sancto Nannano deportatis.

Est[5] in Connactia vicus quidam, quem sancti Nannani illustrat ecclesia. Ubi ab antiquo tanta pulicum excreverat multitudo, ut ea pestilentia locus ille fere desertus et habitatoribus vacuus extitisset, donec intercessione[6] sancti Nannani in pratum quoddam proximum sunt deportati. In tantum igitur meritis sancti istius locum illum vis divina mundavit, ut nec unus postmodum hic reperiri potuisset. In prato vero tanta superabundat copia, ut non tantum hominibus, verum etiam bestiis semper maneat inaccessibile.

Fleas banished by St. Nannan.

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[1] *Simile, &c.*] This section not in M. Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R. B., &c.

[2] *Marsico*, Greg. Dial.

[3] *mox ut*, Greg.

[4] *de novo*] not in Greg.

[5] This of St. Nannan and the fleas occurs again in our author's *Gemma Ecclesiastica* (Vol. ii. p. 160), not in just the same words.

[6] *intercessione S. Nannani*] Instead of this, "per excommunica-"tionem et imprecationem suam," in *Gem. Eccl.*

[Cap. XXXII.]

De ratis, per sanctum Yvorum a Ferneginan expulsis.

Rats expelled by St. Yvor.

Est [1] in Lagenia provincia quædam quæ Ferneginan dicitur, quam a Weisefordia solum Slanensis aqua disterminat. Unde mures majores, qui vulgariter *Rati* vocantur, per imprecationem sancti Yvori episcopi, cujus forte libros corroserant, prorsus expulsi, nec ibi postea nasci, nec vivere valent invecti.

[Cap. XXXIII.]

De campana fugitiva.

The fugitive bell.

Est et in Lagenia, in terra scilicet Mactalewi, campana quædam, quæ nisi a custode suo, exorcismo quodam ad hoc composito, singulis noctibus adjuretur, et vinculo quolibet vel fragili ligetur, mane in Media apud Clunarech, in ecclesia Sancti Phinnani unde venerat, reperitur. Quod et aliquoties [2] certum est contigisse.

[Cap. XXXIV.]

De variis Kildariæ miraculis; [3] *et primo de igne quasi inextinguibili, cinereque non excrescente.*

The Kildare miracles.

Apud Kildariam Lageniæ, quam gloriosa Brigida reddit illustrem, digna memoratu sunt miracula multa. Inter quæ primum occurrit ignis Brigidæ, quem inex-

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[1] This also in *Gem. Eccl.* (p. 161), not in exactly the same words, or same order.

[2] *aliquoties*] C. Bb. R. B., &c.; aliquando, M. A. *Clunarech* is Cluain-Iraird, now Clonard, in Meath, where St. Finan founded the church, and was the first bishop.

[3] *De variis Kild. miraculis*] This all the heading in R. B. F.

tinguibilem dicunt: non quod extingui non possit, sed quia tam solicite, tam accurate, moniales et sanctæ mulieres ignem suppetente materia fovent et nutriunt, ut a tempore virginis per tot annorum curricula semper manserit inextinctus. Et cum tanta lignorum strues tanto in tempore sit hic consumpta, nunquam tamen cinis excrevit.

St. Bridget's fire.

[Cap. XXXV.]

De igne a Brigida sua nocte servato.

Cum tempore Brigidæ viginti moniales hic Domino militassent, ipsa vicesima existente, post gloriosum ejus transitum tantum unadeviginti semper hactenus extiterunt, et numerum non auxerunt. Cum vero singulis noctibus singulæ per ordinem ignem custodiant, nocte vicesima monialis ultima, lignis appositis, inquit: "Brigida, custodi ignem tuum. Te enim nox ista con-"tingit." Et sic, igne relicto, mane materia more solito consumpta, inextinctus reperitur.

Bridget herself still taking her turn in watching it.

[Cap. XXXVI.]

De sepe circa ignem; intra quem mas non intrat.

Virgeo quodam et orbiculari sepe ignis iste circuitur, intra quem mas non intrat. Et si forte intrare præsumpserit, quod a temerariis quibusdam nonnunquam est attentatum, divinam ultionem non evadit.

The enclosure round the fire not to be entered by man.

Item mulieribus solum, et his non oris flatu, sed follibus tantum et ventilabris, ignem licet exsufflare.

Item per imprecationem virginis caprarum fetus hic non proveniunt.

Sunt et hic campestria pulcherrima, quæ Brigidæ pascua vocantur: in quæ nullus aratrum ausus est mittere. De quibus pro miraculo ducitur, quod licet

St. Bridget's pastures.

provinciæ totius animalia solo tenus[1] herbam corroserint, mane facto non minor herbositas apparebit; tanquam de pascuis illis dictum fuerit,

Virg. Georg. ii. 201.

"Et quantum longis carpunt armenta diebus,
"Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponit."

[CAP. XXXVII.]

22. *De falcone Kildariæ, quasi domestico et mansueto.*

The falcon of Kildare.

A tempore Brigidæ falco quidam egregius locum istum frequentabat, qui et ecclesiasticæ turris summitati insidere consueverat. Unde et a populo avis Brigidæ vocabatur, et in veneratione quadam a cunctis habebatur. Hic ad nutum civium seu militum castrensium, tanquam mansueta et ad hoc domesticata,[2] anates et alias aves, tam campestres quam fluviales, circa planitiem Kildariæ cum intuentium delectatione[3] non modica persequi solebat, et ad terram ab aere innata velocitate coercere. Quis enim locus miseris aviculis relinquebatur, cum homines terram et aquas, avis inimica gravisque tyrannus aerem obsidebat?

Mirum de hoc alite, quod circa ecclesiam quam frequentabat parem non admittebat. Sed amoris tempore procul inde secedens, et apud montana de Glindelechan ex consuetudine parem inveniens, naturæ indulgebat. Quo completo, iterum ad ecclesiam solus revertebatur.

Viris ecclesiasticis, et tunc præcipue cum intra ecclesiarum sinus et septa divinis deputantur officiis, signum præferens honestatis.

In ipso discessu primo domini[4] Johannis ab Hibernia, avem quæ per tot duraverat secula, et tam delecta-

[1] *vesperi* added in Camden after *tenus*.

[2] *domesticata*] M. C. Bb. A. B. Ba. Cl.; domestica, R. F. Rb.

[3] *delectatione*] M. C. Bb. B., &c.; delectione, R. F.

[4] *domini*] M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F.; comitis, Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

biliter Brigidæ locum illustraverat, demum prædæ quam ceperat minus caute insidentem, et humanos accessus parum evitantem, baculo quem gestabat rusticus quidam oppetiit.

Ex quo patet casum in secundis fore metuendum, et vitæ diuturnæ delectabili et dilectæ parum esse confidendum.

[Cap. XXXVIII.]

De libro miraculose conscripto.

Inter universa Kildariæ miracula, nihil mihi miraculosius occurrit quam liber ille mirandus, tempore[1] virginis, ut aiunt, angelo dictante conscriptus. Continet hic liber quatuor Evangeliorum juxta Ieronimum concordantiam: ubi quot paginæ fere tot figuræ diversæ, variisque coloribus distinctissimæ. The miraculously-written book.

Hic Majestatis vultum videas divinitus impressum; hinc mysticas Evangelistarum formas, nunc senas, nunc quaternas, nunc binas alas habentes; hinc aquilam, inde vitulum, hinc hominis faciem, inde leonis; aliasque figuras fere infinitas. Quas si superficialiter et usuali more minus acute conspexeris, litura potius videbitur quam ligatura; nec ullam prorsus attendes subtilitatem, ubi nihil tamen præter subtilitatem. Sin autem ad perspicacius intuendum oculorum aciem invitaveris, et longe penitius[2] ad artis arcana transpenetraveris, tam delicatas et subtiles, tam arctas et artitas, tam nodosas et vinculatim colligatas, tamque recentibus adhuc coloribus illustratas notare poteris intricaturas, ut vere hæc omnia potius angelica quam humana diligentia jam asseveraveris esse composita. Its illuminations.

[1] *tempore . . . . conscriptus*] M. C. Bb. R., &c.; qui tempore . . . . conscriptus est, A.

[2] *penitius*] C. Bb. A. Ba. Rb.; penitus, M. R. B. F. Cl.

Hæc[1] equidem quanto frequentius et diligentius intueor, semper quasi novis obstupeo, semper magis ac magis admiranda conspicio.

[Cap. XXXIX.]

De libri compositione.

How it was written.

Nocte prima, cujus mane librum scriptor inchoaturus fuerat, astitit ei angelus in somnis, figuram quandam tabulæ quam manu præferebat impressam ei[2] ostendens, et dicens, "Putasne hanc figuram in prima libri "quem scripturus es pagina possis imprimere?" Cui scriptor, de tantæ subtilitatis arte, de tam ignotæ et inusitatæ rei diffidens notitia, respondit, "Nequaquam."
22 b. Cui angelus; "In crastino die dic dominæ tuæ, ut "ipsa pro te orationes fundat ad Dominum, quatinus "ad acutius intuendum et subtilius intelligendum tibi "tam mentis quam corporis oculos aperiat, et ad recte "protrahendum manus dirigat." Quo facto, nocte sequente iterum affuit angelus, eandem figuram aliasque multas ei præsentans. Quas omnes, divina opitulante gratia, statim advertens et memoriæ fideliter commendans, libro suo locis competentibus ad unguem scriptor impressit. Sic igitur angelo præsentante, Brigida orante, scriptore imitante, liber est ille conscriptus.

[Cap. XL.][3]

De mirandis sanctorum refugiis.

Wonderful sanctuaries; for beasts and

In ulteriori Ultoniæ parte sunt montana quædam, in quibus grues et grutæ, avesque variæ, suo in tempore abunde nidificant, propter refugium et pacem non

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[1] *Hæc, &c.*] This section not in M.

[2] *ei*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c. Not in R. B. F.

[3] The four chapters, XL.—XLIII., not in M.

tantum hominibus, verum etiam pecoribus et avibus ab incolis ibidem exhibitam, ob reverentiam scilicet sancti Beani, cujus ecclesia locum illustrat. Sanctus iste miro et inaudito more non tantum aves, sed et avium suarum ova tuetur. Si enim ut ova rapias manum admoveas, videas protinus pullos marcidos et rubros, et tanquam eadem hora jam exclusos. Sin autem manum retrahas cum voluntate, videas iterum seu miraculose seu phantastice, contra naturæ cursum, pullos in ova vel conversos vel reversos.

birds, as well as men.

Accedant duo, inspector simul et raptor; hic pullos, ille ova videbit.

In australi Momonia, inter collem Brendani et mare spatiosum quod Hispaniam interluit et Hiberniam, est locus quidam non modicus, uno ex latere fluvio piscoso, altero vero rivulo quodam inclusus: qui, ob reverentiam sancti Brendani, aliorumque loci illius sanctorum, non tantum hominibus et pecoribus, verum etiam ipsis feris, tam advenis quam indigenis, refugium præstat inauditum. Unde tam cervi, quam apri et[1] lepores, aliæque feræ, cum canes e vestigio sequentes nullatenus effugere se posse præsentiunt, a partibus procul inde remotis ad locum istum quantocius transferuntur.[2] Qui ut rivulum pertransierint, canibus ibidem cursum sistentibus, nec ulterius insequentibus, ab omni statim periculo tuti sunt.

Mira Dei virtus, quod sanctorum meritis nec natura vorax, nec venator instigans et præda præcurrens, prædones impios et pertinaces promptam transvehunt ad rapinam.

In duobus refugiis istis, ex longo pacis usu quasi domesticæ, hominum frequentiam aves et feræ non refugiunt.

[1] *apri et*] Not in C. Bb. A. B. An addition in R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

[2] *transferuntur*] C. Bb. A. B., &c.; referuntur, R. F.

Ex altero loci prædicti latere fluvius illabitur piscosissimus, et præcipue salmonibus ad miraculum usque fecundissimus. Hospitalitatis namque gratia, quam sancti ibidem viri pro viribus, immo longe supra vires, in peregrinos et advenas infatiganter exercere solebant, ad caritatis explendæ tam sufficientiam quam experientiam piscium indulta est copia tanta. Et ne avaritiæ stimulis, ut assolet, ad emolumentum mercimoniale cupidos mortalium animos ipsa provocaret abundantia, ad mannæ modum remedium est divinitus indultum, ut nunquam ultra primam capturæ noctem pisces utiliter reserventur. Quantumlibet enim sale conditi, putredini tamen semper obnoxii, insipidi permanent et insulsi: nec arte quantalibet in crastinum reservati, vel ad usum provenient[1] vel ad esum.

[Cap. XLI.]

De saltu salmonis.

Salmon leap.

Præterea fluvius iste nativam quandam rupem transfluit et transcurrit, ubi cum impetu magno ab alto ut assolet ad ima descendit. In summitate rupis istius est modica quædam concavitas, sanctorum virorum
22. manibus olim exsculpta: ad quam salmones abundanti in copia ab imis ad summa, quantum hastæ longissimæ est altitudo, saltu mirabili transferuntur, et, nisi piscis proprietas hoc exigeret, miraculoso. Hoc etenim piscium genus saltum appetit[2] ex natura. Unde et a saltu salmo nomen accepit.

[1] *provenient*] C. Bb. A. B., &c.; proveniunt, R. F.

[2] *appetit*] C. Bb. R. B., &c.; expetit, A.

[Cap. XLII.]

De modo saliendi.

Modus autem saliendi[1] et proprietas hæc est. Pisces hujusmodi naturaliter aquæ cursum contra nitentes; sicut enim avibus contra flatus, sic et piscibus contra fluctus mos est eniti; cum obstaculum inveniunt valde præruptum, caudam ad os replicant; interdum etiam, ad majorem saltus efficaciam, caudam ipsam ore comprimunt. Dumque a[2] circulo hujuscemodi se subito resolvunt, cum impetu quodam, tanquam subita virgæ circulatæ explicatione, se ab imis ad alta cum intuentium admiratione longe transmittunt. The mode of leaping.

Similis hujus in Avenliphensi fluvio non procul a Dublinia saltus reperitur, sed non tantus. Salmon leap near Dublin.

Australi quoque in Wallia, Teivensi scilicet in fluvio, tertius est saltus, et trium præruptissimus. Another in South Wales.

[Cap. XLIII.]

De vita sancti Brendani.

Ea vero quæ de sancto Brendano tam miraculose referuntur, et in scriptum etiam redacta sunt; quanto quidem labore septenni[3] navigatione mare lustraverat;[4] de angelorum multiformi in specie visitatione; de paschalis solemnitatis supra monstruosam maris beluam annua per septenne spatium celebratione; de miserrimi illius, nec miserabilis tamen, Judæ proditoris in scopulo marino positione, et privilegiatæ lucis beneficio, relega- The marvellous miracles of St. Brendan.

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[1] This, of the way in which the salmon leaps, will occur again in the *Itinerarium Kambriæ*, ii. 3.

[2] *a*] C. Bb. Ba. Cl., &c. Not in A. R. B. F.

[3] *septenni*] C. Bb. R. B., &c.; septennali, A.

[4] *lustraverat*] A. R. B. F.; lustraverit, C. Bb. Ba., &c.

tione simul et religatione; denique post longos et infatigabiles labores, desideratissima paradisi terrestris visione, et divina opitulante gratia prospere demum ad propria reversione, incredibilia nimirum videri possent;
Mar. ix. 22. nisi quoniam "credenti omnia sunt possibilia;" et
Ps. cxxxiv. 6. quoniam[1] "omnia quæcunque voluit Dominus fecit in "cœlo et in terra, in mari, et in omnibus abyssis;"
Ps. lxvii. 36. et quia "mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis," et magnus in omnibus operibus suis, semperque mundi extremitates novis quibusdam prodigiis pollent, tanquam in publico dignitatem observans, licentius natura ludat in privato. Hæc autem si quis audire gestierit, qui de vita Brendani scriptus est libellum legat.

[Cap. XLIV.]

Miracula nostri temporis.[2] *De cruce Dubliniæ loquente, et testimonium veritati perhibente.*

The speaking crucifix, at Dublin.

Nunc ea quæ circa moderna contigerunt tempora explicemus. Dubliniæ, in ecclesia Sanctæ Trinitatis, est crux quædam virtuosissima, vultum præferens Crucifixi. Hæc non multis ante adventum Anglorum annis, Oustmannorum scilicet tempore, pluribus audientibus sacrum os in verba resolvit. Contigerat enim quemdam civium super contractu quodam eam solam testem et quasi sponsorem invocasse. Processu vero temporis, eo, quocum[3] contraxerat, pactum[4] penitus inficiante, et pecuniam quam ejus fidei crediderat con-

[1] *et quoniam . . . . abyssis*] Not in W. In margin of C. Bb. In text of A. R., &c.

[2] *Miracula nostri temporis*] This a part of the heading in R. F. only. It is in B., but as a marginal rubric, separate from the heading *De cruce*, *&c.* This account of the speaking crucifix is repeated in the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* (Vol. ii. 155), with additional matter.

[3] *quocum*] C. Bb. R. B. F. Ba. Cl.; cum quo, M. A. Rb. *Gem. Eccl.*

[4] *pactum*] Not in R. B. F.

stanter abnegante, de censura civium, ironica tamen quam seria magis, astantibus ad hoc in ecclesia prædicta multis et audientibus, crux adjurata et obtestata testimonium perhibuit veritati.

[Cap. XLV.]

De eadem cruce immobili facta.

Comite Ricardo[1] primo Dubliniam cum exercitu veniente, cives, mente malorum plerumque præsaga, casum civitatis metuentes, et de defensione diffidentes, cum fugam jam navigio machinarentur, crucem illam secum ad insulas asportare volebant. Quod cum omni conamine et diligentia effectui mancipare tentassent, totius civitatis populus nec vi nec ingenio eam a loco movere potuerat.[2]

It refuses to be moved.

[Cap. XLVI.]

De denario cruci oblato bis resiliente,[3] et tertio post confessionem remanente; et ocreis ferreis miraculose restitutis. 23 b.

Capta[4] vero civitate, cum sagittarius quidam inter alios denarium ad crucem obtulisset, revertens, eundem statim post se volantem a tergo suscepit. Cui iterum eundem resumenti, et ad crucem reportanti, videntibus et admirantibus multis, idem evenit. Tum vero coram omnibus confessus est, se domos archiepiscopi intra ecclesiæ illius septa eodem die spoliasse. Et sic, pœnitentia super hoc ei injuncta, redditisque universis quæ

Refuses a penny from a man guilty of sacrilege.

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[1] This chapter also in *Gem. Eccl.* (p. 155), where "Comite Ricardo "Strigulensi." This miracle is mentioned in *Expug. Hibern.* i. 17, under A.D. 1170.

[2] *potuerat*] M. C. Bb. A. B. Ba. Cl. Rb.; potuerant, R. F. *Gem. Eccl.*

[3] *De denario . . . . . resiliente*] This all the heading in R. B. F.

[4] The miracles of this chapter also in *Gem. Eccl.* (p. 156, 157.)

ei obvenerant, tertio denarium eundem cum timore magno et reverentia ad crucem retulit. Qui et ibidem tum demum sine motu permansit.

How it punished a perjurer.

Item Reimundo, comitis Ricardi tunc constabulario, cum juvenis quidam de familia sua ferreas ocreas furto sustulisset, tota ejusdem familia in ecclesia Sanctæ Trinitatis super crucem præfatam se ab hoc facinore sacramento purgavit. Nec multo post, juvenis ille reversus ab Anglia quo secesserat, nemine de ipso hoc suspicante, ad pedes Reimundi macilentus et miser se prostravit, de scelere perpetrato et satisfactionem offerens, et veniam quærens. Confessus est etiam palam et publice, se tantam a cruce persecutionem perpessum fuisse, ut post perjurium semper ei in collo gravi cum pondere jacuisse videretur, ita ut nec postmodum dormire, nec requiem ullam habere potuisset.

His igitur, aliisque virtutibus, et signis variis, in primo nostrorum adventu, crux ubique veneranda se venerabilem hic exhibuit.

[Cap. XLVII.]

De phrenetico apud Fernas, verbis de præterito futura prædicente.

The prophetic madman at Ferns.

Tempore quo filii Mauricii castrum apud Fernas obtinuerunt,[1] juvenis quidam de eorum familia, Fantasticus agnomine vocatus, cum ecclesiam Sancti Maidochi spoliasset, in phrenesim raptus statim insanivit; et, nescio quo spiritu ductus, prophetizare[2] cœpit, et verbis de præterito futura prædicere.[3] "Video," inquit, "homines nostros interfectos;" plures etiam ex nomine designabat; "et castellum omnino destructum; et jam

[1] This in A.D. 1176. *Expug. Hibern.* ii. 15.

[2] *prophetare*, W. A.

[3] *prædicere*] C. Bb. A. R. &c.; dicere, M. W. In H. the wording of the clause is different, "et futura "multa prædicere."

"non est hic." Sic ergo quotidie, non sine magna cunctorum admiratione, vociferabat. Nec cessavit donec hostili invasione cuncta in brevi, sicut prædixerat, sunt completa.

[Cap. XLVIII.]

De sagittario, qui sepem Brigidæ transiliit, insaniente; et alio tibiam amittente.

Apud Kildariam sagittarius quidam de familia Ricardi comitis, sepem transiliens, ignem Brigidæ ore sufflavit. Qui statim resiliens, dementire[1] cœpit; et cuicunque obviabat, insufflans in os ejus dicebat, "Viden? Sic ignem Brigidæ sufflavi." Sic quoque per domos totius villæ discurrens, ubicunque ignem invenit eadem verba ingeminans, eum exsufflavit. Tandem vero captus a sociis et ligatus, rogavit ut ad aquam proximam duceretur. Ad quam ductus ore desiccato tantum exhausit, quod inter manus eorum medius crepuit et exspiravit.

Vengeance upon intruders on St. Bridget's fire.

Alius vero, ut ad ignem intraret, cum tibiam alteram trans sepem jam posuisset, et a sociis tamen retractus esset et retentus, pes ille cum crure statim exaruit. Unde et postmodum, quamdiu vixit, claudus et imbecillis permansit.

[Cap. XLIX.]

De tritici semine, per[2] imprecationem Corcagiensis episcopi non proveniente; et anno sequente in siliginem[3] miraculose converso.

Cum apud Corcagiam miles quidam terram Sancti Phinbarri citra præsulis assensum occupasset, et aratam

Miraculous failure of a crop of wheat;

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[1] *dementire*] H. C. Bb. A. R., &c.; demens ire, M. Camden has "demens esse."

[2] *per imp. Corc. episcopi*] Not in R. B. F.

[3] *in siliginem*] So all the MSS., but it must be wrong. Camden has "e siligine."

tritici semine jam perfunderet, accedens loci illius episcopus, ex parte Dei et sanctorum ecclesiæ suæ prohibuit, ne terram illam amplius vel violenter occuparet vel seminaret. Quod cum miles prætermittere nullatenus voluisset, revertens episcopus cum lacrimis inquit;[1] "Deum omnipotentem oro, ut nunquam tibi ad messem "semen istud proveniat." Contigit autem eodem anno in campis illis, toto civitatis populo vehementer admirante, non tantum in spicam non prosiluisse, sed nec in herbam vel granum unum germinasse.

and restoration the next year.

Anno vero sequente, aliis ibidem cum præsulis assensu siliginem seminantibus, frumentum purum et siligini penitus impermixtum in autumno messuerunt: vel siliginis grano in tritici naturam miraculose converso, vel potius prioris anni semine, tunc non proveniente, usque in anni secundi messem sancti viri meritis reservato.

[Cap. L.]

De Philippo Wigorniensi, apud Archmaciam passione percusso; et Hugone Tyrello divinitus flagellato.

Philip of Worcester's punishment, for exactions at Armagh.

Cum apud Archmaciam, beati Patricii sedem, et proprium totius Hiberniæ primatiæ locum, Philippus Wigorniensis quadragesimali tempore[2] exercitum duxisset, et in diebus sacris a clero sacro tributum non modicum violenter extorsisset, revertens cum spoliis et auro, non procul abinde subita passione percussus vix evasit.

And Hugh Tyrell's.

Hugo vero Tyrellus cacabum magnum, qui conventus clericorum fuerat, cum totius cleri maledictione ad

[1] *inquit*] This the last word of fol. 23b in R. After which all is missing, until early in preface of third Distinction, *infra*, p. 138. One folio is lost. Manuscripts B. and F., we may feel safe, will give us the readings of this lost part of R.

[2] This in the Lent of 1185. *Expug. Hibern.* ii. 25.

Luvensem[1] secum civitatem asportavit. Sed eadem nocte, igne proprio hospitio ejusdem accenso, equi duo qui cacabum traxerant,[2] cum aliis rebus non paucis, statim combusti sunt. Pars etiam villæ maxima ea occasione est igne consumpta. Quo viso, Hugo Tyrellus mane cacabum inveniens prorsus illæsum, pœnitentia ductus Archmaciam eum remisit.

The prediction of the bishop of Louth.

Episcopus vero Luvensis, tunc præsens existens, de eodem Hugone multis de exercitu audientibus dixit; "Homo iste hoc anno magnum infortunium[3] indubitanter incurret. Nunquam enim tot bonorum virorum lacrimæ, nunquam tot maledictiones sunt frustra prolatæ." Quod et ei, per discordiam inter ipsum et Hugonem de Laci suis instigantibus exortam, unde et regnum fere totum turbari cœperat et perverti, anno necdum[4] completo vidimus evenisse.

Its fulfilment.

[Cap. LI.]

De molendino, quod nec diebus dominicis, nec de furto vel rapina quicquam molit.

The pious mill of St. Luthern.

Apud Ossiriam est molendinum sancti Lutherni abbatis: quod diebus dominicis nihil,[5] de furto vero vel rapina nunquam molit.

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[1] *Luvensem*] M. C. Bb. A. F., &c.; Lugdunensem, B. And so, at beginning of next section. "Lugdunensis" is the reading of the early and good MSS. in *Expug.* ii. 25. It is an attempt to Latinize the Irish name of Louth, Lughmadh.

[2] *traxerant*] M. C. Bb. A. B. F.; extraxerant, Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[3] *incommodum*, M. But "infortunium," H.

[4] *necdum*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; nondum, B. F.

[5] *nihil molit*, M.

[CAP. LII.]

De molendino quod feminæ non intrant.

St. Fechin's mill, at Fore; not to be entered by women.

In Media apud Foveram est molendinum, quod sanctus Phechinus in latere cujusdam saxi miraculose nimis [1] manibus suis exsculpsit. Hoc, sicut et ecclesiam sancti istius, mulieres non intrant. Nec in minori reverentia molendinum istud ab indigenis, quam una ecclesiarum sancti ejusdem haberi solet. Contigit autem, Hugone de Laci exercitum per locum illum ducente, sagittarium quendam mulierculam violenter attractam in ipso molendino libidinose violasse. Qui repentina ultione igne infernali in membro percussus, usque in ipsum corpus statim exarsit, et nocte eadem exspiravit.[2]

Punishment of a ravisher.

[CAP. LIII.]

De duobus equis, qui avenam de eodem molendino raptam comedentes statim interierunt.

Death of two horses, who had eaten corn stolen from this mill.

Iterum exercitu ibidem pernoctante, annonam quam ab ecclesiis et molendino passim rapuerant Hugo de Laci totam restitui fecit, præter pauculam avenæ particulam de molendino surreptam,[3] quam coram dextrariis [4] suis duo milites occulte reliquerant. Quorum unus, in insaniam versus, eadem nocte in stabulo confracto cerebro interiit. Alter vero mane, milite qui ei insidebat alios qui annonam reddiderant super ficta religione deridente, subita et improvisa morte juxta latus Hugonis de Laci, vidente et admirante majori exercitus parte, obiter occubuit.

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[1] *miraculose nimis*] Not in M. A. In C. Bb. B. F., &c.

[2] This, and the death of the two horses of the next chapter, are mentioned as "miracula magna" in *Expug. Hibern.* ii. 22 (end), circa 1178–80.

[3] *de molendino surreptam*] Not in M.

[4] *duobus dextrariis*, M.

[Cap. LIV.]

De sagittariis[1] *apud Fineglas divinitus condemnatis.*

Punishment of the sacrilegious archers, at Finglas.

Contigit quoque temporibus nostris, Jove præter solitum in Hibernia tonante, et rege Henrico[2] ibidem fulminante,[3] plurimas sagittariorum turmas in vico quodam archipræsulis Dublinensis, cui nomen Fineglas, aliquamdiu forte moram facere.[4] Qui et statim in fraxinos, et taxos,[5] arboresque varias, quas nobilis abbas Chenachus, aliique viri sancti, quorum frequens religio locum illustraverat, propriis manibus quasi[6] ad ornatum ecclesiæ circa cœmeterium olim plantaverant, enormiter et irreverenter desævire cœperunt. Cum enim silva propinqua fuisset, non insolita[7] populi pravi malitia, et hominum officii illius intemperantia, prædictas arbores, quasdam frondibus mutilatas, alias vero stirpitus avulsas, omnes fere in brevi igne consumpserunt. Et vere officium illud et ab officiendo non per antiphrasin sed proprie dictum. Talibus enim ascripti officiis, officiosissime semper potius officere parati sunt quam proficere.

Sed incontinenti adeo divina indignatione, seu verius dignatione, quæ sibi vindictam reservari jubet, et sanctorum suorum injuriam vindicare dignatur et in terris, subita quadam et singulari pestilentia percussi sunt, ut

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[1] This chapter not in M. In margin of C. In text of Bb. A. B., &c.

[2] *rege Henrico*] A. F. Ba. Cl., &c.; Anglorum rege, C.; rege (by itself), B. "Henrico" therefore was probably in margin of R. The clause "et rege . . . fulminante" not in Bb.

[3] *fulminante*] A. B. F.; morante, C.; expeditionem agente, Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[4] *facere*] C. Bb. A. B. F. fecisse, Ba. Cl., &c. This was in the winter of 1171–72. *Expug. Hibern.* i. 33 (end).

[5] *et taxos*] Not in B.

[6] *quasi*] C. Bb. Ba., &c. Not in A. B. F.

[7] After *insolita*, Camden has "sed insolenti tamen." It is in no MS.

pars eorum maxima intra paucissimos dies eodem in vico miserabiliter expirassent, districti Judicis examine ubi deliquerant foro subjacentes.

Pars vero residua, cum navigio fugæ præsidium attentasset, naufragio submersa, eundem in extremis tam terræ quam maris Dominatorem invenit: cujus quidem a facie nec fugere quis potest nec effugere.

Ov. Her. xvii. 166.

" Quo fugis ergo manum regis gens impia regum?
" An nescis longas regibus esse manus?"

Quia,[1]

" Quo fugis ex illo, qui claudit cuncta pugillo?"

Sed

Lucan, Phars. ii. 689.

" Inter[2] mille modos mortis, mors illa timori est
" Qua cœpere mori,"

Sic igitur summi verique Tonantis iram, quam pravitas in terris provocavit, Neptunus in undis vindicavit.

Amos ix. 1–4.

Audi[3] namque prophetam Amos: " Non erit fuga " eis, et qui fugerit ex eis non salvabitur. Si descen- " derint usque ad infernum, inde manus mea educet " eos: et si ascenderint usque ad[4] cœlum, inde detra- " ham eos. Et si absconditi fuerint in vertice Car- " meli, inde scrutans auferam eos. Et si celaverint " se ab oculis meis in profundo maris, ibi mandabo " serpenti, et mordebit eos. Et si abierint in captivi- " tatem coram inimicis suis, ibi mandabo gladio, et " occidet eos: et ponam oculos meos super eos in " malum, et non in bonum." Audi et Abdiam: " Si " exaltatus fueris ut aquila, et si inter sidera posueris " nidum tuum, inde traham te, dicit Dominus." Item et super Jonam, a facie Domini fugientem et tamen hæc dicentem, " Dominum Deum cœli ego timeo, qui

Abd. 5. Jon. i. 9.

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[1] *Quia . . . pugillo*] Not in C. Bb. A. B. In F. Ba., &c. It was, therefore, in margin of R.

[2] Lucan has, " Mille modos inter " leti, mors una, &c."

[3] *Audi, &c.*] Rest of this chapter not in C. Bb. A. B. In F. Ba., &c. It was therefore, in margin of R.

[4] *ad*] F. Ba.; in, Cl. Hb. Rb.

"fecit mare et aridam," Ieronimum[1] audi: "Cum con-"fiteatur Creatorem maris et aridæ, cur aridam relin-"quens arbitratur[2] Creatorem terræ, si Conditorem "maris, in mari se posse vitare?" Audi et psalmistam: "Si ascendero in cœlum, tu illic es: si descen-"dero ad infernum, ades. Si sumpsero pennas meas "diluculo, et habitavero in extremis maris, etenim "[illuc][3] manus tua deducet me, et tenebit me dex-"tera tua."

Hieron. in Jonam i. 3.

Ps. cxxxviii. 8–10.

[Cap. LV.]

Quod sancti terræ istius animi vindicis esse videntur.

As the men of this land, so the saints seem to be prone to revenge.

Hoc autem mihi notabile videtur, quod sicut nationis istius homines hac in vita mortali præ aliis gentibus impatientes et præcipites sunt ad vindictam, sic et in morte vitali meritis jam excelsi, præ aliarum regionum sanctis, animi vindicis esse videntur.

Nec alia[4] mihi ratio eventus hujus occurrit, nisi quoniam gens Hibernica castellis carens, prædonibus abundans, ecclesiarum potius refugiis quam castrorum municipiis, et præcipue ecclesiastici viri, seque suaque tueri solent, divina providentia simul et indulgentia, gravi frequentique animadversione in ecclesiarum hostes opus fuerat. Ut et sic ab ecclesiastica pace impiorum pravitas procul arceatur, et ipsis ecclesiis ab irreverenti populo debita veneratio vel serviliter exhibeatur.

[*Explicit Distinctio secunda*[5].]

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[1] *Ieronimum*] F. Cl.; Super quod Ieronimum, Ba. Hb. Rb.

[2] *arbitratur . . . se posse*] F.; arbitratur se conditorem maris in mari se posse, Cl. And so Ba. Hb. Rb.; but without the second "se."

[3] *illuc*] Not in F. In Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb., with Vulgate.

[4] *Nec alia, &c.*] Rest of chapter not in M. In margin of C. In text of Bb. A. B., &c.

[5] This explicit in Ba. only.

INCIPIT DISTINCTIO TERTIA, DE TERRÆ ISTIUS[1] HABITATORIBUS.

The inhabitants of this land to be now treated of.

24. De cetero tempus esse videtur, ut ad primos terræ istius habitatores, singulosque sigillatim diversarum nationum adventus, stilum vertamus; qualiterque et quibus ex partibus huc advenerint, quantamque moram in insula fecerint, quove[2] tenore defecerint, quam brevius et luculentius poterimus explicemus. Competens enim ordo deposcit,[3] ut postquam terram ipsam in oceano fundavimus, situm et naturam, variasque animantium ejusdem tam proprietates quam defectus, rerumque novitates[4] enodavimus, tandem hominem ipsum, tanquam digniorem operis partem, et cujus gratia de ceteris disseruimus, introducamus; ejusque mores et modos, variosque juxta fortunæ vices rerum eventus, usque ad nostra jam tempora declaremus.

Ut,[5] sicut laudabili antiquorum industria nostri temporis aucta sunt studia, sic, longe licet inferiore lyra calamoque fragili, dispari nimis et valde dissimili, ut magnis componi parva solebant, nostra quoque diligentia posterorum studiis aliquid adjiciatur: ne per ignaviam et socordiam tempora ducamus otiosa, et non tanquam communi omnium commodo, sed nobis solum,

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[1] *istius*] M. Bb. A. B. F. Ba., &c.; illius, C. Cl.

[2] *quove*] Here R. comes in again. *Supra*, p. 132, note (1).

[3] *deposcit*] C. Bb. R. B., &c.; videtur, M. A.

[4] *rerumque novitates*] Not in M. A. In C. Bb. R. B., &c.

[5] *Ut, &c.*] This section not in M.

inutiliter et[1] tanquam bestiæ, sine causa[2] nati videamur. O quam præclariore, quam præcellentiore præditi sunt animo, qui pretiosum illud Dei donum, nobilem scilicet et incomparabilem scientiæ thesaurum, non abscondunt! Sed larga potius laudabilique liberalitate, cunctorum mentibus vel dicendo vel scribendo gratis acceptum cum sui incremento gratis impendunt; luculentam quoque,[3] multaque lucubratione plurimum elaboratam sapientiæ lucernam, ut omnibus in commune deducta pulchrius elucescat, palam exponunt. Sic et eorum digne commendanda videtur intentio, qui, quoniam breves dies hominis sunt et tempora transitoria, propensius vigilant et elaborant egregio aliquo facinore memoriam sui in ævum extendere, dignisque virtutum titulis perlongam facere; vel potius, quoniam momentanea est vita mortique accommoda, qua spiramus et exspiramus, perpetuam sibi mortique penitus impermixtam, spirabilem scilicet et inexspirabilem, bonorum operum studiis comparare.

[Cap. I.]

De primo adventu; Cæsaræ scilicet, neptis Noe, ante diluvium.

And first, the arrival of Cæsara, the granddaughter of Noah, the year before the flood.

Juxta antiquissimas igitur Hibernensium historias, Cæsara neptis Noe, audiens diluvium in proximo futurum, ad remotissimas occidentis insulas, quas necdum quisquam hominum habitaverat, cum suis complicibus fugam navigio destinaverat; sperans, ubi nunquam peccatum perpetratum fuerat, diluvii vindictam locum non habere. Amissis itaque quas in comitatu habebat naufragio navibus, una, qua cum viris tribus et quinquaginta mulieribus vehebatur, nave superstite, primo

[1] *et*] Not in C.

[2] *sine causa*] C. Bb. A. Ba., &c. Not in R. B. F.

[3] *luculentam quoque*] C. Bb. R. B., &c.; luculentamque, A.

ante diluvium anno ad Hibernica litora forte devenit. Sed licet acute satis, et laudabili in femina ingenio, fatalitatem declinare statuerit, communem tamen interitum et fere generalem nullatenus potuit evitare. Litus igitur, in quo navis illa primum applicuit, navicularum litus vocatur; et in quo præfata tumulata est Cæsara, usque hodie Cæsaræ tumulus[1] nominatur.

Verumtamen cunctis fere per diluvium jam deletis, qualiter rerum istarum, et tam eventus[2] quam adventus memoria post diluvium retenta fuerit, non indignum videtur dubitatione. Sed qui historias istas primo scripserunt, ipsi viderint. Historiarum enimvero enucleator venio, non impugnator.

Infra, Cap. XIII.

Sed forte in aliqua materia inscripta, lapidea scilicet[3] vel lateritia, sicut de arte musica legitur ante diluvium inventa, istorum memoria fuerat reservata.

[Cap. II.]

De secundo adventu; Bartholani scilicet, trecentis annis post diluvium.

Secondly, the arrival of Partholan, A.M. 2520.

24 b.

Trecentesimo vero post diluvium anno, Bartholanus,[4] Sere filius, de stirpe Japhet[5] filii Noe, cum tribus filiis suis eorumque uxoribus, vel casu vel industria, hoc est, vel errore viæ vel optima opinione patriæ, Hiberniæ litoribus fertur appulisse. Erant autem tres filii ejus Languinus,[6] Salanus, Ruturugus. Qui cum

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[1] *Cæsaræ tumulus, &c.*] Against this, in margin of Bb., is "Marmer- "ton," in a much later hand.

[2] *eventus . . . adventus*] C. Bb. R. B., &c.; eventuum . . . adventuum, M. A.

[3] *scilicet*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c. Not in R. B. F.

[4] "Partholan" of Irish writers. According to the chronology of the *Four Masters*, his arrival was in A.M. 2520.

[5] *Japhet*] C. B. Ba. Cl.; Japheth, A.; Jaseph, M. R. F., and Bb. originally, but altered.

[6] *Languinus*] C. Bb. R. B. Ba., &c.; Langninus, M. A. He is called "Laighlinne" by the *Four Masters.*

nominum suorum indicia rebus largirentur extantibus, perpetuam sui[1] memoriam et quasi vivacem quandam præsentiam sunt inde sortiti. A primo enim filio Lagilini stagnum, a secundo mons altissimus, qui illi imminet mari quod Hiberniam interfluit atque Britanniam, Salanga[2] nominatur. Cujus ad radices quia longis post temporibus sanctus Dominicus[3] nobile monasterium construxerat, mons Dominici jam usitatius nomen habet. Ruturugus vero, qui duobus tertius successerat, Ruturugo nomen stagno donavit.[4]

Sub hoc autem Bartholano gestorum pauca reperimus insignia: ac non alia fere, nisi vastissima quatuor stagna subito ex terræ visceribus eructantia, quatuor nemora studio agriculturæ succisa et radicitus avulsa, atque in campestrem puritatem non sine magno multorum sudore redacta. Eo enim temporis tota propemodum terra, præter montana quædam et ipsa rarissima, silvis immensis et fruticosis[5] nemoribus fuerat obsita; ut, ubi exercerentur aratra, campana planities vix inveniretur. Sed etiam adhuc hodie, respectu silvarum pauca sunt hic campestria. Bartholanus vero, cum filiis suis et nepotibus, non mediocriter tam in rerum successibus prosperari cœpit quam successionibus. Nam ab adventu eorum postquam trecentorum annorum evolutus est circulus, ad novem jam milia virorum successionis suæ traditur numerus excrevisse.

Tandem vero in bello magno quod cum gigantibus gessit potitum victoria, quia mortalium prosperitas nescit esse perpetua, et quoniam

"Faciles dare summa Deos, eademque tueri
"Difficiles;" Lucan, Phars., i. 511.

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[1] *sui*] M. C. Bb. R., &c.; sibi, A.

[2] *Salanga*] M. C. Bb. A. B. Ba., &c.; Salango, R. F.

[3] *Dominicus*] M. C. Bb. A. B. Ba., &c.; Domicius, R. F. So also Domicii. "Domhangart" in Irish, Anglicized to "Donard." His mountain, once Slieve Slange, is Slieve Donard, in the Mourne range, Co. Down (Dr. Reeves).

[4] *donavit*] R. B. F. Ba. Rb.; donabit, Cl.; donabat, M. C. Bb. A.

[5] *fruticosis*] H. C. Bb. A. R., &c.; fructuosis, M.

et quia

Lucan, Phars., i. 81.

"Summis hunc Numina rebus
"Crescendi posuere modum;"

Ibid. 70.

"In se[1] magna ruunt;" "Summisque negatum
"Stare diu, nimiumque graves sub pondere lapsus,"

A.M. 2820 (Four Masters).

subitæ pestilentiæ, et ex aeris forte corruptione, de interemptorum gigantum cadaveribus exorta, eum cum omnibus fere suis abolevit[2] eventus.

Ex illa namque mortalitate solus fertur evasisse Ruanus. Qui scilicet Ruanus, ut antiquæ referunt historiæ, per multa, et plura quam de facili credi possit, annorum curricula, usque ad tempora beati Patricii reservatus, et ab eo baptizatus fuit. Hic verus, ut aiunt, Hibernicæ historiæ relator, cuncta gentis gesta, a memoriæ sinibus præ nimia antiquitate abolita, sancto Patricio replicabat. Nihil enim tam fixum animo, quod neglectu et tempore non obsolescat. Hic quidem Ruanus, licet a morte vivendi quidem inducias extorserit, pacem tamen non impetravit. Licet enim ultra communem et consuetum fluxæ ac momentaneæ vitæ terminum mortem[3] longe distulerit, debitam tamen miseræ carnis fatalitatem non evasit.

Nª Ruanum communem vitæ terminum excessisse.

Ruanus[4] iste, prout in[5] Hibernicis historiis colligi potest, longe trans omnem antiquorum patrum longævitatem, licet incredibile valde videatur, et calumniæ obnoxium,[6] mille[7] et quingentis annis vitam produxit.[8]

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[1] *In se magna ruunt*] This, in Lucan, is the first part of the last quotation, l. 81.

[2] *abolevit*] R. B. F. Ba. Cl. Rb.; abolebat, M. C. Bb. A.

[3] *mortem*] Not in M.

[4] *Ruanus, &c.*] This section not in M.

[5] *in*] C. Bb. A. B.; ex, R. (but altered), F. Ba., &c.

[6] *et calumniæ obnoxium*] Not in C. Bb. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

[7] *mille et quingentis*] C. Bb. A. B.; multis, R. F. Ba., &c.

[8] *produxit*] C. Bb. A. R. B. F.; produxisse perhibetur, Ba. Cl., &c.

[Cap. III.]

De tertio adventu; Nemedi scilicet, a partibus Scithiæ, cum quatuor filiis suis.

The third colony, under Neimhidh; A.M. 2850 (Four Masters).

Præfato igitur Bartholano, cum omni successione sua, acerbæ continuæque pestilentiæ mucrone detrito, aliquamdiu terra suo[1] nudata cultore remansit: donec[2] Nemedus, Agnominii filius, natione Scithicus, cum quatuor filiis suis, ad desolatæ litora terræ devectus est. Starium,[3] Gerbanelem, Anninum, Fergusiumque, filios hic habuit. In cujus Nemedi temporibus, quatuor 25.
stagna subito inopinatoque impetu emersa, multa nemora et silvæ in campos et plana sunt redacta. Hic cum piratis, qui Hiberniam graviter depopulari consueverant, quatuor bella gessit crudelissima. Cui ubique cessit victoria. In quadam tamen australis Hiberniæ insula diem obiit: quam et sui nominis perpetuam fecit heredem.

Filiorum autem Nemedi, nepotum, abnepotumque successio, in brevi generis numerositate in tantum excrevit, ut totam fere insulam longe abundantius solito per omnes ejus angulos adimplessent.

Sed quoniam

" Plus gravitatis habent res, quæ cum tempore
" crescunt;"

et[4]

" Rara[5] solet subitis rebus inesse fides,"

sicut subito in tantam excreverant multitudinem, sic subitis et inopinatis rerum eventibus, et casu longe citiore quam ortu defecerunt. Bellis namque frequen-

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[1] *suo*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; sua, R. B. F.

[2] *donec*] Omitted in A.

[3] *Starium*] H. C. Bb. R. B., &c.; Staruum, M. A. He is called "Sdarn" by the *Four Masters.*

[4] *et*] M. Bb. A. R. F., &c. Not in C. B. Ba.

[5] This line seems to be an adaptation from Ovid, *Her.* xvii. 130, "Tarda solet magnis rebus inesse "fides."

tibus quæ cum gigantibus gesserant, quibus tunc temporis abundabat insula, variisque incommodis[1] et infortuniis, maxima pars in brevi deleta fuit. Pars vero residua, tot imminentia ea tempestate malorum[2] incommoda fugæ præsidio declinantes, partim Scithiam, partim Greciam navigio petierunt. Ducentis igitur et sedecim annis Nemedi generatio Hiberniam tenuit. Et ducentis postmodum annis[3] vacua fuit.

[Cap. IV.]

De quarto adventu; quinque scilicet fratrum et filiorum Dela.

The fourth colony, under the five sons of Deala, A.M. 3266 (Four Masters).

His itaque seriatim hoc tenore completis, tandem quinque duces, et hi germani fratres, filii scilicet Dela, de prædicti Nemedi posteritate quæ in Greciam secesserat, in Hibernia applicuerunt. Et eam vacuam invenientes, in quinque portiones æquales inter se diviserunt: quarum capita in lapide quodam conveniunt apud Mediam juxta castrum de Kilair;[4] qui lapis et umbilicus Hiberniæ dicitur, quasi in medio et meditullio terræ positus. Unde et Media pars illa Hiberniæ vocatur, quia in medio est insulæ sita. De quinque tamen partibus illis famosis, quarum nomina supra posuimus, nulla est hæc.

N[a] hos quinque fratres primo insulam in quinque portiones divisisse.

Cum enim prædicti fratres quinque, videlicet Gandius, Genandius, Sangandius, Rutheraigus, et Slanius, in quinque partes insulam divisissent, quælibet partium illarum suam in Media portiunculam habebat, lapidem præfa-

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[1] *incommodis et infortuniis*] C. Bb. R. B., &c.; morbis et pestilentiis, M. A.

[2] *malorum*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; multorum, R. B. F.

[3] *annis*] Omitted in A.

[4] *Kilair, qui lapis*] M. C. Bb. A. R., &c., Ba., &c.; de Kilu, qui lapis lapis, Cl. In Irish, Cill-air; now Killare in West-Meath. According to a note in *Cambrensis Eversus* (i. 415, f.), there is a very large stone now on Usny hill in this parish, where the provinces met.

tam contingentem; quia terra illa a principio optima fuerat, tam campestri planitie quam fecunda frugum fertilitate. Unde et nullus eorum quinque expers ipsius[1] esse volebat.

[Cap. V.]

De primo Hiberniæ monarcha, scilicet Slanio.

Processu vero temporis, fortuna variante vices, et in brevi ut assolet multa pervertente,[2] Slanius solus totius Hiberniæ monarchiam obtinuit. Unde et primus Hiberniæ rex nominatur. Hic primo quinque portiunculas Mediæ redintegravit, et in unum conjungens mensæ regali appropriavit. Unde et a principalibus illis quinque portionibus, per Slanium ut dictum est jam mutilatis, usque hodie segregata separatim per se Media jacet.

Slainge becomes sole monarch of Ireland.

Nec tamen quantum terræ una illarum quinque, tantum continet ista; sed solum medietatem. Cum enim a tempore Slanii, quælibet illarum quinque partium triginta duos cantaredos continuerit, sedecim tantum[3] Media contenta fuit.

Extent of the provinces of Ireland.

Est ergo numerus omnium cantaredorum Hiberniæ clxxvi.[4]

Dicitur autem cantaredus, composito et vulgari vocabulo, tam Britannica quam Hibernica lingua, tanta terræ portio, quanta centum villas continere solet.

A Cantred.

Cum igitur ex his fratribus, et eorum successione, novem successerint reges, parum tamen et circiter annos triginta tantum regnaverunt. Slanius vero in monte quodam[5] apud Mediam tumulatus est; qui et ab ejus nomine nomen accepit.

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[1] *ipsius*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; illius, R. B. F. Cl.

[2] *pervertente*] R. B. F.; pervertens, M. C. Bb. A. Ba. Cl., &c.

[3] tamen, M.

[4] lxxx. et xvi., M.

[5] Slieve Slainge, now called Slieve Donard, in present county Down. So note (*e*) to *Camb. Evers.* i. 415; but see *supra*, p. 141.

[Cap. VI.]

De quinto adventu; quatuor scilicet filiorum Milesii regis,[1] *de partibus Hispaniæ. Et qualiter Herimon et Heberus regnum inter se diviserunt.*

25 b. Fifth colony, under the four sons of king Milidh, from Spain; A.M. 3500 (Four Masters).

Deleta igitur magna ex parte, et plurimum debilitata natione ista; tum variis inter se conflictibus, tum eo præcipue[2] bello, quod cum alia quadam Nemedi posteritate,[3] quæ de partibus Scithiæ supervenerat, gravi cum dispendio gesserat; demum advenerunt de Hispaniæ partibus, in sexaginta navium classe, quatuor nobiles Milesii regis filii. Qui et statim totam insulam, nemine rebellante, sibi vindicaverunt.

Procedente vero tempore, duo istorum nominatissimi, Heberus scilicet et Herimon, duas in partes æquales regnum inter se diviserunt. Herimoni cessit pars australis; Hebero quidem aquilonaris.

[Cap. VII.]

De fratrum inter se[4] *discordia; et qualiter, interfecto Hebero, de Hiberniensi populo primus Herimon monarcha fuit.*

Cum autem aliquamdiu prospere satis et feliciter conregnassent, quoniam

Lucan, Phars. i. 92.

"Nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas
"Impatiens consortis erit,"

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[1] The heading in R. B. F. ends with *Milesii regis.*

[2] *præcipue*] R. B. F.; potius, M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.

[3] *alia Nemedi posteritate*] This is the only notice in our author of the Tuatha de Danann, a colony that holds a very conspicuous place in Irish traditions. They are said to have arrived in Ireland, A.M. 3303, and to have ruled 197 years, to A.M. 3500.

[4] *inter se*] In R. B. F. only.

cæca malorum mater ambitio, fraterna paulatim disjungens fœdera, omne pacis vinculum in brevi dissolvit, et lætis se rebus immiscens discordia cuncta pervertit et perturbat.

Post varios igitur fratrum conflictus, et ambiguos semper bellorum eventus, tandem Herimoni cessit victoria; et in bello quodam interfecto Hebero fratre suo, totum regnum Herimon solus obtinuit. Qui et de Hiberniensi populo, qui usque in hodiernum insulam habitant, primus monarcha fuit. Eremhon becomes sole king of Ireland.

A nomine vero prædicti Heberi, secundum quosdam, Hibernienses nomen traxerunt: vel potius, secundum alios, ab Hibero Hispaniæ fluvio, unde provenerant.

Dicti sunt etiam Gaideli; dicti sunt et Scoti. Sicut enim antiquæ referunt historiæ, Gaidelus quidam, Phenii nepos, post linguarum confusionem apud Nembroticam turrim, in variis linguis peritissimus fuerat. Ob quam peritiam rex Pharao filiam suam Scotiam ei sociavit uxorem. Quoniam igitur[1] Hibernienses ab istis, ut aiunt, originalem lineam ducunt, a Gaidelo et Scotia Gaideli et Scoti, sicut et nati sunt, sic et nominati. Irish called Gaels, and Scots; and origin of these names.

Gaidelus iste, ut aiunt, Hibernicam linguam composuit. Quæ et Gaidelach[2] dicitur, quasi ex omnibus linguis collecta. The Gaelic language.

Nª aquilonarem Britanniæ partem Scotiam dici; quia hac Scotorum gente fuerit inhabitata.

Scotia quoque pars insulæ Britannicæ dicitur aquilonaris, quia gens originaliter ab his propagata terram illam habitare dignoscitur. Quod tam linguæ quam cultus, tam armorum etiam quam morum, usque in hodiernum probat affinitas. Scotland so called from its having been colonized by the Scots of Ireland.

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[1] *Quoniam igitur*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; Unde et quoniam, R. B. F

[2] *Gaidelach*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba.; Gaidelac, R. B. F.

[Cap. VIII.]

De Gurguntio Britonum rege,[1] *qui Basclenses in Hiberniam transmisit, et eandem ipsis inhabitandam concessit.*

Girguint king of Britain, and the Basque colony.

Sicut Britannica refert historia,[2] rex Britonum Gurguntius, nobilis illius Belini filius, et Brennii famosissimi nepos, rediens a Dacia, quam olim a patre suo subactam et sibi jam rebellem iterum subjugaverat, apud insulas Orcadum classem invenit, quæ Basclenses de Hispaniarum partibus illuc advectaverat. Cum ergo duces eorum ad regem accessissent, et unde huc advenerint, causamque adventus, ut aliquam scilicet terram in occidentis partibus inhabitarent, ei proposuissent; cum etiam summopere jam flagitassent, ut aliquam terram eis inhabitandam concederet, rex tandem de suorum consilio insulam istam quæ nunc Hibernia vocatur, et quæ tunc vel vacua prorsus fuerat, vel per ipsum habitata, eis inhabitandam concessit. De suis etiam navigationis duces ipsis adhibuit.

Ex quo patet, nonnullo jure, licet antiquo, Britanniæ reges Hiberniam contingere.

Kings of Ireland tributaries of Arthur.

Legitur[3] quoque famosum illum Britonum regem Arturum Hiberniæ reges tributarios habuisse; et ad magnam etiam urbis Legionum curiam quosdam eorum accessisse.

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[1] The heading in R. B. F. ends with *rege*.

[2] *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, iii. 12. There is nothing of this in Irish history.

[3] *Legitur, &c.*] This section not in M.

[Cap. IX.]

De triplici[1] *novo jure.*

Præterea, urbs Baonensis[2] Gasconiæ terminus est, et sub eodem dominio[3] continetur. Eadem quoque Basclonia caput est, unde Hibernienses provenerant. Hodie vero Gasconia et Aquitannia tota eodem quo et Britannia regimine gaudet.

Another right to Ireland, in the kings of England.

Duplici quoque [præter id][4] novo jure Britanniæ reges ad hoc funguntur; cum enim liberum sit cuilibet juri suo renunciare, tam principum terræ illius spontanea deditione, et ultronea fidelitatis exhibitione, quam etiam privilegiata summi pontificis confirmatione. In occiduis enim oceani finibus Jove tonante, et Henrico[5] rege Anglorum secundo ibidem expeditionem agente, occidentales reguli, tonitruis ejus attoniti, pacis adeptæ beneficio fulminis ictum prævenerunt. De his autem suo in loco plenius dicetur.

And two modern ones.

[Cap. X.]

De gentis istius natura, moribus, et cultu.

De gentis igitur hujus tam corporum quam mentium compositione, de utroque videlicet tam interiore quam exteriore cultu, pauca proponere non superfluum duxi.

The characters, bodily and mental, of the Irish.

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[1] In M. the first section of this ninth chapter forms the end of the last chapter. Then comes a new chapter, with the heading, "De "duplici novo jure." This is not so in H., which agrees with C. Bb. A., &c., as in my text.

[2] With *Baonensis* ends fol. 25 *b.* of R., after which all is wanting in R., until middle of Cap. 11, *infra.* One folio again is lost.

[3] *sub eodem dominio*] C. Bb. A. B., &c.; in ea, M.

[4] *præter id*] Not in M. C. Bb. A. B. F. In Ba. Cl., &c.

[5] *et Henrico . . . agente*] Not in M. C. Bb. A. B. In F. Ba., &c. Therefore it was in margin of R.

In their babyhood, none of the usual artificial treatment:

Homines igitur isti cum nascuntur, non accurate, ut assolet, nutriuntur. Nam præter alimenta, quibus, ne penitus deficiant, duris a parentibus sustentantur, per cetera fere cuncta naturæ relinquuntur. Non in cunabulis aptantur: non fasciis alligantur: non frequentibus in balneis tenera membra vel foventur, vel artis juvamine componuntur. Non enim obstetrices aquæ calentis beneficio vel nares erigunt, vel faciem deprimunt, vel tibias extendunt. Sola natura quos edidit artus, præter artis cujuslibet adminicula, pro sui arbitrio et componit et disponit. Tanquam itaque probans quid per se valeat, fingere non cessat et figurare, quousque in robur perfectum, pulcherrimis et proceris corporibus, congruis et coloratissimis vultibus, homines istos provehat et producat.

their limbs left to nature. Grow up fine and handsome men.

But barbarous in their beards and dress.

Na Hibernienses naturæ beneficio pulcherrimos, moribus et cultu turpissimos.

Ceterum, licet ad plenum naturæ dotibus excolantur, barbarus tamen tam barbarum quam vestium, necnon et mentium cultus, eos nimirum reddit incultos. Laneis enim tenuiter utuntur, et his omnibus ferme nigris, quia terræ istius oves nigræ sunt, et barbaro ritu compositis. Caputiis namque modicis assueti sunt et arctis, trans humeros deorsum cubito tenus protensis, variisque panniculorum generibus plerumque consutis: sub quibus et, palliorum vice, phalangis. Laneis quoque utuntur seu braccis caligatis, seu caligis braccatis, et his plerumque colore fucatis.

Use no saddle, &c., in riding:

Item sellis equitando non utuntur, non ocreis, non calcaribus. Virga tantum, quam manu gestant, in superiori parte camerata, tam equos excitant quam ad cursus invitant.

and simple halters; without bits.

Frenis quidem utuntur, tam chami quam freni vice fungentibus. Quibus et equi, semper herbis assueti, ad pabula nequaquam impediuntur.

In war, have no defensive armour.

Præterea, nudi et inermes ad bella procedunt. Habent enim arma pro onere; inermes vero dimicare pro audacia reputant et honore.

De tribus armorum generibus.

Tribus tantum[1] utuntur armorum generibus; lanceis non longis, et jaculis binis; in quibus et Basclensium morem sunt imitati; securibus quoque[2] amplis, fabrili diligentia optime chalibatis, quas a Norwagiensibus et Oustmannis,[3] de quibus post dicetur, sunt mutuati.

Their weapons; lances, &c.

Una[4] tantum manu, et non ambabus, in securi percutiunt, pollice desuper manubrium in longum extenso ictumque regente; a quo nec galea caput in conum erecta, nec reliquum corpus ferrea loricæ tricatura tuetur.

The axe.

Unde et in nostris contigit temporibus, totam militis coxam, ferro utrinque fideliter vestitam, uno securis ictu præcisam fuisse: ex una equi parte coxa cum tibia, ex altera vero corpore cadente moribundo.

Expug. Hibern. i. 21.

Lapides quoque pugillares, cum alia defecerint, hostibus in conflictu damnosissimos, præ alia gente promptius et expeditius ad manum habent.

Stones.

Est autem gens hæc gens silvestris, gens inhospita; gens ex bestiis solum et bestialiter vivens; gens a primo pastoralis vitæ vivendi modo non recedens.

Cum enim a silvis ad agros, ab agris ad villas, civiumque convictus, humani generis ordo processerit, gens hæc, agriculturæ labores aspernans, et civiles gazas parum affectans, civiumque jura multum detrectans, in silvis et pascuis vitam quam hactenus assueverat[5] nec desuescere novit nec descire.

A rude and inhospitable nation; living like the beasts; scarcely beyond the primitive pastoral life.

Na quod, otiositatis vitio, a pastorali vita non receditur; arva non coluntur, pomiferarum arborum et metallorum genera non proveniunt.

Agris igitur passim utuntur pascuis, parum floridis, cultis parce, consitis parcissime. Sunt enim culti quidem, neglectu cultorum, agri perpauci; plurimi tamen, sui natura,

A fertile land neglected.

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[1] *tantum*] A. B. F.; tamen, M. C. Bb. Ba., &c.

[2] *securibus quoque*] C. Bb. B. &c.; et securibus, M. A.

[3] *et Oustmannis*] M. C. Bb. A. F., &c. Not in B.

[4] *Una . . . moribundo*] These two sections not in M.

[5] *assueverat*] C. Bb. B., &c.; assueverant, M. A.

fertiles et fecundi. Vacat arvorum virtus invita, dum et optimis agris desunt agricolæ,

Lucan, Phars., i. 29.

"Desuntque manus poscentibus arvis."

Few fruit-bearing trees.

Pomiferarum autem arborum, quam pauca reperies hic genera: et hoc non telluris natura, sed cultoris minor facit industria. Peregrinas namque arborum species, quas optime tellus exhiberet, otiosus cultor non exercet.

[Arborum[1] autem species quatuor, quas insula Britannica citra cultoris operam per se producit, hic deficiunt; castanus et fagus fertiles, aralus et buxus fructum non ferentes, scyphos tamen et manubria largientes. Præ terris autem omnibus quas intravimus, longe copiosius amaro hic succo taxus abundat; maxime vero in cœmiteriis antiquis, locisque sacris, sanctorum virorum manibus olim plantatas,[2] ad decorem et ornatum quem addere poterant, arborum istarum copiam videas.

Item abundat et abiete silvositas Hiberniæ, thuris et incensi matre.]

Metallic veins not worked.

Metallorum quoque diversorum genera, quibus venæ scaturiunt interiores, ejusdem otiositatis vitio nec ad usum prodeunt nec proficiunt. Aurum enim, quo et abundare quærunt, et quod adhuc Hispanico more sitiunt, commerciorum gratia scrutantes oceanum mercatores advectant.

No manufacture; no trade; no mechanical art.

Item non lino vel lanificio, non aliquo mercimoniorum genere, nec ulla mechanicarum artium specie vitam producunt. Solum enim otio dediti, solum desidiæ dati, summas reputant delicias labore carere, summas divitias libertate gaudere.

Gens igitur hæc gens barbara, et vere barbara.

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[1] *Arborum . . . matre*] These two sections not in M. C. Bb. A. B. F. In Ba. Cl., &c. In Ba. they come after the next section, "Metallorum," &c.

[2] *plantatas*] Ba. Cl.; plantatis, Hb. Rb.

Quia non tantum barbaro vestium ritu,[1] verum etiam comis et barbis luxuriantibus, juxta modernas novitates, incultissima; et omnes eorum mores barbarissimi[2] sunt.

Sed cum a convictu mores formentur, quoniam a communi terrarum orbe in his extremitatibus, tanquam in orbe quodam altero, sunt tam remoti, et a modestis et morigeratis populis tam segregati, solam nimirum barbariem in qua et nati sunt et nutriti sapiunt et assuescunt, et tanquam alteram naturam amplectuntur.

Quod igitur in his naturæ, illud optimum: quicquid fere industriæ, illud pessimum.

[Cap. XI.]

De gentis istius in musicis instrumentis peritia incomparabili.

De musicis instrumentis.

Their incomparable skill in musical instruments.

In musicis solum instrumentis commendabilem invenio gentis istius diligentiam. In quibus, præ omni natione quam vidimus, incomparabiliter instructa est. Non enim in his, sicut in Britannicis quibus assueti sumus instrumentis, tarda et morosa est modulatio, verum velox et præceps, suavis tamen et jocunda sonoritas.

Mirum[3] quod, in tanta tam[4] præcipiti digitorum rapacitate, musica servatur proportio; et arte per omnia indemni, inter crispatos modulos, organaque multipliciter intricata, tam suavi velocitate, tam dispari paritate, tam discordi concordia, consona redditur et completur melodia.

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[1] *barbaro vestium ritu*] C. Bb. B. F. Ba., &c.; exteriore vestium cultu, M. A. Bc.

[2] *barbarissimi*] Bb. A. B. F. Ba., and Rb. (originally); barbarismi, M. C. Cl., and Rb. (by alteration).

[3] The four sections, "Mirum . . . " pariant tædiosa," will occur again in *Kambriæ Descriptio*, i. 12.

[4] *tamque* instead of *tam*, in *Kamb. Descr.*

Seu diatesseron, seu diapente chordæ concrepent, semper tamen a B molli[1] incipiunt, et in idem redeunt, ut cuncta sub jocundæ sonoritatis dulcedine compleantur.

Tam subtiliter modulos intrant et exeunt; sicque, sub obtuso grossioris chordæ sonitu, gracilium tinnitus licentius ludunt, latentius delectant, lasciviusque demulcent, ut pars artis maxima videatur artem velare, tanquam

Ovid, Ars Am. ii.313. "Si lateat,[2] prosit; ferat ars deprensa pudorem."

Hinc accidit ut ea, quæ subtilius intuentibus, et
26. artis arcana[3] acute discernentibus, internas et ineffabiles comparant animi delicias, ea non attendentibus, sed quasi[4] videndo non videntibus, et audiendo non intelligentibus, aures potius onerent quam delectent; et tanquam confuso inordinatoque strepitu, invitis auditoribus fastidia pariant tædiosa.

Notandum vero quod Scotia et Wallia, hæc propagationis, illa commeationis[5] et affinitatis gratia, Hiberniam in modulis æmula imitari nituntur disciplina.

De instrumentis Hiberniæ, Walliæ et Scotiæ.

Hibernia quidem tantum duobus utitur et delectatur instrumentis; cithara scilicet, et tympano. Scotia tribus; cithara, tympano, et choro. Wallia vero cithara, tibiis, et choro.

Æneis[6] quoque utuntur chordis, non de corio factis. Multorum autem opinione, hodie Scotia non tantum magistram æquiparavit Hiberniam, verum etiam in

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[1] *a B molli . . . idem*] C. Bb. A. B., &c.; a bemol . . . bemomol, M.

[2] "Si latet ars, prodest; affert "deprensa pudorem." *Ovid.*

[3] Here R. comes in again, after the loss of a leaf, *supra*, p. 149, n. (2).

[4] *quasi*] Instead of this, "tan"quam" in *Kamb. Descr.*

[5] *commeationis*] M. A. R., &c.; commetiationis, C. Bb.

[6] *Æneis . . . non de*] M. C. Bb. A. R., &c.; Æneis quoque magis utuntur chordis quam de, Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

musica peritia longe[1] prævalet et præcellit. Unde et ibi quasi fontem artis jam requirunt.

[Cap. XII.][2]

De commodis et effectibus musicæ.

Musicæ sonoritatis dulcedo non tantum delectat modulis, quinimmo juvat et commodis. Animos itaque tristes non mediocriter exhilarat, nubilos vultus serenat, supercilium ponit, austeritatem reponit, jocunditatem exponit. Inter omnia jocundissima, nihil amplius humanos vel jocundat vel delectat affectus. Benefits and effects of music.

Duobus enim ad delicias anima reficitur fomentis et recreatur; odora suavitate scilicet, et sonora. Est siquidem[3] tam melodia dulcisona, quam odor suavissimus, cibus ejus. The two delights of the soul; sweet sounds and scents.

Cuicunque studio animum applicueris ingenium auget; et insensibilium officio, sensibili tamen effectu, sensus augmentat. Unde et animosis animositates, et religiosis pias fovet et promovet intentiones. Hinc accidit ut episcopi et abbates, et sancti in Hibernia viri, citharas circumferre, et in eis modulando pie delectari consueverint. Quapropter et sancti Keivini cithara ab indigenis in reverentia non modica, et pro reliquiis virtuosis et magnis, usque in hodiernum habetur. Saints, &c., of Ireland fond of music. St. Kevin's harp.

Præterea bellica tuba cum strepitu clangoris musicam effert consonantiam; quatinus et clangor altisonus congrediendi signum cunctis[4] indicat, et consona sonoritas animosis audaciam altius infigat.

Item et contraria nonnunquam in contrariis operatur.

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[1] *longe*] H. C. Bb. A. R., &c.; longe jam, M.

[2] This chapter not in M.

[3] *siquidem*] C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; quidem, R. B. F.

[4] *cunctis*] C. Bb. R., &c. Not in A. Bc.

Hujus enim effectu tam vitiosis interdum voluptas, quam virtuosis et validis virtus accrescit.

Alexander the Great, and the harp.

Legitur de Alexandro Macedone, quod in quodam familiarium consessu, dulcisonam audiens citharam, chordas ejus inciderit. Interrogatus vero cur[1] hoc fecisset, respondit, satius esse chordas incidi quam corda. Præsenserat enim, et in hoc humanæ consuluit imbecillitati, animum ipsius, licet inviti, quo tunc intendebat his vehementer incendi; earumque modulatione mollitiis, quibus jam forte addictus fuerat, magis applicari quam militiis, deliciis quam duritiis, Veneri quam virtuti, voluptati quam voluntati. Affectus enim nostri nostræ nequaquam subjacent potestati.

Ad hæc autem morbos lenit et languores; dum exteriori modulatione id interius operatur, ut vel prorsus desinat quod molestat, vel certe facilius feratur quod inquietat. Cunctis igitur confert, multis medetur; dum doloris angustias et nullas non[2] mitigat, et nonnullas curat.

Saul and David.

Davidica lyra spiritum immundum a Saulis vexatione cohibuit; dum et, ipso modulante, cessavit vexatio; quæ quidem, eodem cessante, cessare nesciebat.

Ecclus. xxii. 6.

His autem illud Salomonis adversari videtur; "Musica in luctu importuna narratio est." Qui enim inter luctus cantum ultroneus effert, et in ipso doloris
26 b. articulo gaudium simulat, et voce lætabunda canorus exultat, contemptor aut fatuus esse videtur. Verumtamen sicut passio quælibet, dum adhuc recens est, et in augmento, solatium non admittit, sic tempore mitescens et consolari non renuit, et vim doloris paulatim amittit. Quem enim nec ratio mitigat, nec medicina medetur, plerumque[3] dies longior hebetat laxatum

[1] *cur*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; curnam, Ba. Cl. Rb.

[2] *nullas non*] C. Bb. A. B. Ba., &c.; nonnullas, R. F.

[3] *plerumque*] C. Bb. A. F. Ba., &c.; plurimum, R. B.

dolorem: siquidem malis omnibus finis de tempore venit. Sic enim composita est hominum natura, ut vel crescant semper vel decrescant, proficiant semper vel deficiant, quia stare nesciunt, res humanæ; et cum ad summum pervenerint, longe quidem ocius quam ascenderant, properant ad descensum. Itaque si tempora discernas, et modum in singulis modulator simul et moderator observes, qui narrator fueras importunus fieri poteris opportunus.

" Quis[1] matrem nisi mentis inops in funere nati
" Flere vetet?[2] Non hoc illa monenda loco est." Ov. Rem. Am. 127.

Igitur,

" Dum[3] dolor in cursu est, currenti cede dolori:
" Tempore cum residet, jam medicina valet."

Est itaque tanquam convertibilis musica naturæ. Hujus enim opera, animum si intendis, incendis; si remittis, amittis. Unde et[4] gens Hibernica et Hispanica, aliæque nationes nonnullæ, inter lugubres funerum planctus musicas efferunt lamentationes: quatinus vel dolorem instantem augeant et recentem, vel forte ut minuant jam remissum. Irish and Spanish musical wailings for the dead.

" Ad tolerandos quoque labores musica animum " mulcet; et singulorum operum fatigationem vocis " modulatio consolatur." Unde et plerumque mechanicarum artium operarii sibi laboris solatium cantilenæ remedio quærunt. Isid. Orig. iii. 16.

" Ipsas quoque bestias, necnon et serpentes ac volu- " cres, et phocas etiam marinas, ad auditum suæ " modulationis musica provocat harmonia." Ibid. Effect of music on animals.

Et quod vehementius est admirandum, fugitiva quo- On bees.

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[1] These two lines in margin of C. In text of Bb. A. R., &c.

[2] *vetet*] A. R. B. F., with Ovid; vetat, C. Bb. Ba., &c. There is no *est* at the end of the line in Ovid.

[3] The first line of this couplet is adapted from Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 119:
" Cum furor in cursu est, currenti
" cede furori."

[4] *et*] omitted in A. Bc.

que apum examina musico modulamine tam revocantur quam retinentur.

Phocas vero marinas nonnunquam vidimus, cum navigio fungeremur,[1] longo maris tractu navem e vestigio sequentes, et ad citharæ vel etiam tubæ sonitum, tam super undas corpus erigere, quam ad auditum aures arrigere. Præterea, ut ait Ysidorus, "Sine musica nulla "disciplina potest esse perfecta. Nihil enim sine illa. "Nam et ipse mundus harmonice dicitur esse compo- "situs: et cœlum ipsum sub harmoniæ fertur modu- "latione revolvi."

Ibid.

"Cujuslibet autem soni, unde materiam cantilenæ "contrahunt, triformem constat esse naturam. Prima "est harmonica, quæ ex vocum cantibus constat: se- "cunda organica, quæ ex flatu consistit: tertia ryth- "mica, quæ pulsu digitorum numeros recipit. Nam "aut voce editur sonus, sicut per fauces; aut flatu, "sicut per tubam vel tibiam; aut pulsu, sicut per "citharam, aut quodlibet aliud quod percutiendo cano- "rum est."

Ibid. iii. 18.

Illud[2] autem quod de commodis citharæ Cassiodorus scribit, et hic interserere præter rem non putavi. Ait enim; Hæc sunt commoda citharæ. "Tristitiam nox- "iam jocundat; tumidos furores attenuat; cruentam "sævitiam efficit blandam; ignaviam[3] deprimit; lan- "guorem soporantem expergiscit; vigilantibus reddit "saluberrimam quietem. Humatam[4] turpi amore ad "honestum studium revocat castitatem: sanat mentis "tædium, bonis cogitationibus semper adversum: per- "niciosa odia convertit ad auxiliatricem gratiam: et,

Cassiod. Variar. ii. 40.

[1] *fungeremur*] A. R. B., &c.; frueremur, C. Bb.

[2] *Illud, &c.*] This section not in C. Bb. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

[3] *ignaviam . . . expergiscit*] Instead of this, Cassiodorus has, "excitat ignaviam, soporantemque "languorem."

[4] *Humatam*] R. F. Ba. Cl.; humanam, Rb.; humanam a, Hb. Cassiodorus has "vitiatam," with *alias* "humatam."

"quod beatissimum genus curationis est, per dulcissimas voluptates expellit animi passiones: incorpoream animam corporaliter mulcet, et solo auditu ad quod vult deducit: quod[1] tenere non prævalet tacitus verbo, manibus clamat, sine ore loquitur; et per insensibilium obsequium prævalet sensuum exercere dominatum. Miseratio divina localiter spargit[2] gratiam, dum omnia sua valde fecit esse laudanda. Præpulit[3] quidem Davidica lyra diabolum; sonus spiritibus imperavit; et canente cithara ter rex in libertatem rediit, quem interius[4] inimicus turpiter possidebat." Facta est voluptuosa digressio; nec sine re tamen; quia semper gratum est de doctrina loqui cum peritis.

[Cap. XIII.][5]

De primis musicæ consonantiæ inventoribus.

Inventor fuit musicæ consonantiæ, sicut in Genesi legitur, Jubal,[6] de stirpe Caim, ante diluvium. Qui et dictus est "Pater canentium in cithara et organo." Et quia Adam audierat prophetasse de duobus judiciis, ne periret ars inventa scripsit eam in duabus columnis, in qualibet totam, una marmorea, altera lateritia: quarum altera non dilueretur diluvio, altera non solveretur incendio. In philosophicis vero traditur disciplinis, primo Pitagoram hujus artis invenisse primordia, ex malleorum sonitu, et chordarum extensione percussa. Quidam autem Linum Thebæum, Zetum, et

The inventor of music.

Gen. iv. 21.

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[1] *quod . . . tacitus verbo*] Instead of this Cassiodorus has, "quam . . . "tacito verbo."

[2] *spargit*] R. F. Ba. Hb.; sparsit, Cl. Rb., with Cassiodorus.

[3] *præpulit*] R. F. Ba. Hb. Rb.; pepulit, Cl., and Cassiodorus.

[4] *interius*] R. F. Hb. Rb; internus, Ba., and Cassiodorus.

[5] This chapter not in M. Except the middle part, "Et quia . . . in-"cendio," it is taken from Isid. *Orig.* iii. 15, not verbally.

[6] *Jubal*] Bb. A. R. F. Ba. Cl.; Jubab, C. B.

Anxeon,[1] in musica ferunt arte primos claruisse. Post
27. quos paulatim in tantum hæc disciplina adaucta est, ut tam turpe videretur musicam nescire quam literas.

[Cap. XIV.][2]

De musicorum instrumentorum cultore præcipuo et ornatore.

David a great musician.

Rex autem David præcipuus musicorum instrumentorum et cultor fuerat et ornator; multorum quidem auctor, omnium adauctor. Psalterium decem chordarum, et alia instrumenta nonnulla adinvenit. Hic etiam, musicæ virtutis non ignarus, Dominum in musicis instrumentis laudari monuit; quoniam et Creator a creaturis multimode laudari non renuit, et ipsa modulatio modulantis affectum ad divinum amorem altius accendit. Unde et Augustinus, in Libro *Confessionum;* Quoties me magis delectat sonus quam sensus, "pœnaliter me peccare confiteor." Optime tamen in ecclesia statutum est, ut quæ in ea ad laudem Dei proferenda sunt, cum vocis modulatione pronuntientur; ut internæ modulationis affectu[3] corda fidelium ad pietatis opera plenius accendantur. Item et[4] in eodem; "Quantum "flevi in hymnis et canticis tuis, suave sonantis eccle"siæ tuæ vocibus commotus acriter! Voces igitur "illæ influebant auribus meis, et eliquabatur veritas "in cor meum, et exæstuabat[5] inde affectus pietatis, "et currebant lacrimæ, et bene mihi erat cum eis."

Aug. Confess. x. 33.

Ibid. ix. 6.

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[1] *Anxeon*] C. Bb. A. B. Cl.; Axeon, R. F. Ba. Isidore has "Amphion."

[2] This chapter not in M.

[3] *affectu*] A. R. B. F.; effectu, C. Bb. Ba., &c.

[4] *et*] C. Bb. A. B. Ba., &c. Not in R. F.

[5] *exæstuabat*] C. Bb. A. R. B. F. Ba; æstuabat, Cl. Rb.

[CAP. XV.][1]

De nomine musicæ.

Derivation of the word Music.

Dicta est autem musica a Musis. Musæ autem[2] appellatæ sunt a Græco *Maso*,[3] id est, a quærendo; quod per eas, sicut antiqui voluerunt, vis carminum et vocum quæreretur.

Sed hæc hactenus. De cetero ad historiam revertamur.

[CAP. XVI.]

Quot reges ab Herimone usque ad Patricii adventum regnaverunt. Et quod insula per ipsum ad fidem est conversa.

Kings, from Eremhon to the coming of St Patrick; in the reign of Laeghaire.

A primo igitur gentis hujus rege, scilicet Herimone, usque ad Patricii adventum, cxxxi. reges de eadem gente in Hibernia regnaverunt.

Patricius vero, natione Britannus, vir vita et sanctitate conspicuus, regnante[4] Laegirio,[5] Nelli magni filio, insulam intravit; et gentem inveniens idolatram, varioque errore delusam, primus in ea, divina opitulante gratia, fidem Christianam et prædicavit et plantavit. Baptizatis itaque catervatim populis, et tota jam insula ad fidem Christi conversa, apud Armaciam sibi sedem elegit; quam etiam quasi metropolim constituit, et proprium totius Hiberniæ primatiæ locum. Episcopos quoque congruis in locis collocavit; ut in partem vocati solicitudinis, quod ipse plantaverat et ipsi rigarent, Dominus autem incrementum daret.

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[1] This chapter not in M. It is taken from Isid. *Orig.* iii. 14.

autem] C. Bb. Ba., &c. Not in A. R. B. F.

[3] *Maso*] This is Giraldus's version of the Greek Μάω, or rather, of its derivative, Μάσσω.

[4] *regnante . . . filio*] Not in M. A. In Bc., however.

[5] *Laegirio*] C. Bb. Ba, &c.; Largirio, R. B. F. Laeghaire, son of Niall of the nine hostages, was monarch of Ireland A.D. 428–458. St. Patrick landed in Ireland A.D. 432.

The Dalridian invasion of Scotland.

Hic[1] quoque notandum videtur, prædicto Nello Hiberniæ monarchiam obtinente,[2] sex filios Muredi regis Ultoniæ in classe non modica boreales Britanniæ partes occupasse. Unde et gens ab his propagata, et specificato vocabulo Scotica vocata, usque in hodiernum[3] angulum illum inhabitat.

Giraldus intends to write a Topography of Britain.

Sed quibus ex causis huc advenerint; qualiterque,[4] et quantis proditionibus potius quam expeditionibus, Pictorum gentem pervalidam, armis quoque et animositate longe præstantem, a partibus illis expulerint; cum nobilem[5] illam Britanniæ topographiam declarabimus, enucleatim expedietur.

Aliud autem hinc beneficium, sua forte dignitate laudabile, studiosisque mentibus appetibile, suis temporibus emanabit.[6]

[Cap. XVII.]

Quod archiepiscopi nulli in Hibernia fuerunt,[7] ante adventum Johannis Papironis: qui quatuor pallia in Hibernia plantavit.

No archbishops in 27 b.

Archiepiscopi vero in Hibernia nulli fuerant, sed tantum se episcopi invicem consecrabant, donec Jo-

[1] *Hic, &c.*] Hence, to end of chapter, not in M. In margin of C. In text of Bb. A. R., &c.

[2] Giraldus has made strange blunders here. It was not in the reign of Niall, but of his grandson Lughaigh, that the sons of Erc, or Earc, not Muireadhach (Muredus), headed the Dalridian invasion of North Britain. This was in A.D. 498, according to the Four Masters, but probably a few years later. The best authorities admit but three sons of Erc; viz., Loarn, Fearghus, and Aenghus. *Camb. Evers.* ii. 8, note (*o*).

[3] *hodiernum*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; hodiernum diem, A. Bc.

[4] *qualiterque*] C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; qualiter, R. B. F.

[5] *nobilem*] C. Bb. A. R., &c., Cl.; notabilem, Hb. Rb.

[6] *emanabit*] C. Bb. A. B. Ba., &c.; emanavit, R. F.

[7] *fuerunt*] M. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; fuerant, R. B. F. Giraldus is wrong in saying that there were no archbishops in Ireland before 1151. See *Camb. Evers.*, iii. 470, &c. He seems to have considered that the Pall made the archbishop.

hannes Papiro, Romanæ sedis legatus, non multis retro annis huc advenit.[1]

Ireland, before cardinal John Papiro's bringing four palls, A.D. 1151.

Hic quatuor pallia in Hiberniam[2] portavit. Quorum unum apud Armaciam posuit; alterum apud Dubliniam; tertium apud Cassiliam; quartum vero in Connactia apud Tuemiam.

Obiit[3] autem beatus Patricius, et in Domino quievit, anno ætatis suæ C°.XX°., ab incarnatione vero Domini CCCC°.LVIII.,[4] ab adventu Hiberniensium M°.DCCC°.

[Cap. XVIII.]

Quod tria corpora, Patricii scilicet, Columbæ,[5] et Brigidæ, apud Ultoniam, in Dunensi civitate, his nostris diebus inventa sunt et translata.

The bodies of saints Patrick,

Fuerant autem contemporanei[6] Patricio sanctus Columba, et sancta Brigida. Et apud Ultoniam, in eadem

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[1] *huc advenit*] R. F.; adhuc venit, B.; advenit only in M. C. Bb. A., &c. Cardinal John Papiro came into Ireland soon after Michaelmas 1151, and returned into England after Easter 1152: *John of Hexham*, 163, 164 (Surtees Soc. ed.). Hexham says, "Profectus in Hiber-"niam, quatuor pallia certis sedibus "distribuit; gentemque in ea, legi "nuptiarum non assuetam, pluri-"mum correxit."

The *Four Masters* say that he came into Ireland in 1151, and that in 1152 "a synod was convened at "Drogheda by the bishops of "Ireland, with the successor of "Patrick, and the cardinal John "Papiron, with three hundred ec-"clesiastics. And they established "some rules thereat, *i.e.* to put "away concubines from men; not "to demand payment for anointing "or baptizing; not to take simo-"niacal payment; and to receive "tithes punctually."

[2] *in Hiberniam*] After this all is missing in Cl., until after middle of Cap. XXVI. *infra*. Two folios seem to be lost between 44 and 45 of the present numbering.

[3] *Obiit*] M. C. Bb. R. F., &c.; abiit, A. B.

[4] A.D. 493 is the best authenticated date of St. Patrick's death.

[5] *Columbæ*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; et Columbæ, R. B. F.

[6] Not very contemporaneous. St. Patrick died in 493, St. Bridget about 522, St. Columba in 597. This invention of the three bodies at Down is ignored by Irish annalists. They may have heard of it, but certainly never believed in it. According to the *Four Masters*, these three bodies were discovered,

Columba, and Bridget, at Down. Their translation, A.D. 1185. Expug. Hibern. ii. 34.

civitate, Dunensi scilicet, ipsorum trium corpora sunt recondita. Ubi et his nostris temporibus, anno scilicet quo dominus Johannes primo in Hiberniam venit, quasi in spelunca triplici, Patricio in medio jacente, aliis duobus hinc inde, Johanne vero de Curci tunc ibi præsidente, et hoc procurante, tres nobiles thesauri, divina revelatione inventa sunt et translata.[1]

[Cap. XIX.]

De Hiberniensibus in fidei rudimentis incultissimis.

The Irish bad Christians.

Cum autem a tempore Patricii, per tot annorum curricula, fides in insula fundata fuerit, et fere continue pullulaverit, mirum quod gens hæc in fidei rudimentis hactenus manserit tam inculta.

As to payment of tithes, marriages, &c. Even a brother will marry a brother's widow.

Gens[2] enim hæc gens spurcissima, gens vitiis involutissima, gens omnium gentium in fidei rudimentis incultissima. Nondum enim decimas vel primitias solvunt; nondum matrimonia contrahunt; non incestus vitant; non ecclesiam Dei cum debita reverentia frequentant.[3] Quinimmo, quod detestabile valde[4] est, et non tantum fidei sed et cuilibet honestati valde contrarium, fratres, pluribus per Hiberniam locis, fratrum defunctorum uxores non dico ducunt, sed traducunt;

by revelation to the archbishop of Armagh, in the year 1293, at Sabhall, now Saul, near Downpatrick. See O'Donovan's note (*f*), *Four Masters*, 1293.

[1] After this is added in Camden, "Unde versus:

"In burgo Duno, tumulo tumu-
"lantur in uno,
"Brigida, Patricius, atque Co-
"lumba pius."

It is in no MS. that I have seen.

[2] *Gens, &c.*] This section repeated in the *De Gestis*, &c., vol. i. p. 68.

[3] After *frequentant* is added, in *De Gestis*, "Nec infantes ante fores "ecclesiæ sacerdotes eorum more "debito catecizant, nec mortuorum "corpora ad ecclesiasticam sepul-"turam debitis obsequiis prose-"quuntur." This is in no MS. of the *Topographia*.

[4] *valde*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; nimis, R. B.

immo verius seducunt, dum turpiter eas et tam incestuose cognoscunt; veteris in hoc testamenti non medullæ sed cortici adhærentes, veteresque libentius in vitiis quam virtutibus imitari volentes.

[Cap. XX.]

De eorum nequitiis et proditionibus.

Præterea, præ omni alia gente proditionibus semper insistunt; fidem datam nemini servant. Fidei et sacramenti religionem, quam sibi observari summopere volunt, aliis præstitam quotidie violare nec verecundantur nec verentur. Unde et cum cautelas omnes adhibueris, cum securitati et indemnitati tuæ, tam sacramentis et obsidibus, quam amicitiis firmiter junctis, et beneficiis multimode collatis, modis omnibus invigilaveris, tunc primo timendum est tibi, quia tunc præcipue ipsorum vigilat malitia, cum ex securitatis abundantia te tibi præsenserint non vigilare. Tum demum ad artem[1] nequitiæ, tum ad consueta fallaciæ tela recurrunt, ut, sumpta securitatis occasione, lædere valeant vel improvisum.[2]

Their faithlessness, and foul treachery.

[Cap. XXI.]

De securi, quam semper in manu quasi pro baculo bajulant.

De antiqua, immo iniqua consuetudine, semper in manu quasi pro baculo securim bajulant; ut iniquitatis affectum facilius perduxerint ad effectum. Quocunque se vertant, hanc prævectant. Visa igitur opportunitate, et occasione captata, non hæc ut gladius evaginatur,

Always have an axe ready in their hand.

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[1] *artem*] M. A. R. F.; arcem, H. C. Doubtful which in Bb. B. Ba.

[2] In M. here follows the last section of the next chapter. "Est "igitur . . . pace fideles."

non ut arcus tenditur, non ut lancea protenditur. Citra omnem præparatum parum elevata letale vulnus infligit. Ad manum igitur, immo in manu semper et[1] in promptu est, quod ad mortem sat est. A securibus itaque nulla securitas: si securum te reputes, securim senties. Te sponte in periculum mittis, si securim admittis, et securitatem amittis.

28. Cum igitur exercendæ malitiæ locum adviderint, utinam vel non inviderint, vel potius nihil viderint.[2]

Est etenim gens hæc gens inconstans, gens varia, gens versipellis et versuta: gens sola instabilitate stabilis, sola infidelitate fidelis:

["Hoc[3] firmum servans, quod nunquam firma:
" fidele
" Hoc solum retinens, quod nesciat esse fidelis."]

Est igitur[4] longe fortius timenda eorum ars, quam Mars; eorum pax, quam fax; eorum mel, quam fel; malitia quam militia; proditio quam expeditio; amicitia defucata,[5] quam inimicitia despicata. Hæc enim horum sententia;

Virg. Æn. ii. 390. "Dolus, an virtus; quis in hoste requirat?"

Gildas, § 6. Hi mores: "Nec in bello fortes, nec in pace fideles."

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[1] *et*] M. C. Bb. A. B. (originally, but erased), Ba., &c. Not in R. F.

[2] In M. the chapter ends here.

[3] *Hoc, &c.*] These two lines not in C. Bb., &c., Ba. In Hb. Rb., but before the last section, "Est "etenim," &c.

[4] *Est igitur, &c.*] This will occur again in *Expug. Hibern.*, ii. 39; and in *Kamb. Descr.*, ii. 9.

[5] *defucata*] M. H. C. Bb.; præfucata, A. Ba. Hb. Rb., *Hib. Exp.*, and *Kamb. Descr.*; profucata, R. B. F.

[Cap. XXII.]

De argumento nequitiæ, et novo desponsationis genere.[1]

Inter alia multa artis iniquæ figmenta, hoc unum habent tanquam præcipuum argumentum. Sub religionis et pacis obtentu ad sacrum aliquem locum conveniunt, cum eo quem oppetere cupiunt. Primo compaternitatis fœdera jungunt: deinde ter circa ecclesiam se invicem portant: postmodum ecclesiam intrantes, coram altari[2] reliquiis sanctorum appositis, sacramentis multifarie præstitis, demum missæ celebratione, et orationibus sacerdotum, tanquam desponsatione quadam indissolubiliter fœderantur. Ad ultimum vero, ad majorem amicitiæ confirmationem, et quasi negotii consummationem, sanguinem sponte ad hoc fusum uterque alterius bibit. Hoc[3] autem de ritu gentilium adhuc habent, qui sanguine in firmandis fœderibus uti solent. O quoties in ipso desponsationis hujus articulo, a viris sanguinum et dolosis tam dolose et inique funditur sanguis, ut alteruter penitus maneat exsanguis! O quoties eadem hora et incontinenti vel sequitur vel prævenit, vel etiam inaudito more sanguinolentum divortium ipsam interrumpit desponsationem!

Usages in making a league.

[Cap. XXIII.][4]

Quod alumnos et collactaneos diligunt; fratres et cognatos persequuntur.

Væ autem fratribus in populo barbaro. Væ et cognatis. Vivos enim ad mortem persequuntur: mortuos

Love for foster-kindred only.

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[1] *genere*] M. C. Bb., with Capitula *supra*; modo, H. A. R. B. F. Hb. Rb. In Ba. this rubric was at the bottom of a page, and has been cut away, with drawing in margin below.

[2] *altari*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; altari et, R. B. F.

[3] *Hoc . . . solent*] Not in M. C. Bb. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ba., &c.

[4] XXII., XXIII., and XXIV. form one chapter in M., which, however, has the headings of XXIII. and XXIV. as marginal rubrics.

et ab aliis[1] interemptos ulciscuntur. Solum vero alumnis et collactaneis, si quid habent vel amoris vel fidei, illud habent.

[Cap. XXIV.]

De advenis eodem vitio contaminatis.

Even strangers soon become as treacherous as the natives.

Adeo igitur quicquid libet licere videtur, et cura[2] quid expediat cunctis, non quid sit honestum; cum tamen nihil ad plenum expediat præter honestum; adeo proditionis pestis hic invaluit, et quasi radices posuit; adeo in naturam converti prævaluit pravæ consuetudinis longus abusus; adeo a convictu mores formantur, et qui picem tangit coinquinabitur ab ea; adeo mali[3] vis magna est; "Melli[4] enim plurimo parum "absinthii injectum velocem amaritudinem reddit, mel "vero duplum si injiciatur absinthio, nequit ejus obti-"neri dulcedo;" adeo, inquam, bonos mores corrumpunt colloquia prava, ut hoc vitio patriæ tanquam innato et contagiosissimo etiam alienigenæ huc advecti fere inevitabiliter involvantur. Sacros igitur locus hic aut recipit aut facit. Cum enim proclivis sit cursus ad voluptates, et imitatrix natura vitiorum, quis sacrum esse dubitet quem tot sacrilegiorum exemplaria, tot rerum malarum documenta, tam frequens sacramentorum transgressio, tam fidei nulla religio prædocent et instruunt, et æmula malorum doctrina ad similia constanter invitant.

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[1] *ab aliis*] C. Bb. Ba., &c.; ab illis, R. B. F. Not in M. A.

[2] *cura*] Bb. A. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; circa, C.; cara, M.; citra, H.

[3] *adeo mali . . . colloquia prava*] Not in M. A. In C. Bb. R., &c.

[4] *Melli, &c.*] This from Greg. Nazianz., *Orat. I. Apologet.* (p. 7, ed. Colon. 1690).

[Cap. XXV.]

De novo et enormi regni et dominii confirmationis modo.

Sunt et quædam, quæ, nisi materiæ cursus expeteret, pudor reticenda persuaderet. Turpis[1] enim rei gestæ narratio, quanquam præferat artem, devenustare tamen videtur artificem. Verumtamen, quoniam[1] historiæ severitas nec veritati parcere novit nec verecundiæ, circumcisis[1] labiis res inhonesta poterit venusta verborum vernulitate depromi.

Monstrous way of inaugurating a king, in Tirconnell.

Est igitur in boreali et ulteriori Ultoniæ parte, scilicet apud Kenelcunnil, gens quædam, quæ barbaro 28 b. nimis et abominabili ritu sic sibi regem creare solet. Collecto in unum universo terræ illius populo, in medium producitur jumentum candidum. Ad quod sublimandus ille non in principem sed in beluam, non in regem sed exlegem, coram omnibus bestialiter accedens, non minus[2] impudenter quam imprudenter se quoque bestiam profitetur. Et statim jumento interfecto, et frustatim in aqua decocto, in eadem aqua balneum ei paratur. Cui insidens, de carnibus illis sibi allatis, circumstante populo suo et convescente, comedit ipse. De jure quoque quo lavatur, non vase aliquo, non manu, sed ore tantum circumquaque haurit et bibit. Quibus ita rite, non recte completis, regnum illius et dominium est confirmatum.

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[1] *Turpis . . artificem ; quoniam ;* and *circumcisis . . depromi*] These not in M. W. In margin of C. Bb. In text of A. R., &c.

[2] *non minus . . imprudenter*] Not in M.

[CAP. XXVI.]

De multis in insula nunquam baptizatis, et ad quos nondum fidei doctrina pervenit.

Many, in remote parts, not yet instructed in the faith.

As proved by testimony of some sailors.

The coracle.

Ad hæc autem, quamvis tanto jam tempore in terra ista[1] fundata fides adoleverit, in nonnullis tamen ejusdem angulis multi adhuc sunt non baptizati, et ad quos ex pastorali negligentia fidei nunquam doctrina pervenit. Audivi enim[2] a nautis quibusdam, quod cum quadragesimali quodam tempore ad boreales et inexscrutabiles Connactici maris vastitates vi tempestatis depulsi fuissent, tandem sub insula quadam modica se receperunt: ubi et anchorarum morsu, funiumque triplicium, immo multiplicium[3] tenacitate se vix retinuerunt. Residente vero infra triduum tempestate, et restituta tam aeri serenitate quam mari tranquillitate, apparuit non procul facies terræ cujusdam, eis hactenus prorsus ignotæ;[4] de qua non longe post et cymbulam modicam[5] ad se viderunt[6] remigantem, arctam et oblongam, vimineam quidem, et coriis animalium extra contextam[7] et consutam. Erant autem in ea homines duo, nudis omnino corporibus, præter zonas latas de crudis animalium coriis quibus stringebantur. Habebant etiam Hibernico more comas perlongas et flavas, trans humeros deorsum, corpus ex magna parte tegentes. De quibus cum audissent, quod de quadam Connactiæ parte fuissent, et Hiber-

[1] *in terra ista*] M. C. Bb. Ba., &c., Bc.; in insula ista, A.; in insula, R. B. F.

[2] *enim*] A. R. B. F. Not in M. C. Bb. Ba., &c.

[3] *immo multiplicium*] M. C. Bb. Ba., &c. Not in A. R. B. F.

[4] *ignotæ*] M. C. Bb. R., &c., Bc.; incognitæ, A.

[5] *modicam*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba. &c.; Not in R. B. F.

[6] *viderunt*] C. Bb. R., &c.; videt, M.; vident, H. A.

[7] *contextam*] M. C. Bb. A. R., &c.; contectam, Ba. This, though the reading of only one, and not an early MS., must surely be the right reading.

nica lingua loquerentur, intra navem eos adduxerunt.[1] Ipsi vero cuncta quæ ibi videbant tanquam nova admirari cœperunt. Navem enim magnam et ligneam, humanos etiam cultus, sicut asserebant, nunquam antea viderant. Cum vero panem et caseum ad comedendum eis obtulissent, utrumque ignorantes abnuerunt. Carnibus tantum, et piscibus, et lacte, se vesci solere dicebant.

Nec vestibus ullis utebantur, nisi coriis animalium interdum in magna necessitate. Et cum a nautis expeterent, an ibi ad prandendum carnes haberent, et responsum acciperent in quadragesima carnes comedi non licere, ipsi de quadragesima[2] nihil sciebant. Nec etiam de anno, vel mense, vel hebdomada quicquam. Quibus etiam nominibus dies septimanæ censerentur, penitus ignorabant. Cumque ab ipsis quæreretur, an Christiani et baptizati fuissent, responderunt de Christo se nihil hactenus vel audisse vel scivisse. Et sic revertentes, panem unum et caseum secum retulerunt; ut præ admiratione suis ostenderent, quibus cibariis alienigenæ vescerentur.

Verumtamen[3] viri qui ecclesiastica gaudent immunitate, et quos viros ecclesiasticos vocant, quanquam laici et uxorati, comis quoque perlongis trans humerum diffusis, solum armis renuntiantes, in signum protectionis pontificali impositione amplas in capite coronas habent. Lay ecclesiastics.

Item gens hæc, ab aliis diversa nimis et perversa, corporali tam manus quam capitis signo quod innuit abnuit. Renuit quoque, quoties aliquibus abscessum indicit. Irish mode of bowing. 29.

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[1] *adduxerunt*] M. Bb. A. R., &c.; adduxerint, C.

[2] Here Cl. comes in again, with "ma nihil sciebant," at top of folio 45. *Supra*, p. 163, n. (2).

[3] *Verumtamen . . . . emittunt*] These three sections not in M. Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R., &c. Instead of *Verumtamen*, the later MSS. Ba. Cl., &c., have *Notandum autem quod.*

Præterea, viri in hac gente sedendo, mulieres stando urinas emittunt.

Jealousy of the Irish. How the ladies ride.

Ad [1] hæc autem, præ omni alio populo, zelotypiæ vitio laborat hæc natio. Tam mulieres quoque quam mares divaricatis cruribus, tibiisque utrinque protensis, equitare solent.

[Cap. XXVII.] [2]

De clero Hiberniæ, in multis laudabili.

The Irish clergy remarkable for their chastity.

Sed nunc ad clerum stilum vertamus. Est autem terræ istius clerus satis religione commendabilis; et inter varias quibus pollet virtutes, castitatis prærogativa præeminet et præcellit.

For devotion to their religious duties.

Item psalmis et horis, lectioni et orationi, vigilanter inserviunt. Et intra ecclesiæ septa se continentes, a divinis quibus deputati sunt officiis non recedunt.

For their abstinence.

Abstinentiæ quoque et parcimoniæ ciborum non mediocriter indulgent.[3] Ita ut pars maxima quotidie fere, donec cuncta diei compleverint horarum officia, usque ad crepusculum jejunent.

But after long fasts by day, spend the night in drinking.

Sed utinam post longa jejunia tam sobrii fuerint quam seri, tam veri quam severi, tam puri quam duri, tam existentes quam apparentes.

Inter [4] tot millia vix unum invenies, qui post jugem tam jejuniorum quam orationum instantiam, vino, variisque potionibus, diurnos labores enormius quam deceret nocte non redimat.

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[1] *Ad hæc, &c.*] This section not in M. C. Bb. The first sentence, "Ad hæc . . natio," in A. R. B., &c. The second, "Tam . . solent," not in A. B.; in margin of R.; in text of F. Ba., &c.

[2] Chapters XXVII.–XXXI. are part of a sermon preached by Giraldus, before a synod at Dublin, in the Lent of 1186. See the *De Gestis* (vol. i. p. 66, &c.), where also the contents of these chapters are repeated.

[3] *indulgent*] R. B. F. Ba., &c., and *De Gestis*; indulget, M. C. Bb. A.

[4] Rest of the chapter not in M.

Diem itaque naturalem tanquam ex æquo dividentes, lucidaque spiritui tempora, nocturna quoque carni dedicantes, sicut de luce lucis operibus indulgent, sic et in tenebris ad tenebrarum opera convertuntur.

Unde et hoc pro miraculo duci potest, quod ubi vina dominantur Venus non regnat. [Hoc enim[1] difficile Ieronimo, difficilius apostolo persuaderi posset. Quorum iste "vino inebriari" vetat "in quo est lux-"uria:" ille vero ventrem mero æstuantem facile[2] spumare docet in libidinem.] Eph. v. 18. Hier. Ep. ad Oceanum (83, old ed.; 69, Migne).

Sunt tamen nonnulli inter hos optimi, et sine fermento sincerissimi. Est enim gens hæc cunctis fere in actibus immoderata, et in omnes affectus vehementissima. Unde et sicut mali deterrimi sunt, et nusquam pejores, ita et bonis laudabiliores non reperies. Some few, however, of most pure life.

Sed inter avenas et lolia triticum rarum. Multos nimirum vocatos invenies, paucos electos; grana rarissima, paleas multas.

[Cap. XXVIII.]

De prœlatis ex pastorali negligentia corripiendis.

In episcopis vero et prælatis hoc fere solum[3] reprehensione dignum invenio, quod in populi tam enormiter delinquentis correctione desides nimis sunt et negligentes. Quod igitur nec prædicant nec corripiunt, hinc ipsos[4] prædico corripiendos; quod non arguunt, Bishops very remiss in enforcing discipline, and in preaching.

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[1] *Hoc enim . . . libidinem*] Not in C. Bb. A. R. B. F. In Ba. Cl., &c. It is in the *De Gestis*, but with different construction: "Vix "autem hoc Ieronimo persuaderi "posset, dicenti quia 'Venter mero "'æstuans facile despumat in libi-"'dinem:' vix et Paulo, qui ait, "'Nolite inebriari vino, in quo est "'luxuria.'"

[2] Instead of *facile*, Jerome has *cito*.

[3] *fere solum*] M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F.; præcipue, Ba. Cl., &c., and *De Gestis*.

[4] *ipsos*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; ipsis, R. B., and F. originally, but altered.

hinc arguo; quod reprehendere negligunt, hinc reprehendo. Quoniam,[1] ut ait Gregorius, "Præconis officium suscipit quisquis ad sacerdotii gradum ascendit. "Sacerdos ergo si prædicationis est nescius, quam clamoris vocem daturus est præco mutus?"

Past. Cur. ii. 4.

Si enim prælati a tempore Patricii, per tot annorum curricula, prædicationi et instructioni, item increpationi et correptioni pro officii debito viriliter institissent, et prænotatas gentis enormitates aliquatenus extirpassent, et[2] aliquam in eis proculdubio formam honestatis et religionis impressissent. Sed non fuit in ipsis, qui tanquam tuba vocem exaltaret: non fuit qui ex adverso ascenderet, et murum se[3] pro domo Israel opponeret: non fuit qui usque ad exilium, nedum[4] usque ad sanguinem pro ecclesia Christi dimicaret, quam ipse sibi suo pretioso sanguine acquisivit. Unde et omnes sancti terræ istius confessores sunt, et nullus martyr. Quod in alio regno Christiano difficile erit invenire.

Is. lviii. 1. Ezec. xiii. 5.

No Irish martyrs.

Nª omnes Hiberniæ sanctos confessores esse, et nullum martyrem.

Mirum[5] itaque quod ubi gens crudelissima et sanguinis sitibunda, fides ab antiquo fundata et semper tepidissima, pro Christi ecclesia corona martyrii nulla. Non igitur inventus est in partibus istis, qui ecclesiæ surgentis fundamenta sanguinis effusione cœmentaret: non fuit qui faceret hoc bonum: non fuit usque ad unum.

29 b.

Sunt enim pastores, qui non pascere quærunt sed pasci: sunt prælati, qui non prodesse cupiunt sed præesse: sunt episcopi, qui non omen sed nomen, non onus sed honorem amplectuntur.

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[1] *Quoniam . . præco mutus*] Not in M. W. In margin of C. Bb. In text of A. R., &c.

[2] *et*] M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F. Ba. Cl. Not in Hb. Rb. and *De Gestis*.

[3] *se*] Not in M. C. Bb. B. Ba. Cl. In R. (added), F. In A. (but erased), Hb. Rb. and *De Gestis*, after "Israel."

[4] *nedum*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba. Cl. Hb.; necdum, R. B. F. Rb.

[5] *Mirum . . martyrii nulla*] Not in M.

Hujus itaque terræ prælati, intra ecclesiarum septa de antiqua consuetudine se continentes, contemplationi solum fere semper indulgent. Ubi et Rachelis pulchritudine sic delectantur, ut Liæ lippitudinem fastidio ducant. Unde accidit ut nec verbum Domini populo prædicent, nec scelera eorum eis annuntient, nec in grege commisso vel extirpent vitia, vel inserant virtutes.

[Cap. XXIX.]

Quod omnes[1] *episcopi Hiberniæ de monasteriis electi sunt.*[2]

The Irish prelates taken from monasteries: therefore good monks, but bad pastors.

Cum enim fere omnes Hiberniæ prælati de monasteriis in clerum electi sint,[3] quæ monachi sunt solicite complent omnia, quæ vero clerici vel prælati fere prætermittunt universa. Sui enim tantum curam agentes, et tanquam sibi soliciti, pro grege commisso solicitari negligenter omittunt et postponunt: illud Ieronymi[4] ad Rusticum monachum vel prorsus ignorantes, vel dissimulantes; "Sic vive in monasterio, ut clericus "esse merearis." "Longo tempore disce quod post"modum doceas." Et "Inter bonos semper sectare "meliores." Et "Cum in clerum "electus fueris, age ea quæ clerici "sunt. Et illud ad eundem; "Si "clericatus titillat desiderium, disce prius quod possis "docere. Ne sis miles antequam tiro: ne magister "antequam discipulus."

Hieron. Ep. 125, (No. 4 of old editions).

Nª monachos in clerum electos quæ clerici sunt agere debere.

Sed male sibi provident, male sui curam agunt,

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[1] This heading not in M.; this chapter there forming part of the last chapter. After *omnes* is *fere* in Hb. Rb. This also in Cl., but after *Hiberniæ*.

[2] *sunt*] Not in C. Bb. A. B. In R. (added), F. Ba., &c.

[3] *sint*] Bb. A. R. B. F. Ba. Cl. Rb.; sunt, M. C. Hb.

[4] The passages which follow, from Jerome's Epistle to Rusticus, are not quoted word for word.

cum his, quorum custodiæ ex suscepti regiminis officio sunt deputati, per incuriam et negligentiam, curam et providentiam subtrahunt et subducunt. Seipsos enim[1] multo gravius quam illos, et damnabilius seducunt.

[Cap. XXX.]

Qualiter a monachis clerici distent, et eis præferantur.

Hieron. Ep. 14 (No. 1 of old editions). Difference between monks and the clergy.

Scire igitur debent, quod, sicut Ieronymus ad Eleutherium[2] testatur, cum "Alia sit causa monachi, alia "clerici; et clerici oves pascant, monachi pascantur," sic se habent monachi respectu clericorum, tanquam grex respectu pastorum. Monachus enim tanquam unius custos, vel singularis dictus, sui solius curam agit. Clericus vero circa multorum curam solicitari tenetur. Est itaque monachus tanquam granum tritici solum manens: est autem clericus tanquam granum germinans, et in horrea Domini multum fructum afferens.

Na monachos, in clerum electos, quædam ex monachis quædam vero ex clericis contrahere debere.

Bipartiti ergo hujusmodi prælati quædam contrahant ex monacho, et quædam ex clerico. Ex monacho contrahant columbinam simplicitatem, ex clerico vero serpentinam prudentiam; hinc sapientiam, inde eloquentiam; hinc verba, inde opera; hinc conscientiam, inde scientiam; hinc[3] fecundi fiant, inde facundi. Et sic utrumque compleant officium, ut inter sacerdotes ingredientes tabernaculum, eorum vestimenta tintinnabulis ambiantur, et in ore ipsorum tam instructionis quam increpationis verbum resonans audiatur. Fatuos enim et elingues prælatos, et plus monachi quam clerici præferentes, manifeste redarguit

The consequent duties of these monk bishops.

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[1] *enim*] M. C. Bb. A. B. Ba., &c. Not in R. F.

[2] *Eleutherium*] This epistle of St. Jerome is addressed, not to Eleutherius, but to Heliodorus the monk.

[3] *hinc . . facundi*] Not in M.

Ieronymus, dicens; "Innocens, et absque sermone conversatio, quantum exemplo prodest, tantum silentio obest. Latratu namque canum et baculo pastorum lupi sunt arcendi." Similiter et in primo bibliothecæ prologo; "Sancta quippe rusticitas sibi solum prodest; et quantum ex vitæ merito ædificat ecclesiam Dei, tantum nocet, cum destruentibus non resistit." "Error enim," ut[1] ait Innocentius, "cui non resistitur, approbatur: et veritas, cum minime defensatur, opprimitur." Item[1] Eleutherius;[2] "Negligere, cum possis, perturbare perversos, nihil est aliud quam fovere. Nec caret scrupulo societatis 30. occultæ, qui manifesto facinori desinit obviare;" præsertim cum ad hoc ex officio teneatur.

Ad Oceanum, Ep. 69 (83, old editions).

Hieron. ad Paulinum, § 4.

[Cap. XXXI.][3]

Quod quidam intus esse videntur, qui foras missi sunt; et e diverso.

Many reputed Irish saints.

Mirum autem, cum omnino tam desides officii, tam[4] subditorum salutis negligentes semper extiterint, quod tot ex ipsis in terra pro sanctis habentur, et ab accolis tanquam sancti tam devote coluntur et venerantur. Unde et unum duorum inevitabile est non evitari. Aut enim ab hagiographis nostris, tam circa pastoralis officii debita, quam aliarum quarumlibet

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[1] *ut ait Innocentius*, and *Item Eleutherius*] These not in M. Bb. In margin of C. In text of A. R., &c. These quotations are taken from the *Decretals*. The first, attributed to Innocent, is in *Epist. I. Celestini I.*, cap. i., *ad Episcopos Galliæ* (Concil. tom. ii. 1612); the second, attributed in Gratian to pope Eleutherus, is in *Epist. Isidoriana ad Galliæ Provincias* (Concil. tom. i. 590). See Gratian (*Turrecrematæ*), lib. i. pars. ii. tit. xiii. rubr. i.

[2] *Eleutherius*] So all MSS. that I have seen; *ad Eleutherium* in the *De Gestis*, and in Camden.

[3] This chapter not in M.

[4] *tam*] C. Bb. A. Ba., &c., and *De Gestis;* tamtam, R. B.; tantam, F.

rerum instructionem, multa ad terrorem constat emissa et quoniam misericordia Domini plena est terra, magis sperandum esse de clementia quam timendum de justitia: aut potius, ecclesia militans in multis decipitur. Triumphans vero non irridetur. Unde et nonnullos quos recipit hæc, despicit illa; quos prædicat hæc, abdicat illa; et e diverso. Illa quoque inter electos non immerito multos honorat, quos ista tamen prorsus ignorat. Quidam enim intus esse videntur, qui foras missi sunt; et quidam foras mitti, qui tamen intus existunt. [Quia[1] plerumque quod altum est hominibus, abominabile est apud Deum; et[2] e diverso.]

But the church militant often deceived.

[Cap. XXXII.]

De obliqua Cassiliensis archiepiscopi responsione.

Retort of the archbishop of Cashel.

Cum igitur hæc et hujusmodi Mauricio[3] Cassiliensi archiepiscopo, viro literato et discreto, coram Gerardo ecclesiæ Romanæ clerico, tunc ad partes illas legationis cujusdam vice transmisso, aliquando objecissem, et de tantis terræ illius enormitatibus in prælatos præcipue culpam refunderem; validissimum inde argumentum sumens, quod nullus unquam in regno illo pro ecclesia Dei martyrii coronam adeptus fuisset; oblique satis, et ad hominem solvens, non ad orationem, respondit; "Verum est," inquit, "quia licet gens nostra barbara "nimis, et[4] inculta, et crudelis esse videatur, viris "tamen ecclesiasticis honorem magnum et reverentiam "semper exhibere solebant, et in sanctos Dei nulla

[1] *Quia, &c.*] Not in C. Bb. A. R. B. F. In Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb. and *De Gestis.*

[2] *et e diverso*] Ba. Cl. Not in Hb. Rb. or Camden. The *De Gestis* has, "sicut et e diverso plerumque "contingit."

[3] *Mauricio*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; Tatheo, M.; Thadeo, H. Bc., and as a marginal alias in Camden.

[4] *et*] R. B. F. Not in M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.

"occasione manum extendere. Sed nunc in regnum "gens advenit, quæ martyres et facere novit et con- "suevit. Amodo[1] Hibernia, sicut et aliæ regiones, "martyres habebit."

[Cap. XXXIII.]

De campanis, et baculis, aliisque hujusmodi sanctorum reliquiis; tam ab Hibernico[2] et Scotico quam et Wallensi populo in magna reverentia habitis.

Hoc etiam non prætereundum puto, quod campanas bajulas, baculosque sanctorum in superiore parte recurvos, auro et argento vel ære contextos,[3] in magna reverentia tam Hiberniæ et Scotiæ[4] quam et Walliæ populus et clerus habere solent. Ita ut sacramenta super hæc, longe magis quam super evangelia, et præstare vereantur et pejerare. Ex vi enim quadam occulta, et his quasi divinitus insita, necnon et vindicta, cujus præcipue sancti illi appetibiles esse videntur, plerumque puniuntur contemptores, et graviter animadvertitur in transgressores.

Reverence for portable bells, and pastoral staffs of saints.

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[1] *Amodo . . habebit*] Not in M.; in H. however.

[2] *tam ab Hibernico et Scotico quam et Wallensi*] C. Bb. Ba., &c.; tam a Walensi quam Hiberniensi, M. A. In R. B. F. the heading ends with "reliquiis." All the MSS. which contain the full heading, have in addition the last part of the heading of the next chapter, "et sacerdote . . . percusso," left here by mistake. See note (1), p. 180.

[3] *contextos*] So all the MSS. In *Itin. Kamb.*, i. 2, where this chapter is repeated, the best MS. has "con- "tectos," which must be, I imagine, the right reading.

[4] *et Scotiæ quam et Walliæ*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; quam Walliæ, only, in M.

[Cap. XXXIV.]

De baculo[1] *virtuosissimo, quem baculum Jesu vocant; et sacerdote duplici passione percusso.*

The staff of Jesus.

Inter[2] universos Hiberniæ baculos, ligneæque naturæ sanctorum reliquias, virtuosus ille et famosus, quem baculum Jesu vocant, non immerito primus et præcipuus esse videtur. Per quem, vulgari opinione, sanctus Patricius venenosos ab insula vermes ejecit. Cujus siquidem tam incertus est ortus, quam certissima virtus.

A.D. 1177. Exp. Hib. ii. 20.

Nostris autem temporibus, et nostrorum opera, nobilis hic thesaurus ab Archmatia Dubliniam est translatus.

St. Patrick's horn; and punishment of a priest for sounding it.

Vidimus quoque[3] in Wallia, unde et vehementius admiramur, Hiberniensem[4] pauperem et mendicum cornu quoddam æneum,[5] quod sancti Patricii[6] fuisse dicebat, pro reliquiis in collo gestantem. Dicebat autem ob reverentiam sancti illius neminem ausum hoc sonare. Cum igitur, Hibernico more, circumstanti populo cornu porrigeret osculandum, sacerdos quidam, Bernardus nomine,

30 b.

de manibus ejus illud arripuit; et oris[7] apponens

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[1] The first part of this heading, *De baculo . . vocant*, and the first section of the chapter, *Inter . . . . translatus*, not in M. In margin of C. In text of Bb. A. R., &c. Chapters XXXIII. and XXXIV., in the first editions, as in M., and C. originally, made but one chapter, of the heading of which the second part of this heading, *et sacerdote . . percusso*, formed the conclusion. And there it was left by mistake, in all the MSS. that I have seen, at the end of the heading of chapter XXXIII. of later editions, instead of being removed to the heading of the new chapter XXXIV. I venture, nevertheless, to place it here, as certainly its right place. It is here in Camden, who probably had MS. authority for so placing it.

[2] The first section of this chapter, though not in M., is however in H., but at end of chapter, after "non "plena."

[3] *quoque*] Not in M. This, of the horn, is repeated in *Itin. Kamb.* i. 2; and in *Gem. Eccl.* i. 51 (vol. ii. 154).

[4] *Hiberniensem paup. et mend.*] M. C. Bb. A. R. B. F.; bajulum quemdam, Ba. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[5] *æneum*] C. Bb. R. B., &c.; ære distinctum, M. A. Bc.

[6] *Patricii*] C. Bb. R. B., &c.; Brendani, M. A., but Patricii, Bc.

[7] *oris apponens angulo*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; ori suo apponens, M.

angulo, aeremque impellens, sonare cœpit. Qui et eadem hora, multis astantibus, ore[1] quidem aure tenus paralytice retorto, duplici passione percussus est. Cum enim torrentis eloquii prius extitisset, et delatoris linguam detractor habuisset, sermonis cujuslibet usum statim amisit. Unde et in hac parte sic læsus est, ut semper hactenus linguæ fuerit impeditæ. Præterea lethargum patiens, sic statim oblivioni cuncta tradiderat,[2] ut vix etiam se nomen habuisse meminisset. Enimvero tam enormiter in memoria læsus fuerat, ut psalmos, quos antea corde tenus optime noverat, multis abinde diebus quasi de novo recordantem videremus; et literas etiam, quarum notitiam copiose satis habuerat, denuo mendicantem tanquam elementarium senem miraremur.

Cui[3] tandem in Hiberniam ad sanctum Patricium, excessus hujus causa, peregre profecto, plenior valetudo rediit, sed non plena.

[Cap. XXXV.]

De corpore vitiatis in hac natione quamplurimis.[4]

Ad hæc autem tot cæcos natos, tot claudos, tot corpore vitiatos, et naturæ beneficio destitutos, in alia non vidimus natione. Sicut enim qui bene formantur, exquisitissime, et nusquam melius; sic et qui male, nusquam pejus. Et sicut egregie proveniunt quos naturæ benignitas elimaverit, sic et enormiter prodeunt quos benigno favore destituerit.

Numbers of blind persons, lame, &c.

Nec mirandum si de gente adultera, gente incesta, gente illegitime nata et copulata, gente exlege, arte invida et invisa ipsam turpiter adulterante naturam, tales interdum contra naturæ legem natura producat.

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[1] *ore . . retorto*] Not in M.

[2] *tradiderat*] H. C. Bb., &c.; tradidit, M.

[3] *Cui . . plena*] Not in M.; in H. however.

[4] *quamplurimis*] C. R. B. F.; quampluribus, M. A. Ba., &c.

Et digna Dei vindicta videtur, ut qui interiore mentis lumine ad ipsum non respiciunt, hi exterioris et corporeæ lucis beneficio plerumque doleant destituti.

[Cap. XXXVI.]

Quot reges a tempore Patricii usque ad Turgesii adventum regnaverunt.

Kings; from the arrival of St. Patrick, to the time of Feidhlimidh.

De gente igitur ista, ab adventu Patricii usque ad Fedlimidii regis [1] tempora, triginta tres reges per quadringentos annos in Hibernia regnaverunt. Quorum diebus fides Christiana hic illibata permansit et inconcussa.

[Cap. XXXVII.]

Quod tempore Fedlimidii regis, Norwagienses, Turgesio duce, Hiberniam expugnaverunt.

Invasion of Norwegians, under Tuirgeis.

In hujus vero Fedlimidii regis tempore, Norwagienses in magna classe Hibernica litora [2] appulerunt. Qui et in manu forti terram occupantes, et gentili furore debacchantes, ecclesias fere omnes destruxerunt. Horum autem dux, Turgesius vocatus, multis variisque conflictibus et bellis atrocibus totam sibi insulam in brevi subjugavit; et pererratis totius regni finibus, totam undique terram locis idoneis incastellavit. Unde et fossata infinita, alta nimis, rotunda quoque, et pleraque triplicia; castella etiam murata, et adhuc integra, vacua

Ireland subdued by him.

Norwegian fortresses.

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[1] Feidhlimidh was king of Munster only, in the second quarter of the ninth century. He attempted, however, the sovereignty, and is called king of all Ireland in some of the annals.

[2] After *littora* Camden has, "anno "octingentesimo trigesimo octavo." This in no MS. that I have seen. It was, probably, some twenty years or more before this date of Camden, circa A.D. 815, that the invasion under Tuirgeis commenced. But he is not named in many Irish Annals before about 836.

tamen et deserta, ex[1] reliquiis illis et antiquitatis vestigiis hic usque in hodiernum multa reperies. Hibernicus enim populus castella non curat. Silvis namque pro castris, paludibus utitur pro fossatis.

Turgesius itaque regnum Hibernicum aliquamdiu pacifice rexit, donec puellarum dolo delusus occubuit.[2]

[Cap. XXXVIII.]

Quod Angli Gurmundum, Hibernici Turgesium Hiberniam dicunt subjugasse.

According to British accounts, 31. the conqueror of Ireland was not Tuirgeis, but Gurmund. See Geoffrey, xi. 8.

Ceterum hoc mihi mirandum videtur, quod noster Anglorum populus Gurmundum clamat Hiberniam subjugasse, et tam castra prædicta quam fossata struxisse; de Turgesio nullam penitus faciens mentionem. Hibernienses vero, et eorum historiæ scriptæ, Turgesium prædicant: Gurmundum autem prorsus ignorant. Unde et quidam semel a Gurmundo, et iterum a Turgesio insulam dicunt subjugatam. Sed hoc Hibernicis historiis adversatur. Quæ tantum semel ante hæc nostra tempora, et tunc a Turgesio, gentem Hibernicam testantur expugnatam. Alii vero eundem fuisse asserunt, sed binomium; et quem nos Gurmundum, Hibernienses Turgesium vocare. Sed hoc etiam dissimiles eorum obitus, et finis diversus, stare non permittunt.

Verior igitur et verisimilior habet historia, quod Gurmundo in Britanniæ regno, quod sibi subjugaverat, jam in sceptris agente, Turgesium[3] istum cum electa

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[1] *ex*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.; et, R. B. F.

[2] *occubuit*] A. R. B. F.; interiit, M. C. Bb. Ba., &c.

[3] The making Gurmund and Tuirgeis contemporaneous is a marvellous exploit in chronology, even for Giraldus Cambrensis. Gurmund, indeed, is not known in history, but if Geoffrey's impossible legend of him has any fragment of truth at the bottom of it, then the person whom he romances into this African king, conqueror of Ireland and England, must have lived about the middle of the sixth century, some 300 years, or nearly, before the time of Tuirgeis.

juventute ad hanc insulam expugnandam in classis suæ non modica parte transmisit. Qui Turgesius, quoniam et[1] expeditionis hujus tribunus fuerat, et terra subacta diu sub Gurmundo quasi regni rector et senescallus permansit, gens Hibernica ejus solius quem præsentialiter et vidit et novit, et a quo tanta mala sustinuit, tam nomen quam famam perpetuæ memoriæ commendavit.

[Cap. XXXIX.]

Unde in Hiberniam vel Britanniam Gurmundus advenerit.

Geoffrey, xi. 8. In Britannica legitur historia, Gurmundum ab Affrica in Hiberniam advectum, et inde in Britanniam a Saxonibus accitum, Cirecestriam obsidione cinxisse: qua tandem[2] capta, et passerum, ut fertur, maleficio igne succensa, ignobili quoque tunc Britonum rege Keredicio in Kambriam expulso, totius regni dominium in brevi obtinuisse.

Sive ergo Affricanus, seu, quod verius esse videtur, Norwagiensis fuerit, vel in Hibernia nunquam fuit, vel, relicto ibidem Turgesio, modici temporis in ea moram fecit.

[Cap. XL.]

Qualiter, interfecto in Gallia Gurmundo, Turgesius in Hibernia dolo puellarum delusus occubuit.[3]

Gurmundo itaque in Galliarum partibus interfecto, et barbarorum jugo a Britannicis collis ea occasione jam[4] depulso, gens Hibernica ad consuetas artis iniquæ decipulas non inefficaci molimine statim recurrit.

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[1] *et*] Not in M.

[2] *qua tandem . . tunc*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; eaque capta, et ignobili tunc, M.

[3] *occubuit*] C. Bb. R. B., &c.; interiit, M. A. No *delusus* in A.

[4] *jam*] M. C. Bb. Ba., &c. Not in A. R. B. F.

Cum igitur ea tempestate filiam regis Medensis, scilicet Omachlachelini, Turgesius adamasset, rex ille, virus sub pectore versans, filiam suam ipsi concedens, ad insulam quamdam[1] Mediæ, in stagno scilicet Locherino,[2] illam cum quindecim puellis egregiis ei missurum se spopondit. Quibus et Turgesius gavisus, cum totidem nobilioribus gentis suæ, statuto die et loco obviam venit. Et inveniens in insula quindecim adolescentes imberbes, animosos, et ad hoc electos, sub habitu puellari dolum palliantes, cultellis, quos occulte secum attulerant, statim inter ipsos amplexus Turgesius cum suis occubuit.

Death of Tuirgeis, A.D. 843.

[Cap. XLI.]

De Norwagiensibus, qui circiter annos triginta regnaverant, ab Hibernia expulsis.

Fama igitur pernicibus alis totam statim insulam pervolante, et rei eventum ut assolet divulgante, Norwagienses ubique truncantur. Et in brevi omnes omnino, seu vi seu dolo, vel morti traduntur, vel iterum Norwagiam et insulas unde venerant navigio adire compelluntur.

Expulsion of the Norwegians.

[Cap. XLII.]

De Medensis regis quæstione dolosa.

Quæsiverat autem a Turgesio prædictus Medensium rex, et in dolo, nequitia jam animo concepta, quonam

Subtle question of the king of Meath.

[1] *quamdam*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c. Not in R. B. F.

[2] *Locherino*] C. R. B., &c.; de Lochuer, M. Bb. A. Loch-Uair, now Lough Owel, in Westmeath. According to the Irish Annals, Tuirgeis fell into Maelseachlainn's hands, and was drowned in Loch-Uair by his orders, A.D. 843. His death by the princess and her fifteen maids, as here related, seems to rest on no better authority than Giraldus himself.

tenore vel arte aves quædam, in regnum nuper advectæ, terræ toti patriæque pestiferæ, destrui possent

31 b. et deleri. Cumque responsum accepisset, nidos eorum ubique destruendos, si jam forte nidificassent, de castellis Norwagiensium hoc interpretantes, mortuo Turgesio, in eorum destructionem per totam Hibernienses insulam unanimiter insurrexerunt.

Destruction of Norwegian fortresses.

Annos igitur circa triginta Norwagiensium pompa, et Turgesii tyrannis, in Hibernia perduravit; et deinde gens Hibernica, servitute depulsa, et pristinam libertatem recuperavit, et ad regni gubernacula denuo successit.

[Cap. XLIII.]

De Ostmannorum[1] *adventu.*

Invasion again of the Norwegians or Ostmen.

Non multo vero post tempore, iterum de Norwagiæ et insularum borealium partibus, quasi de reliquiis gentis prioris, et quia vel oculata fide vel parentum relatione terram optimam noverant, non in bellica classe, sed sub pacis obtentu, et quasi mercaturæ exercendæ prætextu, in insulam quidam advenerunt. Qui et maritimos Hiberniæ portus statim occupantes, tandem de assensu principum terræ civitates in ipsis varias construxerunt. Quoniam enim innatæ otiositatis vitio gens Hibernica, ut diximus, nec maria lustrare, nec mercaturæ indulgere aliquatenus voluerat,[2] de communi totius regni consilio perutile videbatur, ut gens aliqua, cujus opera aliarum regionum commercia, quibus hæc terra caruerat, huc advehi possent, in aliquibus regni partibus admitteretur.

[1] *Ostmannorum*] The spelling is frequently "Oustmanni," but *Ostmanni* is perhaps the most general in the earlier and best MSS.

[2] *voluerat*] M. C. Bb. Ba., &c.; assueverat, A. R. B. F.

Fuerunt autem duces istorum tres fratres, Amelavus[1] scilicet, Sitaracus, et Yvorus. Constructis itaque primo civitatibus tribus, Dublinia, Waterfordia, Limerico, Dubliniæ principatus cessit Amelavo, Waterfordiæ Sitaraco, Limerici Yvoro. Et ex his paulatim, ad alias Hiberniæ civitates construendas, processu temporis sunt derivati.

Occupation by them of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick

Gens igitur hæc, quæ nunc Ostmannica gens vocatur, in primis terræ istius regibus satis tractabiles fuerant et pacifici. Sed ex quo in immensum generis numerositate jam excreverant, et civitates fossatis[2] et muris optime cinxerant, antiquas inimicitias alta mente repositas nonnunquam renovare, et acriter rebellare solebant.

Dicti[3] sunt autem Ostmanni lingua ipsorum, corrupto quodam Saxonico, quasi orientales homines. Respectu namque terræ istius ab orientalibus huc partibus undecunque advecti sunt.

Nª unde securium usum habuerunt.

Ex hoc igitur, et priori[4] Norwagiensium adventu, de quibus parum securi fuerant, usum securium Hibernici[5] contraxerunt; et malitiam, quam ipsi ab aliis susceperant, æmula malorum doctrina in alios multoties transfuderunt.

[1] *Amelavus*] M. C. Bb. A. Ba.; Amelaus, R. B. F. The three brothers, Amhlaeibh (Anlaf, *Anglice*), Sitric, and Imhar (Ivar), occur in Irish history, as early as A.D. 851, as kings respectively of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. They are said to have been sons of the king of Norway.

[2] *fossatis*] M. C. Bb. A. B. Ba., &c.; fossatas, R. F.

[3] *Dicti . . . advecti sunt*] This section not in M. or Bb.; in H., however, after next section. In margin of C. In text of A. R. B., &c.

[4] *priori*] R. B. F.; priorum, M. C. Bb. A. Ba., &c.

[5] *Hibernici*] A. R. B. F. Not in M. C. Bb. Ba., &c.

[Cap. XLIV.]

Quot reges in Hibernia regnaverunt, ab obitu Turgesii, usque ad ultimum Hiberniæ monarcham Rothericum.

Kings; from the death of Tuirgeis, to Roderic of Connaught.

Igitur a tempore Fedlimidii regis, et obitu Turgesii, usque ad [1] Rotherici Connactensis regnum, qui ultimus de hac gente monarcha fuit, et usque [2] hodie Connacciæ præsidet; cujus etiam tempore, et per quem rex Lageniæ, Dermitius scilicet Murchardi filius, a regno expulsus fuerat; [3] septemdecim reges in Hibernia regnaverunt.

[Cap. XLV.]

Quot reges fuerunt a primo Herimone, usque ad [4] hunc ultimum Rothericum.

Whole number, from Eremhon the first king.

Est itaque numerus omnium regum, qui a primo gentis hujus rege Herimone usque ad hunc ultimum Rothericum Hiberniam rexerunt, CLXXXI. Quorum nomina, gesta, et tempora hic prætereo; tum quia pauca in his insignia et memoratu digna reperio, tum etiam ne compendium nostrum inutilis prolixitas impediret.

Prædicti vero reges non alicujus coronationis solemnitate, non inunctionis sacramento, non etiam jure hereditario, vel aliqua successionis proprietate, sed vi
32. tantum et armis, totius insulæ monarchiam obtinuerunt, et suo more regni gubernacula susceperunt.

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[1] *ad*] M. A. F. Not in C. R. B. Ba., &c.

[2] *et usque . . . præsidet*] Not in M. Roderic O'Conor, who succeeded his father Turlough as king of Connaught in 1156, became monarch of Ireland in 1166. He died in 1198.

[3] *fuerat*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; est, M.

[4] *ad*] Bb. R. B., &c. Not in M. C. A.

[Cap. XLVI.]

Quod a primo adventu suo usque ad Turgesium,[1] *et ab obitu Turgesii usque ad Anglorum regem Henricum secundum, gens Hibernica manserit inconcussa.*

Gens[2] igitur Hibernica, a primo adventus sui tempore, et primi illius Herimonis regno, usque ad Gurmundi et Turgesii tempora, quibus et turbata quies et interrupta aliquamdiu fuit ejus tranquillitas, iterumque ab eorum obitu usque ad hæc nostra tempora, ab omni alienarum gentium incursu libera mansit et inconcussa: donec per vos, rex invictissime, et vestræ animositatis audacia, his denuo nostris diebus est subjugata.

The Irish nation never subdued, except by Tuirgeis, until by Henry II.

Anno[3] videlicet ætatis vestræ quadragesimo[4] primo, regni vestri septimo decimo, ab incarnatione vero Domini MCLXXII°.

[Cap. XLVII.]

De victoriis Anglorum regis Henrici secundi.

Hactenus historia. Ab hinc autem de titulis regis, regiæque prolis.

Certant enim cum orbe terrarum victoriæ vestræ: cum a Pirenæis montibus usque in occiduos et extremos borealis oceani fines, Alexander noster occidentalis,

Victories of Henry II.

[1] *Turgesium*] So all the MSS. except Bb., which has "Gurmun-" "dum et ad Turgesium;" and "eorum" instead of *Turgesii* directly afterwards.

[2] Chapters XLVI.–LIII. form part of our author's elegant extracts in his *Symbolum Electorum*; as in the Cambridge Trin.Coll. MS. (T.). Chapters XLVI., XLVII., and part of XLVIII., are repeated also in the *De Instructione Principum*, p. 55, &c.

[3] *Anno, &c.*] This section not in M.

[4] *quadragesimo*] C. Bb.; quadragesimo primo, A. R. B. F. T. Ba., &c. Henry was born in 1132, and landed in Ireland in October 1171. The fortieth year of his age would therefore seem to be the right date. Compare *Expug. Hibern.*, i. 30 (last section).

brachium extendisti. Quantum igitur his in partibus natura terras, tantum et victorias extulisti. Si excursuum tuorum metæ quærantur, prius deerit orbis quam aderit finis. Animoso quippe pectori cessare possunt terræ, cessare nesciunt victoriæ; nec deesse poterunt triumphi, sed materia triumphandi.

[Cap. XLVIII.]

De titulis et triumphis ejusdem variis recapitulatio brevis.

Glories and triumphs of Henry II.

Qualiter igitur titulis et triumphis vestris Hibernicus orbis accesserit:

Quanta et quam laudabili virtute, oceani secreta, et occulta naturæ deposita transpenetraveris:

Quam præmature et intempestive, quam celerrime et scelerosissime, intestina conspiratione ab ausu nobili revocatus fueris: victoria tamen completa, sed nondum in formam regione redacta:

Qualiter fulguranti adventus vestri lumine attoniti, occidentales reguli, tanquam ad lucubram aviculæ, ad vestrum statim imperium convolaverint:

Quam innaturaliter et illaudabiliter conjurata in ventrem viscera tam orientales Asiæ quam etiam Hispaniæ victorias vestras, quas et occidentalibus continuare, et fidem Christi egregie dilatare, animo excelso jam conceperas, tam pravo et iniquo consilio, totique fidelium orbi damnosissimo distulerint:

Quantam misericordiam, et quam laudabilem in principe et capitaliter offenso rege clementiam, perpetuaque memoria et exemplo dignissimam, superborum [1] et sublimium collis mira virtute calcatis, et hostibus ubique triumphatis, in reges et principes victos rex et victor exercueris. Et vere rex victor, animum virtute

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[1] *superborum . . calcatis et*] Not in M.

regens, iramque modestia vincens; illud quoque *Heroidum* memoriter recolens,

"Vince animos, iramque tuam, qui cetera vincis;" Ovid. Her. iii. 85.

et illud nobile Gaii Cæsaris elogium alta mente revolvens, "Perierat totus orbis, nisi iram finiret misericordia:"

Libellum quoque [1] Senecæ, *De Clementia ad Neronem*, præ manibus sæpe, ad manum vero semper habens, et illud Augusto datum auguste consilium non ignorans; "Fac," inquit,[2] "ut medici facere solent; qui, cum [3] usitata remedia non procedunt, tentant contraria:"

Quam præclare et expresse illud prætextati [4] maximi et oratoris optimi actibus impleveris, "Fortis viri est, qui de victoria contendunt eos hostes putare; qui victi fuerint eos homines judicare. Ut possit bellum fortitudo minuere, pacem humanitas augere."

Quanto [5] studio, quantaque et quam laudabili regio in sanguine diligentia, a prima ætate annisque pueritiæ 32 b.
studia literarum amplexus fueris; illius Ieronimi non immemor, "Radix [6] literarum amara est, fructus vero dulcis;" et illius regis et prophetæ David, "Erudimini, qui judicatis terram"; Ps. ii. 10. illud quoque Salomonis Salomon alter ad animum revocans, "Literarum [7] eruditione senectuti viaticum præparatur, et disciplinata juventus ætatem confert fructuosam:"

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[1] *Libellum quoque*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; Totumque libellum, M.

[2] *inquit*] Not in M.

[3] *cum . . . procedunt*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; cum acuta non profecerint medicamina, M.

[4] *prætextati . . optimi*] C. Bb. A. R., &c.; (T., however, and Cl. having "prætaxati"); optimi oratoris, M. Cicero must be the author meant, but I have failed to find the passage in his works.

[5] *Quanto, &c.*] All henceforward not in M., except the last section of chapter LIV. *infra*, which concludes this chapter, and the whole book, in the first edition.

[6] Jerome says, (*Ep.* 125, *ad Rusticum Monachum; Ep.* 4 of old editions,) "De amaro semine literarum dulces fructus carpo;" which I suppose to be the passage here loosely quoted. Giraldus has this quotation again, in *Itin. Kamb.* i. 8 (p. 844, l. 21, of Camden), where it is ascribed to Solomon.

[7] This quotation from Solomon not in the Vulgate.

Qualiter, istorum et consimilium[1] exemplo, literatus princeps effectus, et in ethicis disciplinis decenter eruditus, inter universos mundi principes tanquam lucida gemma præfulseris, summisque philosophis tam ingenii dote, diviteque vena, quam instructionis et eruditionis ope in brevi coæquandus, si non ab institutis literarum tam intempestive raptus fueris ad curas terrarum. Quo tamen in utraque militia, in utroque videlicet tam Martis quam Minervæ studio, teneris in annis gloriam adepto, indoli egregiæ, stirpique Cæsareæ, virtus contigit ante diem:

Quanta et quam incomparabili in terris gratia, desuper tamen et divinitus collata, discordantia regna propria virtute, aliena consilio et auctoritate, pacis amator et auctor pacificaveris:

Qualiter eximiæ strenuitatis vestræ, tantique nominis et terribilis adventus opinio et fama, meritis longe minor, orbem illustrans, debacchantem tam Asiæ quam Europæ gentilium furorem cohibuerit; et ecclesiæ Christi tranquillitatem et pacem egregie comparaverit:

Quam in longinquos et advenas, ad ampliorem famæ cumulum, prodiga liberalitas, profusa benignitas; et non absque enormi domesticorum damno, semper in exteros cæca largitio:

Et quoniam

Hor. 1 Ser. iii. 68.

"Vitiis sine nemo nascitur, optimus ille est
"Qui minimis urgetur,"

quanto discrimine nitidissimæ famæ vestræ candorem maculæ quædam obfuscant; et tantæ tam inclitæ gloriæ splendorem, quasi solis faciem, nubila quinque[2] pertranseunt.

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[1] *consimilium*] A. R. B. F.; similium, C. Bb. T. Ba., &c.

[2] *quinque*] So every MS. I have seen, except the 16th century Bc., which has "ubique."

Qualiter etiam ab ineunte ætate quasi vias vestras dirigens, et aspera quæque complanans, in regni detentores, pacisque vestræ turbatores graviter animadvertens, regi pacifico, totique fidelium populo tam futuro proficuo, ut ad votum cuncta successerint, divinus favor semper arriserit: [hæc,[1] inquam, ad plenum singula quis explicabit?]

[Cap. XLIX.]

De titulis filiorum: et primo de Anglorum rege Henrico tertio.

Sed quoniam

Semper [2] adest homini quo pectoris ima gemiscant,
Ne possit plena prosperitate frui:
Gaudia nunc luctu, nunc mutat amara secundis,
Versans humanas sors inopina vices:
Sola venire solent, et vix, et sero secunda;
Et simul et subito semper amara fluunt;

adeo, inquam, felices fecundans eventus, cunctis propemodum in actibus tibi divina benignitas illa semper arrisit,[3] et utinam in finem perseveraverit, ut tanquam ad vivum resecans, et medicina modum excedens, pie sæviens et impie fovens, propriis in patrem furentibus filiis, et patrios ante diem annos incurrentibus,[4] patri tamen plus fere quam patri carissimis, ob patris favorem non pepercit.

Rebellion of Henry's sons.

Quorum[5] omnium præcipuus, et uno dempto primævus, paterno tam nomine fungens quam honore, de

Character, &c., of Henry the

[1] *hæc . . . explicabit*] Not in C. Bb. A. R. B. F. In T. Ba. Cl., &c.

[2] These lines Giraldus produces as his own, in his *Symbolum Electorum*. See vol. i. p. 354.

[3] *arrisit*] C. Bb. R., &c.; arriserit, A.

[4] *incurrentibus*] C. A. R., &c.; inquirentibus, Bb.
" Filius ante diem patrios inqui-
" rit in annos."
Ovid. Met., i. 148.

[5] *Quorum, &c.*] Hence to end of the chapter is in the *De Instr. Princ.* p. 31, &c.

young king. magno major, de luce lucidior; et, tanquam alter Priameius Hector, suis honor, hostibus horror, omnibus amor. Inter armatas acies tanquam de igne fulgur egrediens, cunctorumque mentibus vel unica spes vel metus existens,

Omnis[1] honoris honos, decor et decus urbis et orbis;
33. Militiæ splendor, gloria, lumen apex;
Julius ingenio, virtutibus Hector, Achilles
Viribus, Augustus moribus, ore Paris.

Inermis siquidem privatusque, lenis et affabilis, mitis et amabilis, injuriarum quarumlibet data occasione pius indultor, quantumlibet reos longe pronior absolvere quam condemnare. Qui et animum sic instituerat, ut nihil unquam dono dignum cuiquam denegaret; neminem tristem, neminem nisi voti compotem a se discedere dignum ducens. Illum denique sibi diem perditum ire reputans, quo non sibi multimoda liberalitate multos alliceret, multorumque tam corda quam corpora multiplici beneficiorum largitione compararet.

In armis vero, rebusque militaribus, galeato jam capite, sublimis, effrenis, atrox, longeque fera ferocior omni. Ubique fere virtute magis quam fortuna triumphans, et Hectora Priamiden expresse repræsentans: nisi quod ille pro patre patriaque, hic vero, pravorum consilio, proh dolor, e contra militabat.

Hoc unum ei votum et desiderii caput extiterat, tantæ strenuitatis exercendæ materiam[2] et tempus assequi posse, quo viri virtus digne valuerit enitere.

Unde et quoniam nihil humanum omni ex parte perfectum esse potest, tantam naturalium bonorum gratiam in unum congeri livida natura detrectans, tandem tamen niveo candori nævum adjecit, splendi-

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[1] *Omnis, &c.*] These lines again, as Giraldus's own, in the *Symb. Elect.* (vol. i. 355).

[2] After *materiam* is "tanquam "Julius alter," in *De Instr. Princ.*

dissimum virum solius ingratitudinis vitio, et optimi patris vexatione, notabilem reddens.

De quo, inter cetera sui prodigia, et hoc pro miraculo duci potuit; quod hominem, terris et thesauris ex toto carentem, totus fere mundus sequebatur. Qui, ut sperabatur, et mundi monarchiam in brevi reformasset, si non tam præpropere, tam præmature, tam inopinate, vernantem florem verno in tempore invida fatorum series rapuisset.

Tempore scilicet ætatis suæ triateride nona, coronationis anno quartodecimo, ab incarnatione vero Domini M.C.LXXXII.[1]

[Cap. L.]

De titulis Pictaviensis.

Sequens vero,[2] cujus digna laudum præconia vox præconis non silebit, provida patris dispositione paternæ nomen,[3] maternæ stirpis honorem statim adeptus, terram hactenus indomitam in tenera ætate tanta virtute rexit et domuit, ut non tantum ipsam per omnes ejus anfractus longe plenius et tranquillius solito pacificaret, verum etiam mutilata dudum et dispersa redintegrans, strenua virtute pristinos in status singula revocaret. Richard earl of Poitou.

In formam igitur informia redigens, in normam enormia quæque reducens, fortia confundens, et aspera complanans, antiquos Aquitaniæ[4] terminos et jura reformavit.

Fortunam siquidem urgens, et se in anteriora pro-

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[1] He was born February 28, 1155, and crowned June 14, 1170. He died June 11, 1183, 29th of his age, 13th of his coronation. Giraldus is generally wrong in dates.

[2] *Sequens vero, &c.*] This chapter in *De Instr. Princ.*, p. 104, &c.

[3] After *nomen* is "renuens," in *De Instr. Princ.*

[4] Richard was made duke of Aquitaine, on the completion of the 22nd year of his age, in A.D. 1179. *Diceto*, 675.

tendens, tempora sibi contemperans, et semper successibus instans, Cæsarque secundus

Lucan, Phars. ii. 657. "Nil credens actum cum quid superesset agendum,"

rebusque in bellicis furibundus in arma, nec ullas nisi sanguine fuso gaudens incedere vias: cujus quoque nec prærupta montium latera, nec aereæ turres, arte situque hactenus inexpugnabiles, tam artificiosos quam virtuosos, nunc arduos et sublimes nunc subterraneos animosi pectoris impetus prævalent impedire.

Sed quoniam semper

Ovid, Rem. Am., 323. "Mala sunt vicina bonis: errore sub ipso
"Pro vitio virtus crimina sæpe tulit,"

33 b. pacis et justitiæ zelo defervens, ut in primis gentis indomitæ reprimeret audaciam, tutamque inter nocentes[1] redderet innocentiam, in male meritos juris rigore desæviens, unde non indigne laudem a dignis promereri debuerat, lividorum latratibus cœpit in commune crudelitate notari. Quam quidem et ob hoc constat sine causa notam incurri,[2] quod residentibus paulisper causis, mansuetudinem induens et clementiam, citra rigidum, longeque trans remissum, ad aureum illud medium accedens, paulatim rigor ille resedit.

Præterea, qui contulit naturam contulit et naturæ passionem. Ad reprimendos namque ferocissimos animi ipsius motus, hic leo noster, et plusquam leo, quartanæ stimulo leonino more vexatur. Quo sic continue fere tremit nec trepidat, ut et sui tremore mundum universum tremere faciat et timere.

Inter varias igitur quibus præeminet virtutes, peculiari quadam prærogativa trina hunc insignia incomparabiliter reddunt illustrem; strenuitas et animositas eximia; largitas et dapsilitas immensa; superlaudabilis in principe, ceterasque adornans virtutes, tam animi quam verbi firma constantia.

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[1] *nocentes*] C. R. B. F. Ba., &c.; innocentes, Bb. A.

[2] "incurrisse" in *De Instr. Princ.*

Et ut brevi eloquio laudis ad cumulum multa concludam, egregio fratri sola est ætate et non virtute secundus.[1]

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[1] In the *Symbolum Electorum* (T.) is added as follows. This is in no MS. of the *Topographia* that I have seen. It is in the *De Instr. Princ.*, with two or three small additions (p. 106, &c.), where it comes after the three first sections of Cap. LI. *infra*. "Sunt etiam hic addenda "prioribus, ea quæ ex post factis "adjicienda cognovimus. Quanto "strenuitatis indicio, Angliæ coro- "nam adeptus, in peregrinatione "postmodum Ierosolimitana Mes- "sanæ muros irrupit, et, intus ex- "istente Francorum rege Philippo, "eandem nihilominus viriliter in- "trando debellavit: insulam Cy- "pricam, piratis asylum hactenus "et paganis, felici navigio subju- "gavit; et tyrannum, qui impera- "toris quoque nomen sibi usurpa- "verat, captivum abduxit: dro- "mundum Saladini, ad Aconem "muniendum armis et victualibus "refertum, obiter offendendo per "galeas audacter expugnare, ros- "trisque ferratis subtus penetrare, "donec mari absorptum videret, "non cessavit: demum Aconem "veniens, murosque statim suffo- "diens et dejiciens, urbem potenter "expugnavit, et tria Turcorum "millia in ore gladii decollavit: "catervam Babilonicam, ad muni- "tionem Ierosolimæ de Egipto "transmissam, non procul a Darone "confecit, et multis Turcorum mi- "libus qui eam deduxerant manu "modica sed electa in fugam con- "versis, tria camelorum milia gazis "Egiptiis onerata reduxit: et quod "omnium majus erat et animosius, "urbem Joppen a Turcis iterum "occupatam, armis quoque et viri- "bus refertam, navigio exiguo "nimis et exili recuperavit; et tam "modicis viribus, quoniam 'Au- "'dentes fortuna juvat,' tot Tur- "corum milia, collatis signis et "erectis temerario potius ausu "quam provido, cruentam in fugam "dimicando convertit et confecit.

Virg. Æn., x. 284.

"Quæ quidem omnia si humiliter, "animoque puro ac simplici, et in- "tentione mera, superbia videlicet "et invidia procul expulsis, ad "Deum omnia referens agere curas- "set, Dominoque dedisset gloriam "quoties aliquid fecerat gloriosum, "cuncta per ipsum, ut creditur, "laudabili fine completa fuissent. "Sed quoniam

"'Vitiis sine nemo nascitur, op-
"'timus ille est
"'Qui minimis urgetur;'

Hor. 1 S., iii. 68.

"et quoniam nemo sine crimine "vivit, et 'Nihil omni parte bea- "'tum;' 'Nihilque,' ut ait Tullius, "'simplici in genere omni ex parte "'perfectum natura expolivit,' inter "universos nostri temporis prin- "cipes strenuissimum hunc confi- "dentissime dixerim, si præter alias "quibus præeminet virtutes, et va- "rias quibus emicat tam naturæ "quam industriæ dotes, tribus ip- "sum virtutibus præditum esse "datum fuisset."

Hor. 2 Od., xvi. 27. Cic. De Invent. Rhetor. ii. 3.

[CAP. LI.]

De diversitate duorum.

Differences in characters, &c., of the princes Henry and Richard.

Diversis[1] igitur tam moribus quam studiis, eodem ex germine eademque radice, duo cum fuerint, perpetuæ tamen laudis gloriam, æternitatisque memoriam uterque promeruit.

Ambo igitur staturæ grandis, pauloque plusquam mediocris; et formæ dignæ imperio. Strenuitas illis et animi magnitudo fere par; sed via virtutis valde dispar. Ille lenitate laudabilis et liberalitate, iste severitate spectabilis et stabilitate: ille suavitate commendabilis, hic gravitate: illi facilitas, huic constantia laudem peperit: ille misericordia conspicuus, iste justitia: ille miserorum et male meritorum refugium, iste supplicium: ille malorum clipeus, iste malleus: Martiis ille ludis[2] addictus, hic seriis: ille extraneis, iste suis: ille omnibus, iste bonis: ille magnanimitate mundum ambiebat, iste sibi de jure competentia non inefficaciter appetebat.

Sed quid per singula curro? Tantos ab uno principe duos, et tam diversissimos, nec præsens ætas nec ulla recolit antiquitas.

Tanta nimirum et tam varia virtutum incrementa, longeque si fieri posset ampliora, diversi diversa plene et abunde nobili poterant a stirpe contrahere. Quicquid enim in utroque fere virtutis invenias, noveris in ramos a radice transfusum. Quis enim nobilissimo patre vel piis clementior, vel sævis atrocior? Longe tamen in clementiam pietate proclivior: in omni fere victoria pro summa reputans vindicta vindicare potuisse. Quis in armata militia strenuior? Quis in

[1] The three first sections of this chapter, *Diversis . . antiquitas*, are in *De Instr. Princ.*, p. 105, 106.

[2] *Martiis ille ludis*] A. R. B. F. T. Ba., &c.; ille ludicris, C. Bb.

togata subtilior?[1] Quis unquam vel leni jocundior, vel gravi maturior?

Et, ut veris historia non fraudetur; quamvis tamen interdum noceat omnia vera loqui; periculosum quippe est, quantalibet occasione in illum scribere qui potest proscribere; meticulosa res in illum allegare qui potest relegare; quis ignobilibus nobilior, quis nobilibus ignobilior? Quis humiliatum magis elevat? Quis elevatum magis humiliat? Item, quis exteris honoratior? Quis suis onerosior? Quis inquam, vel amicis alienior, vel alienis amicior?

Sic[2] etenim nunc aliena simulans, nunc propria dissimulans, tam flexibilem ex summa prudentia reddidit naturam, ut multis multiformis, et omnibus omnis effectus, pro locis et temporibus omnia sibi conformaret.

[Cap. LII.]

De Britone, et Hibernico.

Dignas[3] quoque duorum sequentium laudes Armorica Britannia et Hibernica regna proclamant. Ambo hi staturæ modicæ, pauloque mediocri plus pusillæ; et formæ pro quantitatis captu satis idoneæ.

Geoffrey, duke of Bretagne, and John lord of Ireland.

Horum igitur alter, virtutibus insignis, titulisque jam summus;[4] et alter erit. Ille militaribus negotiis plene instructus, hic instruendus: ille in spica, hic messis in herba: ille in re magnus, hic in spe magnificandus. Ille, stirpe ab inclita non degener, nobilissimos fratres virtute pro viribus æquiparavit: huic ab utroque pariete[5] virtus originaliter inserta, suo in tempore degenerare non poterit.

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[1] *subtilior*] C. A. R., &c.; rigidior, Bb.

[2] *Sic*] C. Bb. Ba. Cl., &c.; Hic, R. B. F.

[3] This chapter in *De Instr. Princ.*, p. 35, &c.

[4] *summus*] C. Bb. A. B. Ba., &c.; summis, R. F.

[5] *pariete*] C. Bb. A. R. B. F. T.; and Ba., but with *vel ente* over the *iete*; vel parente pariete, Cl. Rb.; parente, *De Instr. Princ.* Camden has, *vel parente vel pariete.*

Ille vir eloquens et astutus; et quia de facili falli non potuit, fallere si nollet prudentissimus. Duabus militiis, diversisque naturis, tam Ulixem præferens quam Achillem; proh dolor! in patrem semper ingratus existens, magnique fratris vestigia nimis in hoc expressa sequens; plus aloes intus quam mellis habens, in facie vero mollito super oleum effluens sermone, suavi quoque suadaque facundia diffœderare prævalens conjunctissima, linguaque potens duo regna corrumpere; mirabili industria rerum omnium simulator varius et dissimulator. Sed quoniam vir linguosus et ingratus non dirigetur in terra, Dominus non direxit vias ejus, [nec[1] multiplicavit dies ejus.]

Juv. vi. 181.

Hic vero fluxæ ferventisque juventæ tam laqueis illectus, quam stimulis irretitus;

Hor. A. P. 163.

"Cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper;"

tempori se conformans, et naturæ motibus non repugnans. Ratione siquidem ætatis, mollitiis hactenus magis addictus quam militiis, deliciis quam duritiis, Veneri[2] quam virtuti; [juvenili[3] quippe magis adhuc levitati, quam virili quo nondum attigit maturitati.] Illa plurimum exercitatus militia, qua militat omnis amans: per quam et bonæ indolis adolescentes ad armatam plerumque militiam animari solent, et a Cupidinis castris ad Palladis arces et artes sublimari. Sicut ergo viridis juventæ propria, sic et sequentium ætatum jura sequetur. Unde et quoniam

Hor. 1 Ep. xiv. 36.

"Non lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum,"

juvenilis excusabilis est levitas, cum laudabilis fuerit ipsa maturitas:

"Tunc prima est inculpabilis ætas,
"Cum ludis ponunt tempora metas."

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[1] *nec mult. dies ejus*] Not in C. Bb. A. R. B. F. In T. Ba. Cl., &c.

[2] *Veneri quam virtuti*] C. Bb. A. R. B. F. T. Not in Ba. Cl., &c.

[3] *juvenili . . maturitati*] Not in C. Bb. A. R. B. F. T. Not in *De Instr. Princ.* In Ba. Cl., &c.

Ille, arbor in radicem ramos convertens, radices altas facere nequivit. Ultimus hic fratrum, et utinam futurus virtute non ultimus, utrique parenti fere [1] semper obtemperans, longævus in terris [et [2] felix] esse promeruit. [Cujus [3] etiam descriptioni vulgatum illud Merlini Ambrosii vaticinium, de illo qui Hiberniæ mœnia subvertet dictum, utinam sic vere consonet sicut et verisimiliter consonare videtur: "Principium," inquit, "ejus vago affectui succumbet, et finis ad superos convolabit."]

[Cap. LIII.]

De fratrum inter se, et cum patre discordia.

Dii [4] boni! Si tanti fratres fraterno se invicem fœdere, filialique affectu patrem filii respexissent, duplicique simul,[5] tam benevolentiæ scilicet [5] quam naturæ vinculo astricti fuissent, quanta et quam inæstimabilis, quam[6] inclita et incomparabilis in ævum et patris fuisset gloria, et prolis victoria! O quam digna memoria, et Maronis ingenio digne explicanda historia! Quæ nam virtus his viribus, quive reges his regibus, tantisque belli ducibus quæ regna resisterent? Ad tantæ virtutis exercendæ materiam mundus ipse minor est: ad explicandos triumphales tantæ virtutis titulos, terræ superficies non [7] sufficeret.

In quantum igitur et quam arduum robur, ramis naturaliter sibi cohærentibus, succumque a stirpe trahentibus, arbor excrevisset, ipsa præcisorum tanta et

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[1] *fere*] Not in C. Bb. A. B. In margin of R. In text of F. T. Ba., &c.

[2] *et felix*] Not in C. Bb. A. R. B. F. T. In Ba. Cl., &c.

[3] *Cujus . . . convolabit*] Not in C. Bb. A. R. B. F. T. In Ba. Cl., &c.

[4] This chapter in *De Instr. Princ.*, p. 36. *Dii*] C. Bb. R., &c.; Hii, A. Rb.

[5] *simul* and *scilicet*] In A. R. B. F. Ba., &c. Not in C. Bb. T. or *De Instr. Princ.*

[6] *quam*] C. Bb. R. B., &c.; quamque, A.

[7] *non*] C. Bb. A. R. B. F.; vix, Ba. Cl., &c.

tam prematura ruina declarat. Sicut enim rami a
34 b. stipite præcisi per se non coalescunt, sic et mutilata frondibus arbor, cum læsæ majestatis dispendio, tam dignitate minuitur quam decore.

[Cap. LIV.]

De Saxonica,[1] *Hispanica, et Sicula.*

The three daughters of Henry II.

Qualiter etiam ab una occidentis radice, fragilioris naturæ tres nobiles surculi, vel potius ab uno sole in occasu oriente, lucidissimi tres radii tres alias et oppositas Europæ partes illustraverint, præsentis areæ tenor annectit.

Tantæ[2] siquidem[3] et tam arduæ materiæ, longeque sublimiori ingenio non indebitæ, cursim[4] hic et sub compendio delibatæ, veram et amplam[5] historiam si præceperis ut stilo perstringam, opus aggrediar. Nec enim laboriosum videri poterit vel molestum, quicquid a tanta majestate fuerit injunctum.

Explicit.[6]

Hor. A. P. 343.

"*Omne*[7] *tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.*"

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[1] *De Saxonica, &c.*] C. Bb. R. B., &c.; De sororibus. De Saxonica, &c., A.; De sororibus, filiabus Henrici secundi, Bc.

[2] This last section in M., after "pacem humanitas augere," about middle of Cap. XLVIII. *supra*; note (5), p. 191.

[3] *siquidem*] C. Bb., &c.; quidem, M.

[4] *cursim . . delibatæ*] Not in M.

[5] *et amplam*] Not in M.

[6] *Explicit*] H. C. R. B. F. Ba. Cl.; Explicit Hibernica historia, A.; Explicit Hibernica topographia, Bc.; Explicit libellus de mirabilibus Hiberniæ, secundum Giraldum Cambrensem, P. Not at all in M. Bb. Hb. Rb.

[7] *Omne, &c.*] This line of Horace in M. C. Bb. A. B. Cl. Bc. Not in H. P. W. R. F. Ba. Hb. Rb.

Guillelmo[1] *Herefordensi episcopo.*

Lectio certa prodest, varia delectat. Si ergo legendo proficere quæris, primo continentiam operis cum diligentia seriatim transcurras, quatinus et materiæ tenor, et tractandi modus, et rerum cohærentia cuncta patescant. Quoties vero, transcurso volumine, delectari volueris, circa titulos istos verseris.

How to read this work profitably and pleasantly.

In prima Distinctione de avibus, earumque naturis et defectibus, de feris, de vermibus, de comparatione occidentis et orientis, usque in[2] finem illius Distinctionis.

The chapters that will give most pleasure.

In secunda Distinctione, de lupo cum sacerdote loquente, de muliere barbata et in tergo cristata, de semibove viro, semiviroque bove, de vacca cervina, de hirco ad mulierem accedente, et leone mulierem adamante, de mirandis sanctorum refugiis, de saltu salmonis, et modo[3] saliendi, de libro miraculose conscripto, et libri compositione, de vita Brendani.

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[1] This letter to William de Vere, bishop of Hereford 1186–1199, is in four MSS. only, viz., C., A. and its fellow Bc., and Ba. In A. it follows immediately, in same hand, upon the last line of the *Topographia*, as if considered a part of the book: so also in Bc. In Ba. it is at the beginning, before the "Introitus in "recitationem;" here also, in same hand with the book itself, and apparently considered as belonging to it. In C., where the book ends at the top of first page of a folio, it is added, in a considerably later hand, on the second page of the folio.

This letter is not amongst the epistles of Giraldus in the *Symbolum Electorum*. It is printed by Ussher in his *Hibern. Epist. Sylloge*, No. 49, who says that he found it in two MSS. of the *Topographia*.

Guillelmo Herefordensi episcopo] A.; Ad Guillelmum Herefordensem episcopum, Bc. In C. the rubrical heading is erased. In Ba. there is none, but the rubric "Lectori" in the margin.

[2] *in*] A. Bc. C.; ad, Ba.

[3] *et modo saliendi*] Omitted in Bc.

In tertia Distinctione, de gentis Hibernicæ natura, moribus, et cultu; de gentis ejusdem in musicis instrumentis peritia incomparabili, de commodis artis musicæ; in calce vero ejusdem Distinctionis, de victoriis Anglorum regis Henrici secundi, et filiorum titulis, usque in finem operis.

The marginal notes.

Notulas quoque[1] contra magis notabiles tam sententias quam sermones per loca disposui; ad quæ perfacile, signante nota,[2] lectoris acies dirigatur.

The chapters on music the most worthy of admiration.

Præ omnibus autem titulis, meo judicio, de musicis instrumentis et arte musica tractatus pro sui captu laudabilior; quanto ibidem et materia inusitatior et stilus elegantior invenitur.[3]

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[1] After *quoque* is added "in mar- "gine," in Bc.

[2] *signante nota*] A. C. Ba. Bc. Instead of this Ussher has only "tota."

[3] In Bc. is added, "Vale præsul "optime," &c., after which, this: "Finitur opus Girardi Cambren- "sis de thopographia Hiberniæ, "1513, Aprilis 12."

GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS

EXPUGNATIO HIBERNICA.

EXPUGNATIO HIBERNICA.

INTROITUS[1] IN RECITATIONEM.

34 b.

Quoniam de insulæ Hibernicæ situ, variisque tam continentis quam contentorum naturis, de prodigiosis quoque naturæ ipsius excursibus, et originalibus gentium lineis, a longis retro seculis usque ad nostros jam dies, in *Topographia* disseruimus, ad multorum instantiam et magnorum, aggressi sumus nostri temporis gesta, et ultimæ istius expugnationis Hibernicæ seriem suo quoque volumine declarare. Nam si dies antiquos, cum eorum gestis, quæ secula nostra longe prævenerant, satis evidenter explicuimus, quanto magis ea quæ vidimus, quorumque majori ex parte testes sumus, et quorum de fide memoria tam recens hæsitare non permittit, luculento relatu depromentur. Retroacti siquidem temporis gesta, locaque, *Topographia* describit; præsentia vero præsens Historia comprehendit.

Having written the *Topographia*, Gir. Camb. is pressed to become the historian of the Conquest of Ireland.

Videor tamen jam mihi videre, quoniam cuncta evidentia, cuncta facilia, cuncta patentia cunctis lector inveniet, qualiter naucipendendo nunc in nauseam nares contrahit, nunc labellum porrigit, nunc libellum projiciendo contemnit. Sciat autem in primis, quod laicis hæc, et parum literatis edita principibus, plano

This history intended for

[1] This Introit is omitted in Ha. and Hb. It is in the *Symb. Elect.*, iv. 5, (vol. i. 393), where it is called "In Vaticinalem Historiam præ-"fatio prima."

laymen and illiterate princes. Therefore written in a plain and easy style.

facilique stilo, solam desiderant ad intelligentiam explanari. Popularibus quippe verbis uti licebit, ubi tam populi quam majorum in populo res gestæ literarum beneficio declarantur. Præterea publicam ex industria formam, et cuivis absque difficultate patentem, privato tamen jure venustatam, in omni studio nostri musa laboris elegit, antiquum illum durum et austerum quorundam auctorum scribendi morem modis omnibus respuens et refutans; et quoniam novos mores nova sibi conformant tempora, veterum[1] vitam, et juniorum verba sectari philosophica suadet sententia, præsentis idioma sermonis, et modernæ modum eloquentiæ avide cupiens et amplectens. Cum enim articulatæ sint voces earum quæ sunt in anima pas-
35. sionum notæ, et ad declarandos animi conceptus solum humano generi verba sint data, quæ major inscitia quam illa, quæ ad evidentiam indicanda proponimus, ignotis sermonum ambagibus, et intricatis quibusdam verborum involucris abdere[2] potius et velare; et ut singulari scientia scioli videamur et soli, aliis tanquam videndo non videntibus, et intelligendo[3] non intelligentibus, eo ipso quo intelligi debemus ut non intelligamur elaborare? Satius enim est, ut ait Seneca, mutum esse, quam quod nemo intelligat palam proferre. Quanto igitur verba intellectui magis accommoda, dum eleganti quadam juncturæ[4] fuerint ratione conserta, tanto magis idonea, tantoque propensius literatæ discretioni familiaria. [Unde[5] poeta;

Hor. A. P. 47.

"Dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum
"Reddiderit junctura novum."]

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[1] *veterum*] R. B.; veteremque, L. T. Cl. Ra. Rb. Hooker's translation is: "The lives of the old men, "and the pleasant speeches of young "men."

[2] *abdere*] L. B. T., &c.; addere, R. F.

[3] *intelligendo*] L. R. B.; audiendo, T. Cl., &c.

[4] *juncturæ*] L. B. T. Cl., &c.; junctura, R. F.

[5] This quotation from Horace not in L. R. B. T. In Cl. Ra. Rb.

Præterea, quoniam opus non ignobile, nostram *Topographiam,* livor laniat et detrectat, ad ejus excusationem quædam interserere non indignum reputavimus. Scholastici stili elegantiæ omnium unica laus est, et uniformis: primæ Distinctioni et tertiæ livor, contra naturam in laudem erumpens, oblatrare tam verecundatur quam veretur.

The Topography, no ignoble work, lacerated by the fangs of envy:

Sed quoniam difficile est fictam diu ferre personam, ad plenum a natura degenerare non prævalens, ut vel in aliquo noceat, ut vel citra crepitum tumor ille detumescat, in mediam Distinctionem insolenter invehitur, parte mendacii nitens summam universam decolorare. Objicit enim in hunc modum: Lupum introducit cum sacerdote loquentem, bovina humano corpori depingit extrema, mulierem barbatam, hircum amatorem, et leonem. Verum qui talia tam vehementer abhorret, legat in libro *Numeri* asinam Balee[1] locutam, et prophetam increpantem. Legat vitas patrum, faunumque ibidem cum Antonio loquentem. Legat et Paulum [in eremo[2]] corvi ministerio pane refectum, et duplicatum hospitis gratia beneficium. Legat et alia quoque Ieronimi opera multa. Legat [*Exameron* Ambrosii,][3] et *Dialogum* Gregorii. Legat Augustinum *De Civitate Dei;* et præcipue libri sextidecimi, et vigesimi-primi, plena prodigiis volumina non prætereat. Legat et undecimum de portentis *Ethimologiarum* Isidori librum: necnon et tam de bestiis duodecimum, quam de lapidibus eorumque virtutibus sextum-decimum. Legat[4] Valerium Maximum, Trogum Pompeium, Plinium, et Solinum. In quibus omnibus, quæ in hunc modum livido dente demordeat, multa reperiet. Legat hæc, inquam, et propter prodigiosa quædam inserta, nobilium auctorum opera universa condemnet.

because of its marvellous tales.

But such marvels in the Bible, and in the writings of the fathers.

And in profane authors.

[1] *Balee*] R. B. T.; Balae, L.

[2] *in eremo*] Not in L. R. B. In T. Cl., &c.

[3] *Exameron Ambrosii*] Not in L. R. B. In T. Cl., &c.

[4] *Legat . . Solinum*] Not in L. B. In margin of R. In text of T. Cl., &c.

And many things, though incredible, are yet true, according to St. Jerome.

Advertat autem sanius et attendat, juxta Ieronimi sententiam, multa in scripturis incredibilia reperiri, nec verisimilia, quæ nihilominus tamen vera sunt. Nihil enim contra naturæ Dominum prævalet natura. Nec detestari debet, sed admirari, sed venerari Creatoris opera quævis creatura.

St. Augustine's testimony to the same effect.

Et ut Augustini quoque verbis ad hæc utamur, "Quomodo[1] est enim[2] contra naturam, quod Dei fit "voluntate, cum voluntas tanti Conditoris conditæ "rei cujusque natura sit? Portentum ergo fit non "contra naturam, sed contra quod est nota natura." "Sicut ergo[3] non fuit impossibile Deo, quas voluit[4] "naturas instituere; sic ei non est impossibile in "quicquid voluerit quas instituit immutare." "Nec "ego[5] volo temere credi cuncta quæ posui, quia nec "a me ipso ita creduntur, tanquam nulla de illis sit "in mea cogitatione dubitatio: exceptis his quæ vel "ipse sum expertus, vel cuivis facile est experiri." "Cetera vero sic,[6] ut neque affirmanda, neque neganda "decreverim." Qui lapides Indicos virtuosos "habent[7] "atque noverunt, numquid ita mirantur ut hi quibus
35 b. "primum potentia eorundem ostenditur? Quibus "autem non ostenditur, fortasse non credunt; aut si "credunt, inexperta mirantur; et si contigerit experiri, adhuc quidem mirantur[8] insolita; sed assiduitas experiendi paulatim subtrahit admirationis incitamentum." "Quarum[9] autem rerum ante oculos "nostros[10] quotidiana documenta versantur, licet genere "non minus mirabili, ipsa tamen assiduitate vilescunt: "sic et in ipsa India constituti jam desinunt multa

[1] *De Civ. Dei*, xxi. 8, § 2.

[2] *est enim*] So L. R. B., with Aug.; est, T.

[3] *De Civ. Dei*, xxi. 8, § 5.

[4] *voluit*] R. B. T. Cl., &c., with Aug.; voluerit, L.

[5] *De Civ. Dei*, xxi. 7, § 2.

[6] *sic*] Augustine has "sic habeo."

[7] *De Civ. Dei*, xxi. 4, § 4.

[8] *mirantur*] L. R. B., &c., with Aug.; admirantur, T.

[9] *De Civ. Dei*, xxi. 4, § 3. Not to the word.

[10] *oculos nostros*] R. F. with Aug.; nostros oculos, L. B. T. Cl. Rb.

"mirari, quæ ad nos poterunt miranda perduci." Unde et[1] Augustinus super aquæ in vinum in evangelio mutatione; Major virtus est in creatione et gubernatione cœli et terræ, et quod quotidie aqua pluviæ per vites vertitur in vinum, et quod ex parvo seminario fruges creantur et arbores. Sed quod [hæc][2] naturaliter fiunt, jam ex usu viluerunt. Ideo quædam, etsi minora, præter solitum naturæ sibi Deus reservavit, per quæ virtus, quæ in majoribus operatur, ad memoriam reducitur.

Videat itaque livor, nec invideat, naturæ Dominum contra naturam præ oculis hominum multa sponte patrasse; quibus evidenter pateat et clarescat, plus Deum posse quam hominem nosse, longeque trans omnem humanam intelligentiam, divinam ineffabiliter extendi potentiam. Unde[3] Cassiodorus; "Summum "genus scientiæ est, scire Deum tanta præstare, quæ "humani sensus non valent attingere."

Semper[4] enim, et quasi ex industria, seria sui negotia novis quibusdam natura depingit; ut sic manifeste doceat et declaret, quod licet humanis utcunque ingeniis usualia ejusdem opera valeant attendi, potentialis tamen effectus nequeat comprehendi.

Ad hæc[5] autem objiciunt multi, et hi præsertim qui Objections

[1] *Unde et . . . reducitur*] This quotation from St. Augustine not in L. B. In margin of R. T. In text of F. Cl., &c. It seems to be taken, in substance only, from *In Joan. Evang. Tract.*, viii. § 1.

[2] *hæc*] Not in R. F. In T. Rb. "quoniam hæc" instead of "quod "hæc," in Cl.

[3] *Unde . . attingere*] Not in L. B. In margin of R. In text of T. F. Cl., &c.

[4] *Semper . . comprehendi*] This section has before appeared, in the preface to Second Distinction of the *Topographia*, *supra*, p. 75.

[5] *Ad hæc, &c.*] Hence, to end of this Introit, I give as in L. R. B. F. It occurs again, almost word for word, with one or two small additions, as the latter part of the second preface to 1st Book of our author's *Kambriæ Descriptio*. Instead of it, later editions, as in T. Cl., &c., have as follows: "Auctores itaque "præscripti si temporum suorum "prodigia suis tanta diligentia scrip- "tis inseruere, nostri quoque nos "temporis, nostrorumque finium "nova, et contra naturæ cursum "edita, literis eadem libertate com- "mendantes, ut quid, nisi quia

of Giraldus's friends to his devotion to literature.

dicuntur amici, ob studii vehementiam me rebus secularibus negotiisque familiaribus minus intentum, et ob hoc segnius in mundanæ dignitatis gradibus provehendum: auctorum olim, tam historicorum quam poeticorum, auctoritatem in desuetudinem abiisse; literarum honorem cum literatis principibus præteriisse; aliis hodie viis ad honorem perveniri. Fateor hæc, equidem fateor; et facile veris acquiesco. Sequuntur enim principes improbi, curiam cupidi, codices et pixides ambitiosi. Sed quoniam

Virg. Ecl. ii. 65.

"Trahit sua quemque voluptas,"

His great love of it, and proficiency in it.

me literarum a pueritia traxit amor, et tanquam deliciarum omnium caput literatæ studium delectat eloquentiæ. Hoc itaque præditus voto, supra coætaneos multos scrutabunda tam cursuum naturæ quam excursuum inquisitione profeci; et posteritati consulens, inclita nostri temporis acta sub silentio perire non permisi.

The labour pleasant, though the difficulties many.

Nec ista tamen absque labore complentur plurimo, sed jocundo. Difficilis namque est tam certa rerum singularum indagatio; difficilis inquisitæ simul et exquisitæ veritatis ordinata dispositio; et ab initiali puncto finalem ad usque, non discrepante materia,

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" mundus in maligno positus est,
" rodimur et laceramur?
" Si quid ergo novum in opusculis nostris, et inauditum emerserit, non statim lividi vel demordeant vel contemnant; sed nunc ignoscendo, nunc approbando, studia procedere sinant. Nam, ut ait poeta,

Hor. 2 Ep. i. 90.

" 'Si patribus nostris novitas in-
" 'visa fuisset
" 'Ut nobis, quid nunc esset ve-
" 'tus, aut quid haberet,
" 'Quod legeret tereretque viri-
" 'tim, publicus usus.'

" Desinant ergo aliquid damnare quia sit novum, quod labentis temporis beneficio, dum novitatis arguitur, desinit esse novum.
" Habeat igitur in illis et præsens tempus quod laceret, et posteritas quod laudet. Habeat hoc quod lædat, illa quod legat. Habeat hoc quod damnet, illa quod amet. Habeat hoc quod reprobet, illa quod probet."

Of this, the two last sections, "Si quid . . probet," have already occurred in the preface to the Second Distinction of the *Topographia*, *supra*, p. 76.

recta per medium funis extentio. Difficilis quoque, quatinus tam verbis quam sententiis scintillet oratio, ornati sermonis elocutio: quippe cum ad explicandam memorandorum seriem non minus elegantium verborum torqueat electio, quam vexat[1] inventio. Tanto namque propensiore opus est opera, tantoque singula prius elimanda videntur quam eliminanda, quanto scripto commendata se multorum oculis subjicere non formidant, nec solum præsentibus sed futuris, argutorum simul subitura judicium et offensorum. Verba nimirum emissa, quia statim evolant et evanescunt, nec laudis eorum memoria nec vituperii diuturna. Scripta vero, quoniam edita semel et publicata non prætereunt, ad auctoris sui permanentem vel gloriam extant vel ignominiam. Quoniam, ut ait Seneca,[2] "Lividi lectoris[3] "malitia dictionem sanam et insanam pari revolvit "appetitu: non amplius concupiscens electa quæ laudet, "quam despecta quæ rideat." Igitur inter studia laude dignissima, hujus quoque studii laus non ultima. Historia namque est antiquitatis auctoritas, "testis tem-"porum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ, "nuntia vetustatis."

Sidon. Apoll. Epist. iii. 14.

Cicero De Oratore, ii. 9.

Tanto denique labor hic delectabilior, quanto dignius quam aliena recitare recitanda proferre, quanto appetibilius ab aliis eligi quam bonus aliorum elector videri, quanto laudabilius digne ab aliis in laudem efferri quam dignus aliorum laudator haberi. His itaque pascor deliciis, et reficior; Ieronimo malens similis esse quam Creso, longeque plus opibus cunctis opum approbans contemptorem. His gratulor divitiis,[4] et

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[1] *vexat*] L. R. B. F.; vexet, in *Kamb. Descriptio*.

[2] *Seneca*] I have found no such passage in Seneca's writings. But in *Sidonius Apoll.*, Epist. iii. 14, is this: "Qui maxime sibi doctus "videtur, dictionem sanam et insa-"nam ferme appetitu pari revolvit; "non amplius concupiscens erecta "quæ laudet, quam despecta quæ "rideat."

[3] *lectoris*] R. B. F.; livoris, L.

[4] *divitiis*] R. B. F.; deliciis, L.

delector; semper intemperantiæ modestiam, semper honestam superfluitati præferens sufficientiam: et quoniam illa pereunt, ista perire non possunt, illa transeunt, ista cum æternitate contendunt, semper lucro laudem, semper gazis gloriam anteponens.

IN TRES QUOQUE[1] LIBELLOS LIBER ISTE LIBRATUR. 36.

Incipiunt Capitula.[2]

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[1] *In tres quoque*] L. R. B. Cl.; In duos, Ra. Rb. Hb. Ha. begins with preface (*infra*, p. 222), "A "multis," &c., after which the list of chapters, without any heading to either.

[2] *Incipiunt Capitula*] L. Cl., &c. Not in R. B. Ha. No numbers are affixed, either to the "Capitula" here, or to the chapters themselves afterwards, in any manuscript that I have seen, except in a portion of Ra. I therefore include I., II., &c., in brackets.

[3] *Dermitii*] This name, occurring so frequently, is of course variously spelt; almost always, however, either "Dermitius" or "Dermicius," the former perhaps being the more general in the best early manuscripts. To this spelling I shall adhere, without noticing the variations of the manuscripts.

[4] *restitutione*] L. Cl., &c.; restitutionem, R. B.

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[1] *Reimundi*] So spelt almost universally; Raimundi, L. here, and once or twice afterwards.

[2] *Dundunnolf*] So generally, but of course variously spelt, "Dundul-" "nolf," "Dundunofh," &c.

[3] This Cap. not in L. In R., &c.

[4] *facta*] Not in L. In R. B. Cl., &c.

[5] *Karrec*] R. B. Ha.; Karrech, L.

[XXXI., XXXII.]—De Stephanide in primis regi apud Waterfordiam in vinculis adducto, et paulo post liberato. Et tam Dermitio Corcagiensi quam Duvenaldo Limericensi, cum universis australis Hiberniæ principibus, se regi sponte subdentibus.

[XXXIII.]—De borealis Hiberniæ principibus apud Dubliniam subditis; et Rotherico Connactensi sponte subacto.

[XXXIV.]—De Cassiliensi concilio a rege convocato, et magnifice celebrato.

[XXXV.]—De regiis constitutionibus ibidem promulgatis.

[XXXVI.]—De nimia tempestatum ingruentia.

[XXXVII.]—De rege revocato per intestinæ malitiæ conspirationem, necnon et Romanæ curiæ legationem.

[XXXVIII.]—Qualiter de Hibernia in Kambriam, de Kambria in Angliam, de Anglia in Normanniam, duobus oceani brachiis ocius emensis, mira celeritate transvolaverit.

[XXXIX.]—Qualiter cum Romanis apud Custanciam[1] legatis, deinde cum Lodovico Francorum rege, in finalibus terrarum marchiis, cuncta statim solita prudentia pacificavit. 36 b.

[XL.—De visione,[2] immo verius visitatione, regi Henrico apud Kaerdiff divinitus facta, et revelatione monstrata.]

[XLI.]—De Medensis interim regis Ororicii proditione, et ejusdem a Dublinensi familia interemptione.

[XLII.]—De visionibus, et variis earundem effectibus.

[XLIII.]—Descriptio Mauricii.

[XLIV.]—De filiis in patrem manifeste insurgentibus; et optima, quam rex in Hibernia reliquerat, familia revocata; et Hiberniæ custodia comiti Ricardo commissa.

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[1] *Custanciam*] R. B.; Custantiam, L.; Constantiam, Ha.

[2] This Cap. not in L. R. B. Ha. Cl. Ra. In Hb. Rb.

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[1] *Lismoriensi*] So the MSS., and so Camden. It is however a mistake for Waterfordensi. See the chapter itself *infra*.

Reimundi ab Herveio facta[1] delatio; et ob hoc quatuor militum in Hiberniam a rege facta[1] transmissio, et Reimundi revocatio.

[XII.]—De laudabili Limericensis familiæ per Reimundum et Meilerium subventione.

[XIII.]—Principis Ossiriensis oratio.

[XIV.]—De comitis interim morte Reimundo nunciata; et ob hoc Limericensi urbe relicta, totaque familia cum Reimundo Dubliniam reversa.

[XV.]—De Willelmo Aldelini[2] filio, post mortem comitis generali in Hiberniam custode transmisso; et invidia quam in Reimundum et Meilerium, Mauricii filios, totumque genus, incessanter exercuit.

[XVI.]—Aldelini filii descriptio.

[XVII.]—De Johanne de Curci, qui primus Ultoniam, citra majoris authoritatem, invasit, et multis eam bellis viriliter expugnavit.

[XVIII.]—Johannis descriptio.

[XIX.]—De Dublinensi concilio, a legato Romanæ sedis Viviano celebrato; et Anglorum regis privilegiato in Hiberniam jure, publice ab ipso legato viva voce propalato; et victualibus ab ecclesiis extrahendis, justæ taxationis precio soluto.

[XX.]—De Aldelini filio revocato, et Hugone de Laci eidem subrogato; Stephanide quoque, et Milone Coganensi, et Philippo de Breusa,[3] apud Corcagiam et

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[1] *facta*] Neither of them in L. Ha. Interlineations in R. In text of F. Cl., &c. B. has the second, but not the first.

[2] *Aldelini*] So in the early MSS. very frequently; always, I may almost say, in L. and B.; with the two *i*'s unmistakeably marked. There are of course doubtful instances, where it might be either *ini* or *mi*; but there is no one instance, I think I may safely say, in the early MSS., where it is plainly *mi* and not *ini*. He is called "filius Al-" delini" by Hoveden (301 b, 316 b), and "Fitz-Audeline" by Regan (l. 2603). He has generally been called "Fitz-Aldelm." He is a famous person in Anglo-Irish history; more remarkable, however, in his descendants than in himself, if there be truth in Giraldus's account of him.

[3] *Breusa*] R. B.; Braosa, L. Brusa, Ha.

Limericum confeodatis simul et confœderatis; et variis partium illarum tam adventibus quam eventibus.

[XXI.]—De Hiberniæ regno sub Hugone de Laci pacificato et incastellato; et suspicione de ipso, ex nimia cum Hibernicis familiaritate contracta.

[XXII.]—Hugonis descriptio; et electæ juventutis commendatio.

[XXIII.]—De adventu Johannis constabularii Cestrensis,
37. et Ricardi de Pec; et pluribus, Hugone revocato, castellis per Lageniam constructis.

De Hugone de Laci iterum custode transmisso; et multis, tam per Lageniam quam per Mediam, castellis sub ipso constructis.

[XXIV.]—De Laurentio Dublinensi archiepiscopo, in transmarinis Galliæ partibus, apud Augense castrum, rebus humanis exempto; et Johanne Cimino eidem[1] substituto.

[XXV.]—De Johanne, Dublinensi[2] jam archiepiscopo, tanquam filii regis præcursore in Hiberniam a rege destinato;[3] et, Hugone revocato, Philippo Guigorniensi custode transmisso.

[XXVI.—De Ierosolimitano patriarcha Eraclio, ab oriente in occidentem, emensis oceani brachiis, ad Anglorum regem Henricum secundum, terræ sacræ postulandi præsidii causa, interim in Angliam transvecto.

[XXVII.—Regis[4] patriarchæ facta responsio; et quasi prophetica patriarchæ secuta comminatio.]

[XXVIII.]—De regno Palestino, occulto quodam divinæ permissionis arbitrio, paulo post in sacrilegas Saracenorum manus devoluto; et Cisalpinis principibus,

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[1] *eidem*] R. B. Cl., &c.; ei, L.

[2] *Dublinensi*] R. B., &c.; Dublinensium, L. Cl.

[3] *a rege destinato*] B. and the late MSS.; destinato a rege, L.; *a rege* omitted in R. F.

[4] *Regis, &c.*] This Capitulum is in no MS., and not in Camden. The chapter itself, *infra*, is in two or three of the late MSS., and in Camden. I therefore place its heading here within brackets.

ab illustri Pictavensium comite Ricardo sumpto nobilis ausus exemplo, salutiferæ signo crucis insignitis.

[XXIX.]—De inopinata inter reges et comitem statim suborta discordia.

De Romani imperatoris Frederici digna laude maturatione.

[XXX.]—De visione [ejus qui hæc scripsit;][1] et visionis expositione.

[XXXI.]—De memorabilibus nostri temporis tam adventibus in Angliam, quam eventibus.

[XXXII.][2]—De primo filii regis Johannis in Hiberniam adventu.

[XXXIII.]—Tam Stephanidæ quam comitis, necnon et[3] regis, tam commendatio quam excusatio.

[XXXIV.]—De mora et impedimentis plenæ perfectæque conquisitionis.

[XXXV.]—De gestis, Hiberniæ translato in Johannem regni dominio, breviter recapitulatis, et suis scriptoribus assignatis.

[XXXVI., XXXVII.]—Quibus ex causis filio regis in hoc primo conatu non successerit.[4]

[XXXVIII.]—Qualiter gens Hibernica sit expugnanda.

[XXXIX.]—Quo moderamine eadem expugnata sit gubernanda.

[*Expliciunt Capitula.*][5]

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[1] *ejus qui hæc scripsit*] Not in L. R. B. Ha. In margin of F. In text of Cl., &c.

[2] This and the rest of the Capitula not in Ha.

[3] *et*] Not in L.

[4] *successerit*] R. B. Cl., &c.; successerat, L.

[5] *Expliciunt Capitula*] Not in L. R. B. Ha., &c. In Cl.

INCIPIT VATICINALIS HISTORIA.[1]

Illustri Pictavensium comiti Ricardo Giraldus Kambrensis.

Being requested by many to write the famous deeds of his own time, Giraldus at length consents, for the sake of posterity, &c.

A multis requisitus, et multoties, ut inclita nostri temporis gesta, quæ vel certis ab indicibus audivi,[2] vel oculis ipse conspexi, literis commendarem, temporum injuriam prætendere consuevi. Quæ certe, invalescente luxu rerum ac libidine, tam sumptuosa sunt et ambitiosa, ut insatiabilem corporis ad curam liber ille animus ex toto captivetur. Considerans tamen, et diligentius attendens, rerum istarum notitiam posteritati fore perutilem, nihilque laudabili ingenio, mentique studiosæ adeo perniciosum et pestiferum, ut otiositatis vitio contracta desidia, stilo potius indulgendum mihi ipse persuadens, vix tandem monitis acquievi. Sed quid præsumptuosius esse potest, quam ut scribere velimus non vacantes; ut publice legi gestiamus, non
37 b. legentes; ut invidi et invisi judicis undique subdamur examini, nos ipsos non examinantes? Tullius, eloquentiæ fons, cum dicere peteretur, fertur excusasse, quod pridie non legisset. Quid jam aliis accidere poterit, si tanta laus facundiæ auctorum visa est beneficia postulare? Ægrescit profecto ingenium, nisi jugi lectione reparetur.[3] Legendi namque studio, quasi quo-

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[1] *Incipit, &c.*] So L. R. B.; Præfatio secunda, Cl. In R., at the tops of the columns, is the rubric, "Præfatio secunda." This Preface is in the *Symb. Elect.*, iv. 6 (vol. i. 393), where it is called "In Vaticinalem Historiam Præfatio secunda."

[2] *audivi*] R. B. T., &c.; auditu, L.

[3] *reparetur*] R. B. T., &c.; præparetur, L., with "vel re" interlined over the "præ."

tidiano cibo, alitur et pinguescit oratio. Sicut ergo cito expediuntur horrea, quæ assidua non fuerint adjectione referta; sicut thesaurus ipse quam facile profunditur, si nullis iterum pecuniis restauretur; sic et humanæ studium imperfectionis, cum alieno non juvatur invento, cito evacuatur et evanescit ex proprio.

Nos ipsos itaque duplici natura, temporali scilicet et æterna compactos, tanquam ex æquo dividentes, tam tempori satisfaciamus quam æternitati.

Man compacted of body and soul.

Terream enim [1] et transitoriam nostri partem transitoriis et frivolis temporis ratione dedicemus: illo vero, quod perpetuum in nobis esse dignoscitur, ad perennitatis gloriam aspiremus.

The different duties of these.

Habeat aliquamdiu curia corpus; animus vero liberalis et liber, qui nec claudi nec incarcerari potest, nec nostræ nec alterius subjacet potestati, quæ sua sunt semper agat, suique libertate glorietur. Erret igitur homo exterior, et turbetur erga plurima; variaque [2] solicitudine temporalibus indulgens nugis, prout animo rectore ducitur et circumfertur, misera carnis conditione suæ depressioni morem gerat. Interior vero thesaurus, tanquam [3] testæ nucleus, innato sibi sic jure fruatur, privilegioque [4] divinitus indulto sic undique muniatur, ut nec in turba turbari, nec solicitudine solicitari, nec solitarius valeat in solitudine reperiri.[5]

Bipartito namque dominio divisum in nobis imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet. Habet id nostri Cæsar, in [6] quod solum potens est potestatem exercere. Subtilem illam et incomprehensibilem nostri partem solus ille possidet, a quo solo et dignosci potest et comprehendi. Animus enimvero magnus, et magnificus, excelsus et immensus, et inter Dei dona sub cœlo præ-

The wonderful powers of the soul.

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[1] *Terream enim et*] L.T. Cl., &c.; Terrenam et, R. B.

[2] *variaque*] L. B. T., &c.; valiaque, R. F.

[3] *tanquam*] R. B.; et tanquam, L. T. Ha., &c.

[4] *privilegioque*] R. B.; privilegio quoque, L. T. Ha.

[5] *reperiri*] R. B. T., &c.; repperi, L.

[6] *in*] L. T., &c.; id, R. (but altered to "in"), B. F.

cellentius, incomprehensibilis ipse, omnia comprehendens quanta evidentia declarat divinitatem suam, cum, agilitatis innatæ beneficio, quatuor mundi cardines uno momento complectitur! Mundum universum, mundique causas, artes varias et scientias, mira tam celeritate quam subtilitate percurrit; soli notus ignoto, solo visus ab inviso, solo mensus ab immenso, solo finitus ab infinito.

Absit igitur ut partis hujus studia perpetua, variis et vanis præpedita curis, aut omissa depereant, aut intermissa tepescant.

Quid enim animo corpus, nisi pondus et pœna est; et quasi carcer quidam, non complectens, et tamen impediens? Quod igitur testudini testa, hoc spiritui caro est: impedimentum suum circumfert uterque.

By whose powers and virtue, Giraldus has evolved this history; for the benefit of earl Richard of Poitou.

38.

Hujus itaque[1] viribus et virtute, Hibernicæ gentis expugnationem, et tam barbaræ nationis feritatem his nostris temporibus edomitam, evidenter evolvere procuravi; tuæque celsitudini, Pictavensium comes inclite, Normannorum quoque dux et Anglorum rector mox future, digestam historiam destinavi; quatinus et rerum istarum recordatione paterna tibi gloria gloriam accumulet, et sicut terrarum, sic virtutum et victoriarum heres, tam æmulatione laudabili quam succedanea proprietate, fieri comproberis.

This but a rude prelude to what he has been long preparing, a history of Richard's own deeds of renown.

Hac igitur in area, arcta licet et arida, hispida quoque et inculta, sed stili beneficio forsan excolenda, musam adhuc rudem se tanquam præludio quodam exercere constitui; ut, quoniam de[2] longo necdum fidente paratu molimur ad inclitas titulorum vestrorum historias postmodum explicandas, quorum rudimenta tam magna maturioris ætatis maxima jam probant incrementa futura, plenius et efficacius informetur.[3]

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[1] *itaque*] R. B. T., &c.; igitur, L.

[2] *de*] T. Hb.; te, L. R. B. Ha. Cl. Ra. Rb.

[3] *informetur*] L. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; conformetur, R. B. F.

INCIPIT LIBER VATICINALIS HISTORIÆ A GIRALDO KAMBRENSI DIGESTUS, SUPER[1] HIBERNICA EXPUGNATIONE SECUNDA.

[Cap. I.]

Dermitius itaque Murchardi filius,[2] Lageniensium princeps, et quintæ illius portionis Hiberniæ rector, orientalia insulæ maritima, majori Britanniæ mari tantum interfluente contermina, nostris temporibus possidebat. Dermot Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, A.D. 1135 –1171.

Qui ab ineunte ætate, regnique sui novitate, nobilitatis oppressor existens, in terræ suæ magnates gravi et intolerabili tyrannide desæviebat. His tyranny.

Accessit et aliud incommodum. Ororicio[3] namque, Medensium rege, remotas in partes expeditionis cujusdam causa profecto, uxor ipsius, Omachlachelini filia, quam in insula quadam Mediæ reliquerat, a prædicto Dermitio, ejusdem igne dudum accenso, captata viri Elopes with the wife of Tiernan O'Rourke, king of Breifny, A.D. 1152.

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[1] *super Hib. exp. secunda*] In L. R. B. Ra.; and in Ha., but with "ab Anglicis" instead of "secunda." Not in Cl. Hb. has an entirely different rubrical heading, "De ex- "ilio Dermicii principis Lageniæ," &c., as in the list of Capitula *supra*, p. 215.

[2] *Murchardi filius*] L. R., &c.; Macmorthit, Ha. Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, *Anglice* Dermot Mac Murrough, hereditary prince of Hy-Kinselagh, first appears in Irish annals, as king of Leinster, circa A.D. 1135.

[3] *Ororicio*] L. R., &c.; Oroch, Ha. This was Tighearnan Ua Ruairc, *Anglice* Tiernan O'Rourke, king of Breifny, *i.e.* the present counties Leitrim and Cavan. He first appears in Irish annals circa A.D. 1125, and was a prominent person up to his death in 1172. Regan (p. 2) calls him "Ororic." Giraldus always calls him king of Meath. This is wrong, but not altogether wrong. For in 1169 Roderic O'Conor, the monarch of Ireland, "divided Meath into two "parts, and gave the eastern half "to Tiernan and the men of Bre- "ifne." And before, in 1144, Turlough O'Conor, Roderic's father, had assigned a part of Meath to him. *Four Masters, sub annis.*

absentia, rapta nimirum fuit,[1] quia et rapi voluit, et quoniam "Varium et mutabile semper femina,"[2] ut prædoni præda fieret ipsa procuravit.

Confederation against him, under Roderick O'Conor, monarch of Ireland.

Sed quoniam mala fere cuncta majora, tam Marco Antonio quam Troja testante, mundo per mulierem constat exorta,[3] rex Ororicius, graviter utroque permotus, longe tamen gravius dedecoris quam damni dolore percussus, totum in vindictam virus evomuit. Convocans igitur et conflans tam proprias, quam vicinarum gentium vires, Connactensium quoque principem, et totius Hiberniæ tunc monarcham, ad idem animavit et Rothericum.

Deserted by the men of Leinster.

Considerantes autem Lagenienses principem suum in arcto jam positum, et hostium cuneis omni ex latere circumseptum, dissimulatas diu injurias, altaque mente repostas, vindicem ad animum revocantes, cum hostibus unanimes effecti, Murchardi filium majores in hac gente simul cum fortuna reliquerunt.

Videns itaque Dermitius viribus se undique destitui, et aversa penitus fatorum facie, fortunæque favore, jam desperanter affligi, post multos et graves impari certamine cum hoste conflictus, tanquam ad ultimum confugiens salutis remedium, tandem tamen fugæ præsidium navigio destinavit.

Obliged to fly the kingdom. A.D. 1166.

Multis itaque patet rerum eventibus, tutius esse volentibus quam invitis imperare. Sensit hoc Nero, sensit Domitianus, sensit et nostris temporibus tam Saxonum quam Bavariorum[4] dux Henricus. Expedit

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[1] This was in A.D. 1152, *Four Masters.* She was Dearbhforgaill (Dervorgilla, *Anglice*), daughter of Murchadh Ua Maeleachlainn (Murrough O'Melaghlin), king of Meath. Giraldus says she was a willing and procuring party to her abduction: Regan says the same more at length. That this abduction in 1152 could have been at all the cause of Dermot's expulsion from Ireland in 1166 seems to be considered by Irish scholars a mere pretty bit of romance. It is no romance however of Giraldus alone; he is fully corroborated by Regan.

[2] Virg. Æn. iv. 569.

[3] *exorta*] L. B., &c.; exortam, R. F.

[4] *Bavariorum*] R., &c.; Baioariorum, L. B.

a subditis principi cuilibet potius amari quam timeri. Expedit siquidem et timeri: dum tamen ex dilectione potius timor ille proveniat quam coercione. Quicquid enim [1] terrenis affectibus adamatur, consequens est ut et timeatur: quod autem timetur, non statim et amatur. Sic itaque timor cum dilectione temperetur, ut nec remissa liberalitas lentescat in teporem, nec insolenti rigore violenter extortus timor in tyrannidem convertatur. Amor Augusto regnum ampliavit: imperanti Julio vitam et imperium timor invidit. 38 b.

Fortunam igitur fugitivam sequens,[2] et rotæ volubilitati multum confidens, Murchardi filius, velis sulcantibus æquor, ventoque ad vota spirante, ad Anglorum regem Henricum secundum auxilium obnixe postulaturus accessit.

Goes to the king of England, Henry II.

Qui licet, in remotis et transmarinis Aquitannicæ Galliæ partibus, principali more negotiosus existens, ipsum tamen, innatæ liberalitatis et humanitatis officio, pie satis et benigne suscepit. Audita ergo seriatim tam exilii quam adventus causa, susceptisque ab ipso tam subjectionis vinculo quam fidelitatis sacramento, literas ei sub hoc tenore patentes indulsit:

Who was then in Aquitaine, A.D. 1166 or 1167.

" Henricus rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitan-
" niæ, et comes Andegaviæ, universis fidelibus suis An-
" glis, Normannis,[3] Walensibus, et Scottis, cunctisque
" nationibus suæ ditioni subditis, salutem. Cum præ-
" sentes ad vos literæ pervenerint, noveritis nos Der-
" mitium, Lageniensium principem, in gratiæ nostræ
" et benevolentiæ sinum suscepisse. Unde et quisquis
" ei, de amplitudinis nostræ finibus, tanquam homini
" et fideli nostro, restitutionis auxilium impendere

Henry's Letters Patent in his favour.

[1] *Quicquid enim, &c.*] This, to end of section, not in Ha.

[2] It was in 1166, according to the Irish Annals, that Dermot fled into England. Regan says (p. 12, &c.) that he landed at Bristol, where he was entertained by Robert Herdin; and after a short stay there, proceeded after the king into Normandy.

[3] *et* before *Walensibus* in L.

"voluerit, se nostram ad hoc tam gratiam noverit "quam licentiam obtinere."

[Cap. II.]

De reditu[1] *Dermitii per Majorem Britanniam.*

A.D. 1166, or 1167. Dermot returns through Great Britain to Bristol.

Rediens itaque per Majorem Britanniam Dermitius, et licet regiæ munificentiæ donariis honoratus plurimum et oneratus, spe tamen quam re longe abundantius exhilaratus, ad nobilis oppidi Bristolli[2] partes se contulit. Ubi et occasione navium, quæ de Hibernia eo in portu crebris applicationibus suscipi consueverant, a quibus terræ suæ gentisque statum audire gestiebat, fiscalibus stipendiis decenter exhibitus, est aliquamdiu conversatus. Cumque ibidem[3] multoties literas regias in multorum audientia legi fecisset, multasque promissiones, tam terrarum quam stipendiorum, multis inaniter emisisset, tandem comes Strigulensis Ricardus, Gilleberti comitis filius,[4] cum eo locuturus advenit. Ubi et eo usque demum productum est colloquium, ut et comes ei in proximo vernali tempore restitutionis auxilium, et Dermitius comiti, cum regni successione, filiam suam primogenitam firmiter pepigisset.

Procures a promise of aid from Richard earl of Striguil.

His itaque seriatim hoc ordine completis, Dermitius, desiderio visendæ patriæ plurimum accensus, eaque dulcedine, qua natale solum cunctos ducere solet, amplius allectus, ad australis Kambriæ Meneviæque partes incunctanter accessit: quas a Lagenia uno

Goes to South Wales.

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[1] *De reditu, &c.*] No heading in L. B. The new chapter, however, is indicated by illuminated initial letters.

[2] He was again entertained by Robert Herding (Regan, l. 302). He stayed at Bristol two or three weeks (l. 309).

[3] *ibidem*] R. B., &c.; ibi, L.

[4] There is here added by Camden, "dictus Strongbow, fortis arcus." This is in no MS. that I have seen. It is not in Hooker's translation. Is this name given him by any at all contemporary writer? I much doubt it.

transfretabili die, humanoque terras non subtrahens aspectui, solum interfluens mare disterminat. Reso videlicet Griffini filio tunc illis in finibus sub rege principante, Davidque secundo Meneviæ præsidente; et exulantis calamitatem satis humaniter utroque miserante. A.D. 1167.

Sic igitur, tanquam ab ora Kambrici litoris aeris 39.
Hibernici salubritatem zephyri beneficio propinquius hauriens, et quasi desideratæ nidorem patriæ naribus trahens, solatio quamvis longinquo non tamen exiguo, dum inter colles et nubila vix discernitur, terræ suæ prospectu lumina pascit.

Robert Fitz-Stephen, who had been kept in prison by prince Resus, is set at liberty;

Ea tempestate Robertus filius Stephani, qui apud Aberteivi, Kereticæ regionis caput, cui tunc præerat, dolo suorum captus fuerat, et Reso traditus, jam jamque per triennium in vinculis et carcere tentus, ea liberatus est conditione, ut una cum Reso in Anglorum regem arma sumeret. Videns autem Robertus se patris ex parte domini regis fidelitati naturaliter astrictum; ex matre namque nobili scilicet Nesta, Resi magni filia, Resi filii Griffini consobrinus extiterat; maluit potius et præelegit in extera regione, sub capitis periculo, fatis et fortunæ se committere, quam in detrimentum famæ et opinionis suæ, suorumque opprobrium non modicum, infidelitatis in posterum argui posse. Intervenientibus igitur uterinis ejusdem fratribus, David Menevensi episcopo, et Mauricio Giraldi filio, impetrataque a Reso licentia, una Dermitium convenientibus, firma inter illos sponsione convenit, ut Dermitius Roberto Mauricioque urbem Weisefordiæ, cum duobus cantaredis adjacentibus, in feodum conferret, et eidem illi restitutionis auxilium cum zephyris et hirundine prima compromitterent.

and, with Maurice Fitz-Gerald, engages to go to Dermot's aid the next spring.

Dermitius autem exulantis ultra damna non perferens, ut fortunam, in exteris regionibus quæsitam necdum inventam, ubi amiserat recuperaret, ad antiquam et authenticam metropolim Meneviam circa kalendas Augusti transfretaturus accessit. Ubi et, captata tam

August, 1167. Dermot returns into Ireland.

aeris serenitate quam auræ prosperitate, euro scilicet ab aurora spirante, velo ventoque se committens, et tam viæ quam patriæ pericula tentans, in terra inimica mox susceptus, hostibus infinitis animo impatienti se privatum exposuit. Apud Fernas igitur, a clero loci illius honorifice juxta modulum facultatis exhibitus, dissimulata paulisper principis majestate, satis singulariter hiemavit.

[Cap. III.]

Adventus Stephanidæ, et expugnatio Weisefordiæ.

A.D. 1169. Fitz-Stephen lands in Ireland, circa May 1.

Interea vero Robertus Stephani filius, nec promissionis immemor, nec fidei contemptor, cum triginta militibus de proximis et alumnis suis se præparans, necnon et aliis sexaginta loricatis, sagittariis quoque pedestribus quasi trecentis, de electa Gualliæ juventute, circa kalendas Maii in tribus navibus apud Banuam [1] applicuit.

Prophecy of Merlin Silvestris.

Tunc illud Merlini Silvestris vaticinium [vulgo divulgatum] [2] constat esse completum: "Miles bipartitus "armis Hiberniæ claustra primus irrumpet." Si vatis ænigma videre volueris, ad primos [utrinque] [3] respice progenitores. [Fuerat [4] enim ex patre Normanno et Anglico, et matre Britannica et Kambrica, nobili scilicet Nesta progenitus.]

In eodem comitatu Herveius de Monte Mauricii, vir quoque fugitivus a facie fortunæ, inermis et inops, ex parte Ricardi comitis, cujus patruus erat, explorator potius quam expugnator advenit. [In crastino [5] vero vir

[1] *Banuam*] *i.e.* the creek called Cuan-an-bhainbh, now Bannow. Note (*c*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1170.

[2] *vulgo divulgatum*] Not in L. R. B. Ha. In Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[3] *utrinque*] Not in L. R. B. Ha. In Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[4] *Fuerat . . . . progenitus*] This clause not in L. R. B. Ha. In Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb. and Hooker.

[5] *In crastino . . applicuit*] This clause not in L. R. B. Ha. In margin of Cl. In text of Hb. Ra. Rb., Hooker.

probus et strenuus, Mauricius de Prendelgast, Stephanidem sequens in Dermitii auxilium, de Rosensi Walliæ Demeticæ provincia, et portu Milverdico, cum decem militibus et sagittariis plurimis, ibidem in duabus navibus applicuit.] Cum igitur in[1] insula Banuensi, omni parum ex parte securi, subductis navibus se suscepissent, nunciis ad Dermitium directis, famaque ut assolet eventum divulgante, ex partibus maritimis nonnulli, qui olim a Dermitio una cum fortuna discesserant, ad eundem statim eadem revertente confluxerunt. Nam, ut ait poeta, sic

A.D. 1169. The next day Maurice de Prendelgast, with troops from the province of Ros.

"Cum[2] fortuna statque caditque fides." 39 b.

Murchardides autem, audito eorum adventu, cum viris quasi quingentis, præmisso tamen Duvenaldo[3] naturali ejusdem filio, et quanquam non legitimo, in sua tamen gente pervalido, ad eos statim ovanter accessit. Renovatis itaque fœderibus, sacramentis quoque multipliciter ad utriusque partis securitatem utrinque præstitis, junctis catervis, et dissimilium facta populorum intentione jam simili, unanimique concordia, ad urbem Weisefordiæ, per milia passuum[4] quasi duodecim a Banua distantem, tam armorum quam et animorum acies convertuntur. Quo audito, plebs exiens urbis, hactenus indomita, pristinæque fortunæ plurimum confisa, numero virorum circa duo milia, non procul a castris obviam venire, et viribus dimicare disposuit. Videns autem ordinatas præter solitum acies, et equestrem turmam loricis et clipeis galeisque fulgentibus insignem, novis super casibus novo fungens consilio, suburbio toto igne succenso, se statim intra muros reversa suscepit. Stephanides vero cum suis se ad

Dermot hastens to meet them, first sending forward his son.

They unite their forces, and march to Wexford, some 12 miles distant from Bannow.

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[1] *in*] L. Ha., &c. Not in R. B.

[2] Ovid. 2 Pont. iii. 10.

[3] *Duvenaldo*] Domhnall Caemhanach, as he is called by the *Four Masters;* Donnell Kavanagh, *Anglice.* Regan calls him "Dovenald "Kevenath," or "Kevath."

[4] *Milia passuum*] R. B.; stadia, L.; miliaria, Ha. Cl., &c.

A.D. 1169.

The assault of Wexford: and repulse of the English by the citizens.

Robert de Barri's narrow escape.

insultum acriter præparantes, viris armatis fossata replentibus, propugnacula vero sagittariis eminus observantibus, magno cum impetu et clamore muros unanimiter invaserunt. Cives autem, ad defensionem promptissimi, robora statim tam lignea quam saxea projicientes, non sine magna multorum læsione, eos aliquantulum repulerunt. Inter quos miles quidam Robertus Barrensis,[1] juvenili insultans calore, mortisque pericula strenuitate contemnens, cum inter primos muris primus obrepsisset, galeato in capite saxo collisus, in imum [2] fossæ præruptæ ab alto corruens, vix tandem a sociis extractus evasit. Ex ictus hujus vehementia, sedecim annis post elapsis, dentes ei molares ceciderunt, et, quod stupore dignius erat, novi statim succreverunt.

They burn all the ships they can get hold of.

A muris itaque se retrahentes, et ad litus proximum certatim irruentes, naves omnes quas ibidem invenerunt igne statim succenderunt. Navis autem una, quæ mercimonii causa de partibus Britanniæ huc advenerat, tritico vinoque referta, anchorarum morsu in portu retenta jacebat. Quam cum electæ juventutis pars potior in scaphis remigando viriliter occupassent, anchorarum funibus nautarum industria jam præcisis, circio a tergo urgente, navemque in altum propellente, non absque magno salutis dispendio, scapharum remorumque præsidio [3] terram iterum vix obtinuerunt. Sic igitur denuo fortuna, in sola varietate non varia, tam Murchardiden quam Stephaniden pene favore destituerat.

On the morrow, without further resistance, Wexford

In crastino vero, missis per exercitum solemniter auditis, consultius et instructius ad insultum procedentes, et tam ingenii quam virium ope suffulti, tam arte scilicet quam marte confisi, cum muris jam

[1] This Robert de Barri was our author's elder brother.

[2] *imum*] L. B. Ha., &c.; imo, R. F. According to Regan (l. 490, &c.), eighteen of the English were killed, and only three of the traitors, as he calls the citizens.

[3] *remorumque præsidio*] So every MS. I have seen; remigumque auxilio, Camden.

appropiassent, cives de defensione diffidentes, suoque[1] principi se injuste resistere considerantes, nunciis ad ipsos transmissis, quæ pacis erant tractare potius satagebant. Intervenientibus igitur episcopis qui tunc in urbe fuerant duobus, aliisque viris bonis et pacificis, pace reformata, cives demum se Dermitio dedentes, quatuor obsides electos de fidelitate sibi de cetero servanda tradiderunt. Ipse vero suos amplius animare jam cupiens, et in primis successibus primos remunerare disponens, urbem statim, cum territorio toto, Stephanidæ et Mauricio juxta pristinæ conventionis debitum assignavit. Herveio quoque de Monte Mauricii duos cantaredos inter urbes duas, Weisefordiam scilicet et Waterfordiam, mari conterminos, in feodum dedit.

A.D. 1169. is surrendered to Dermot.

The city and territory given to Fitz-Stephen and Maurice. *Supra*, p. 229.

Grant to Hervey de Montmaurice of two cantreds.

[Cap. IV.][2]

De Ossiriensium expugnatione.

His igitur ad vota completis, adjunctis sibi Weisefordiæ civibus, cum exercitu virorum quasi trium milium versus Ossiriam[3] acies diriguntur. Fuerat autem Ossiriæ princeps Duvenaldus,[4] inter universos suorum rebelles, Dermitio semper inimicissimus. Qui etiam filium ejusdem primogenitum, olim in vinculis tentum, ad amplissimum tam injuriarum cumulum quam malorum incommodum, zelotypiæ causa exoculaverat. In primis

Invasion of Ossory.

The prince of which had put out the eyes of Dermot's son.

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[1] *suoque*] L. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; suo, R. F.

[2] No new chapter in L. No heading in B., but new chapter indicated by initial letter.

[3] Before this expedition into Ossory, according to Regan (l. 512, &c.), Dermot and his English allies rested and feasted three weeks at Ferns. Regan gives a much fuller account of the invasions of Ossory (p. 27, &c.)

[4] *Duvenaldus*] He is called Donnchad (Donough), lord of Ossory, in the *Four Masters*; Mac Donthid, by Regan. It was in 1168 that Dermot's son, viz., "Enna Mac "Murchadha, royal heir of Lein- "ster, was blinded by the grandson "of Gillaphadraig, Donnchad lord "of Osraighe," *Four Masters*. According to O'Donovan (note (*f*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1175), he was an illegitimate son of Dermot.

A.D. 1169. igitur Ossiriæ partes non longe penetrantes, quasi in ipso terræ limbo, locis in arctis et tam silvis quam paludibus inviis, Ossirienses in patriæ defensione non invalidos invenerunt. Unde et solitis confisi successibus, ipsos etiam usque in ipsa campestria longe persequuntur. Stephanidæ vero equites, in eosdem reversi, statim acriter irruentes, facta strage non modica, ipsos passim per campana diffusos lanceis confodiunt et confundunt. Et quos equestris turma in terram dejiciunt, capitibus statim securibus amplis Hibernicæ pedestres catervæ destituunt. Sic igitur parta victoria, hostium capita circiter ducenta ad pedes Dermitii sunt delata. Quibus[1] singulatim revolutis et agnitis, præ nimio gaudii motu, ter junctis manibus in altum prosiliens, in gratiarum actione summo Creatori voce lætabunda canorus exultat. Unius etiam, quem magis inter ceteros exosum habuerat, capite per aures et comas ad os erecto, crudeli morsu et valde inhumano nares et labra dente corrosit.

Victory of the English.

Dermot's brutality.

Post hæc autem, cum ad ulteriores et penitimas terræ partes, cædibus, rapinis, et incendiis viriliter vacando, jam pluries transpenetrassent,[2] tandem Ossiriæ princeps, de suorum consilio, sub forma pacis licet umbratili, fictaque magis utrinque quam vera, datis obsidibus et sacramentis exhibitis, ad fidelitatem Dermitii redire videbatur.

The prince of Ossory makes apparent submission.

In his vero conflictibus, sicut et aliis cunctis, inter universos strenuitate laudabili cum Roberto Barrensi Meilerius emicuit. Erant enim hi duo adolescentuli ambo, Stephanidæque alter ex fratre, alter ex sorore

The gallantry of Robert de Barri and Meiler.

[1] *Quibus, &c. . . corrosit*] So R. (with marginal addition), F. Ha. Cl., &c. The first clause only, "Quibus " . . exultat," in B. and in text of R. The two clauses are united in L. "Quibus sigillatim revolutis et " agnitis, uniusque quod magis ex" osum habuerat naribus ore cor" rosis, præ nimio gaudii motu, ter " junctis manibus in altum, &c. . . " . . exultat."

[2] *transpenetrassent*] R. B. Ha., &c.; penetrassent, L.

A.D. 1169.

Both nephews of Fitz-Stephen. Their different characters.

nepotes; moribus diversis, variaque natura, sola tamen animositate fere persimili. Meilerius namque, laudis amator et gloriæ, cuncta sui gesta ad hæc[1] summopere referens, quicquid ejus famam amplificare potuerat, illud adimplere modis omnibus satagebat; longeque majori cura videri virtuosus quam esse cupiebat. Alter vero, innata strenuitate valde præcluis, nec laudis exactor, nec auræ popularis aucupator, inter primos[2] optimus esse volebat potius quam videri. Cui[3] et animum natura sic instituerat, ut puellari verecundia nec jactabundus nec verbosus existens, egregia sui facinora nec ipse prædicare, nec ab aliis in laudem efferri gestiebat. Unde et effectum est, ut quo minus gloriam appeteret, tanto eam amplius assequeretur. Gloria namque virtutes quasi umbra[4] sequitur; et appetitores sui deserens, appetit contemptores. Plerique nimirum plus eo ipso placent, quod placere contemnunt: et mirum in modum laus, dum vitatur, acquiritur.

The night-phantom army.

No unfrequent thing in Ireland.

Fearlessness of

Contigit autem aliquando, exercitu in Ossiria in castellario quodam antiquo, et circumquaque pernoctante, 40 b.
his duobus simul ut assolent recubantibus, ecce virorum quasi milia milium infinita[5] undique in illos irruentium, et tanquam in impetu furoris sui cuncta devorantium, cum armorum sonitu, et securium collisione non modica, necnon et clamore terribili cœlum replente. Cujusmodi phantasma in Hibernia circa expeditiones frequens esse solebat. Quo terrore majore exercitus parte in fugam conversa, quibusdam in silvis, aliis in paludibus latebras quærentibus; hi duo soli,

[1] *hæc*] R. B. Rb.; hoc, L. Ha. Cl. Ra. Hb.

[2] *inter primos . . videri*] L.; and R. B. F., but without "potius;" inter primos præcipuus magis esse volebat quam videri, Ha. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[3] *Cui, &c.*] Hence to end of section not in Ha.

[4] *umbra*] L. B. Cl., &c.; umbram, R. F.

[5] F. has here the interlineation "multitudo." It is in no other MS.

A.D. 1169. Robert de Barri, and Meiler. Robert de Barri's pet sparrow-hawk.

statim ad arma prosilientes, ad Stephanidæ tentoria viriliter accesserunt, socios dispersos acriter ad defensionem tam revocantes quam animantes. Robertus vero Barrensis, in tanta tam vehementi cunctorum perturbatione, nisi, quem forte ibidem[1] domesticum habuerat, non sine magna multorum tam admiratione quam invidia, curam ne perderetur solicitus actitabat. Inter varia namque virtutis ejusdem indicia, hoc præcipue de ipso prædicari solet, quod nulla unquam violentia vel inopinata, nulla præoccupatione, nulla desubitatione, vel desperanter meticulosus, vel turpiter in fugam conversus, vel animo consternatus potuit inveniri; semper secum inventus, semper ad tutelam promptus, semper ad arma paratus. Fortissimus ille nimirum est,

Lucan, Pharsal. vii. 105.

"Qui[2] promptus metuenda pati, si cominus instent,
"Et deferre potens."

Primus hic miles, qui in hac Hiberniæ expugnatione, inter martios conflictus ictum suscepit et læsionem: primus[3] hic miles, qui in hac insula niso mansueto et domesticato Nisi filiam infestavit.

[Cap. V.][4]

Totius Hiberniæ in Dermitium et Stephaniden conspiratio.

Volvitur interea fortunæ rota; stantique casum, summisque ruinam, aversa jam facie comminatur. Au-

[1] *ibidem*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; ibi, L.

[2] This quotation not in Ha.

[3] *primus . . . infestavit*] Not in Ha., where is, instead, "Mirum "autem fantasmate tali, quod in "crastino die clarescente, in loco "ubi videbatur exercitus ille in ip- "sos irruisset, herbæ et urticæ, "quæ prius altæ fuerant et erectæ, "solotenus prostratæ jacebant et "complanatæ." The night alarm from this phantom army is described by Regan, p. 47, &c.

[4] This chapter, with part of the next, is in the *Symb. Elect.* iii. 16, under the title "Descriptio Der- "mitii." (Vol. i. 392.)

ditis itaque per insulam novis Dermitii successibus, et exterorum adventu formidabili, Rothericus Connactensium princeps, et totius Hiberniæ monarcha, ex modicis majora conjectans, et mente malorum plerumque præsaga, tam sibi quam patriæ toti ex advenarum accessu imminere pericula jam præsentiens, missis undique legatis, totius insulæ primates in brevi convocavit. Qui statim, communicato consilio, in Dermitium unanimiter insurgentes, exercitus quamplurimos, et hominum multitudinem infinitam, in Kenceleiam Lageniæ partem conjunxerunt.

A.D. 1169. Roderic, prince of Connaught, and monarch of Ireland, summons the lords of the whole island against Dermot. They lead a large army into Kinselagh.

Dermitius vero, amicis hirundineis aliis retro abeuntibus, et quasi in occulto disparentibus, aliis vero, fidei et sacramenti religione postposita, ad hostes aperte se conferentibus, veros præter Stephanidas, in necessitatis articulo, paucos admodum amicos invenit. In loco igitur quodam non procul a Fernis, silvis densissimis, et[1] montibus præruptis, aquis et paludibus orbiculariter obsito, suique natura situque valde inaccessibili, cum suis se contulit. Ubi et statim, procurante Stephanide, concidibus insistens, prostratis arboribus, lignisque consertis silvas undique condensans,[2] puteis altis, foveisque profundis campos exasperans, introitus et exitus occultos et arctos per varios anfractus insultibus aptans, loca denique sibi suisque pervia hostibus invia reddens, naturalem difficultatem industria plurimum et arte munivit. 41.

Dermot, deserted by his fair-weather friends, finds few true friends besides Fitz-Stephen and the English. They retreat to a strong position near Ferns.

[Cap. VI.]

Descriptio Dermitii.[3]

Erat autem Dermitius vir staturæ grandis, et corpore peramplo; vir bellicosus et audax in gente sua;

Description of Dermot.

[1] *et*] Not in L. B. Ha. In R. T. Cl. Hb. Rb. Ra. has "in" instead.

[2] *condensans*] L. B. T. Cl.; condensas, R. F. Ha. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[3] *Dermitii*] R. B.; Murchardidæ, L. Cl. Ra. Rb. Hb. Camden has both, "Murchardidæ, *i.e.* Dermitii." Ha. has "Macmorhith."

A.D. 1169. ex crebro continuoque belli clamore, voce raucisona; timeri a cunctis quam diligi malens; nobilium oppressor, humilium erector; infestus suis, exosus alienis. Manus omnium contra ipsum, et ipse contrarius omni.[1]

Roderic endeavours to come to terms with Fitz-Stephen and Dermot.

Rothericus autem, missis ad Stephaniden nunciis, donariis quoque non modicis tam præmissis quam promissis, ut a patria, in qua jus sibi nullum[2] vindicare potuerat, cum pace et amore discederet, variis suasit verbis, nec persuasit. Nuncii vero ad Murchardiden conversi, ut in exteras nationes delendas simul cum ipsis arma converteret, cum firma Rotherici amicitia totam sibi Lageniam pacificatam reddi spondentes, multa quoque pro patria, multa pro gente allegantes, multis in hanc partem orant sermonibus, nec perorant.

[Cap. VII.]

Oratio Rotherici.

Roderic's oration.

Videns itaque Rothericus se nihil in hunc modum proficere posse, viribusque quam verbis hic potius opus esse jamjam[3] animo concipiens, tanquam ad ultimum remedium ad arma conversus, suos sic demum adorsus est.

"Viri illustres et bellicosi, patriæ tutores et liber-"tatis, quibus cum gentibus, quave de causa, bella "nobis gerenda[4] consideremus. Hostis ille patriæ, "suorum tyrannus, et omnium inimicus, olim expulsus "a patria, in publicam cunctorum perniciem armis "exterorum circumseptus ecce jam rediit. Suorum

[1] Here *Symb. Elect.* iii. 16, ends; and iii. 8 begins with the next clause, "Rothericus," &c., under the title, "Oratio Rotherici." This comprises the remainder of this chapter, and the whole of the next. Vol. i. 392.

[2] *sibi nullum*] R. F. T. Ra.; nullum sibi, L. B. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[3] *jamjam animo concipiens*] R. (by interlineation), F. T. Ha. Hb. Ra. Rb.; jam concipiens, L. R. (originally), B.

[4] *gerenda*] R. B. T., &c.; gerenda sunt, L.

" enimvero invidens saluti, gentem invitavit alienam, A.D. 1169.
" ut malitiam, quam cum effectu per se[1] non poterat, " invisæ nationis feritate suffultus, efficacius in nos " exerceret. Inimicus[2] igitur ipse gentem accivit " inimicissimam; gentem tam sibi, quam nobis omni- " bus, olim imperare gliscentem; gentem quoque, quæ " sibi terræ nostræ deberi dominium, fatis etiam dis- " ponentibus, profitetur.[3] In tantum itaque venenum " suum diffundere jam præparavit, quod, cunctis com- " muni labe infectis, ut nemini parcatur, nec ipse " sibi pepercit. O crudelis[4] bestia, longeque bellua " crudelior omni, quæ, ut civium sanguine iram satia- " ret inexorabilem, nec sibi, nec patriæ, nec sexui " parcere duxit, nec ætati. Hic ille est, qui olim in " suos debacchata tyrannide desævierat: hic ille est, " ille qui in cunctos communiter armatis exterorum " viribus jam crudescit. Cunctorum itaque meretur " odium, qui omnium in commune se approbat[5] inimi- " cum. Attendite, cives, attendite, animisque profundis " altius infigite, quod hujuscemodi occasione, civili " scilicet discordia, cuncta fere regna sunt expugnata. " Julium Cæsarem, qui bis terga Britannis ostenderat, " in suam patriæque subactionem offensus Androgeus, " et doloris augmento dolorem vindicans, tertio revo- " cavit. Idem Julius, occidentali demum orbe subacto, " singularis imperii ambitione, bello plusquam civili, " gentibus invisis Latium præbere cruorem non formi- " davit. Et ut familiaribus quibusdam utamur exem- " plis, nostroque tempori longe propioribus, Gurmun- " dum, insularum malleum, ad expugnandos Britones

Geoffrey of Monmouth, iv. 8.

Ibid. xi. 8.

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[1] *per se*] In R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in L. "prosequi" instead in Rb.

[2] *Inimicus . . . . profitetur*] This clause not in Ha.

[3] *profitetur*] L. T. Cl., &c.; confitetur, R. B. F.

[4] *O crudelis, &c.*] Wanting in Ha., hence to "Principiis enim-" vero," near the end of next section.

[5] *approbat*] L. R. B., &c.; comprobat, T. "in commune" comes after "approbat" in L.

A.D. 1169. 41 b. "in propriam perniciem et subjectionem Saxonum populus invitavit. Quem postea tamen, sorte pejore, ad Franciam expugnandam Francus et Francorum hostis Isembardus adduxit.

"Francorum igitur exemplo pro patria pugnantes, acriter in hostes irruamus. Et dum numero tam pauci huc exteri sunt adducti,[1] eos impetu unanimi conteramus. Ignis enim, dum adhuc in scintillis est, facillime opprimitur: cum vero flammis jam stridentibus, suppetente materia, in rogum simul et robur excreverit, difficilius extinguitur. Principiis enimvero semper obviandum, et morbis venientibus occurrendum. Sero namque

Ovid, Rem. Am. 91.

"'medicina paratur
"'Cum mala per longas invaluere[2] moras.'

"Patriam itaque tuentes et libertatem, nostrique memoriam perlongam facientes, id aggrediendo viriliter effectui mancipemus, ut paucorum interitus multorum sit metus, et istorum exemplo exteræ nationes ab ausu tam nefario inperpetuum absterreantur."

[Cap. VIII.][3]

Oratio Dermitii.

Oration of Dermot.

Murchardides vero suos magna ex parte desolatos, et quasi animis consternatos conspiciens, ipsos verbis quoad[4] potuit sic animavit.

"Viri Lagenienses, quos vera fides et firmior natura nobis in utraque fortuna comites indivisos adjunxit, animos ad tutelam viriliter erigamus. Malleus ille

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[1] *adducti*] R. B. F.; advecti, L. T. Cl., &c.

[2] Ovid has "convaluere" instead of "invaluere."

[3] This chapter in *Symb. Elect.* iii. 9. Vol. i. 392.

[4] *quoad*] R. (margin), F.; quod, L. R. (text, originally), B. T. Cl. Ra. Rb.; quibus, Ha. Hb. Camden.

" malarum artium, et ambitionum omnium magister A.D. 1169.
" et auctor, violento dominatu cunctos opprimere " cupiens, ad nos iterum a patria pellendos, vel etiam " in ipsa, quod absit, patria delendos, ecce super " capita nobis jam imminet. De multitudine superbus " et elatus, ambitionem suam brachio metitur: sed " inermi[1] multitudini et inerti plerumque gravis esse " solet animosa paucitas et armata. Si Lageniam " quærit, quoniam alicui Connactensium aliquando sub-" jecta fuit, ea[2] ratione[3] Connactiam petimus, quia " nostris aliquoties cum totius Hiberniæ subdita fuerat " monarchia. Nec ille more monarchæ dominari quæ-" rit; sed damnare, sed delere, sed a patria propellere, " et in omnium jura solus succedere, et omnia solus " obtinere. Multi sunt, et de multitudine forte[4] con-" fidunt: sed congredi cum multis ausos noverint " Lagenienses. Non enim virorum, seu virium, sed " virtutum copia bella vincuntur. Pro nobis itaque " contra superbiam humilitas, contra injuriam jus " et æquitas, contra arrogantiam et intemperantiam " modus et modestia dimicabunt. Numerosis[5] virtu-" tibus, non viribus innumeris, viri victoriam conse-" quuntur. Injuriam armis irrogatam armorum propul-" sare remedio leges et jura permittunt. Favorabilis " est causa pro patria simul patrimonioque pugnare. " Illi de lucro captando, nos de damno vitando certa-" mus. Præterea locum habemus arctum, tam arte " quam natura munitissimum: in quo et ipsa sibi " multitudo fiet onerosa, et ad victoriam sufficere " poterit paucitas unanimis et animosa."

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[1] *sed inermi . . noverint Lagenienses*] Not in Ha.

[2] *ea*] L. R. B. Cl., &c.; eadem, T.

[3] After *ratione* Camden has *et nos.* But it is in no MS.

[4] After *forte* Camden has *glorientur et.* This in no MS.

[5] *Numerosis . . . patrimonioque pugnare*] Not in Ha.

[CAP. IX.][1]

Oratio Stephanidæ.

A.D. 1169. The oration of Fitz-Stephen.

Finito itaque Dermitii sermone, suos Stephanides sic alloquitur.

"Bellorum socii, adolescentes electi, qui tot pericula "nobiscum experti animo semper excelso invictoque "fuistis, si diligenter attendamus qui, quo cum[2] duce, "quove tenore, hæc subeamus discrimina, et solita "strenuitate præcellemus, et nos fortuna in prælio "pristino favore non destituet. Trojano partim ex
42. "sanguine linea descendimus originali. Ex Gallis "namque[3] propaginem ex parte trahimus et naturam. "Hinc[4] nobis animositas, illinc armorum usus accedit. "Cum itaque duplici natura, nobilique hinc inde pro- "sapia, tam animosi simus quam armis instructi, "populum inermem, turbamque plebeiam, nobis resis- "tere non posse quis diffidet? Præterea,[5] dolo domes- "tico, intestinaque malitia, natali cum solo ampla "perdidimus patrimonia. Unde et in has partes non "stipendiorum ambitio, non auri cæca fames, sed "terrarum et urbium nobis et nostris perpetua largi- "tio nos advexit. Non ergo piratæ, non prædones "huc advenimus. Virum hunc illustrem, largitorem "optimum et liberalem, fraude suorum circumventum "reparamus: miseremur afflicti, juvamus oppressum, "patriæ patrimonioque restituimus destitutum. Gen- "tem[6] hic nostram diligit, gentem hic nostram at- "trahit, gentem hic nostram in insula plantare, et "immobiliter radicare proposuit.[7] Hujus forsitan

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[1] This chapter, and part of the next, form the 10th chapter of *Symb. Elect.* iii. Vol. i. 392.

[2] *cum*] R. L., &c.; etiam, T.

[3] *namque*] R. B. T. Cl., &c.; quoque, L. Ra.

[4] *Hinc . . accedit*] Not in Ha.

[5] *Præterea . . patrimonia*] Not in Ha.

[6] *Gentem . . attrahit*] Not in Ha.

[7] After *proposuit* Ha. has only the last clause, "Id igitur," &c.

"occasionis eventu, et quinque portiones in unum A.D. 1169.
"redigentur, et ad nostrates in posterum totius regni "dominium devolvetur. Si nostra manu parta fuerit "victoria, et Murchardides restituitur, et nostro ag-"gressu regnum Hibernicum nobis et nostris in per-"petuum retinetur, O quanta hæc gloria, quantisque "periculis, et quanto tam vitæ dispendio quam mortis "contemptu viris appetenda! Quid enim aliud mors "quam interpolatio quædam, modicique temporis mora, "et quasi somnus inter momentaneam hanc vitam "medius et[1] manentem? Quid aliud mors, quam "brevis quidam transitus a[2] transitoriis ad æterna? "Moriendum quoque est, quia inevitabile est illud et "commune, etsi nullo egregio facinore vel gloria vitam "illustret, vel mortem laudis memoria consequatur. "Illis itaque[3] mors terribilis, quorum omnia simul "cum morte mori videntur; non his, quorum laus "emori non potest. Id igitur, viri viribus insignes "et virtute præclari, id unanimiter aggrediamur, ut "in nobis[4] hodie genus nostrum non degeneret; et "in hoc conflictu, seu vincendo seu moriendo, per-"petuam nobis gloriam strenuitate comparemus."

[CAP. X.]

De pace reformata.[5]

Sciens autem Rothericus ambiguos semper bellorum eventus; et quoniam, juxta Comici sententiam,[6] omnia sapienti viro prius quam arma sunt tentanda; cum armatis quoque exterorum viribus plurimum con- Peace concluded.

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[1] "illam" before *manentem* in Camden. But it is in no MS.

[2] *a*] In L. T. Cl., &c. Not in R. B. F.

[3] *itaque*] L. R. B. Cl., &c.; namque, T.

[4] *nobis*] R. T. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.; nos, L. B. Ha.

[5] The heading omitted in L.; new chapter indicated by initial letter only. So also in B.

[6] Ter. Eun. 4, 7, 19.

A.D. 1169. gredi reformidans, nunciis intercurrentibus, ea subire quæ pacis sunt modis adhuc omnibus attentavit. Bonorum itaque virorum interventu, et gratia desuper inspirante favorem, pax[1] demum sub hoc formata tenore est: quod, relicta Dermitio Lagenia, ipse Rothericum tanquam Hiberniæ principem et monarcham debita subjectione recognosceret. Et ut hoc ratum maneret et illibatum, super hoc etiam ei filium suum Cnuchurum[2] nomine obsidem dedit. Cui et Rothericus, pace processu temporis operum exhibitione stabilitatem sortita, filiam suam se nuptui daturum spopondit.

Dermot to have Leinster, under Roderic as monarch of Ireland, and to give his son as a hostage to Roderic.

His igitur publice propalatis, sacramentis quoque ad eorundem confirmationem utrinque præstitis, et hoc inter eos sed in privato convenit, quod advenas in insulam de cetero Dermitius non advocaret; illos etiam, quos jam acciverat, pacificata sibi Lagenia, statim remitteret.

[Cap. XI.]

Adventus Mauricii et Dubliniæ subactio.

The arrival of Maurice Fitz-Gerald;

His ita[3] completis, iterum tanquam arridente fortuna, vultusque serenos advertente, ecce Mauricius Giraldi filius, de quo supra[4] mentionem fecimus, uterinus scilicet Stephanidæ frater, cum decem militibus,
42 b. et arcariis[5] triginta, sagittariis quoque pedestribus

[1] *Symb. Elect.* iii. 10 ends thus: "concordia inter ipsos demum est "formata, et Dermitio Lagenia in "pace relicta."

[2] *Cnuchurum*] L. Cl., &c.; Enuchurum, R. B. F. He is called Conchobhar (Conor, *Anglice*), son of Dermot, heir apparent of Leinster, by the *Four Masters*.

[3] *ita*] L. B. Cl. Rb.; itaque, R. F. Ha. Hb. Ra.

[4] See p. 229 and 233 *supra*. Maurice Fitz-Gerald and Robert Fitz-Stephen were sons of the famous princess Nesta, by different husbands. Regan mentions the arrival of "Moriz le fiz Gerout," as he calls him, l. 1154. He has nothing, however, about the expedition to Dublin, or other occurrences mentioned in this chapter; he goes on to relate events, instead, not mentioned by Giraldus. The *Four Masters* seem to have nothing corresponding to either of them.

[5] *arcariis*] L. R. B.; satellitibus equestribus, Ha. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

circiter centum, apud Weisefordiam in duabus navibus applicuit; vir quidem probus et prudens, vir fide et strenuitate conspicuus, vir puellari verecundia, tam animi quam verbi constantia clarus.

A.D. 1169. at Wexford.

Murchardides autem, adventus hujus eventu exhilaratus plurimum et animatus, graves Dublinensium injurias, tam sibi quam patri toties illatas, vindicem ad animum anxie revocans, convocato exercitu, statim in Dubliniam acies et arma disponit. Stephanide interim in rupe quadam prærupta, stadiis[1] a Weisefordia fere duobus, quæ vulgari vocabulo Karrech dicitur, municipium construente, locumque natura munitum arte juvante; et Mauricio Anglorum exercitum cum Dermitio ducente, eique ducis in modum præsidente. In brevi itaque toto urbis territorio, cum provinciis adjacentibus, deprædationibus, cædibus, et incendiis, ad exterminium fere redacto, tandem cives de pace tractantes, de fidelitate principi suo de cetero servanda, et debitis exhibendis obsequiis, cautionem securam præstiterunt.

Expedition against Dublin.

Fitz-Stephen meanwhile fortifying the rock called Carrick, near Wexford.

Dublin has to submit to Dermot.

Ortis interim inter Rothericum Connactensem et Duvenaldum Limericensem[2] inimicitiis, cum Rothericus armata manu Limerici fines jam intrasset, Dermitius in Duvenaldi, puta sui generi auxilium, Stephaniden cum suis transmisit. Quorum fultus auxilio, post varios conflictus ubique victoria potitus, Rotherico cum dedecore ad sua revertente, se ab ejus dominatu omnino subtraxit.

Expedition of Fitz-Stephen, in aid of Donnell of Limerick, against Roderic of Connaught.

In his etiam expeditionibus, sicut et in aliis cunctis, mira strenuitate cum Roberto Barrensi Meilerius emicuit.

Robert de Barri, and Meiler.

Hic autem tunc temporis mulier visa est barbata, et in tergo jubata. De qua in *Topographia* locuti fuimus.

The bearded woman.

Supra, p. 107.

[1] *stadiis*] L. R. B.; miliaribus, Ha. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[2] The *Four Masters* say, but under A.D. 1170, that "Donnell "son of Turlough O'Brien, lord of "half Munster, turned against Ro- "deric O'Conor."

[CAP. XII.]

De comitis Ricardi Strigulensis præparatione.[1]

A.D. 1169. Dermot aspires to the monarchy of Ireland.

Murchardides autem, se ad ulteriora jam erigens, toto sibi patrimonio ad manus jam reverso, ad avita et antiqua jura[2] conspirans, Connactiam sibi, cum universa Hiberniæ monarchia, potenti manu subjicere proponit. Super hoc itaque Stephaniden et Mauricium in secreto conveniens, animique conceptum omnino denudans, hoc facile fieri posse responsum suscepit, si amplioribus Anglorum viribus latus[3] stipari procuraverit. Cum igitur modis omnibus eis supplicasset, quatinus genus et gentem copiosius in insulam advocarent, propositumque suum effectui mancipare curarent, tandem, ut efficacius id ipsis persuaderet, eorum alterutri cum regni successione filiam obtulit primogenitam. Sed quoniam tunc forte legitima copula gaudebat uterque, post multas deliberationes in hoc consilium denique resedit, ut comiti Ricardo, cujus supra mentionem fecimus, et cui[4] filiam eandem olim in Bristolli partibus daturum pepigerat, nuncios quantocius dirigeret, literas in hæc verba deferentes:

Offering either to Fitz-Stephen or Maurice, his daughter, and succession to his kingdom. But sends to earl Richard, to whom he had before made the same offer.

Dermot's letter to earl Richard.

Literæ comiti directæ.[5]

"Dermitius Murchardi filius, Lageniensium princeps, Ricardo comiti Strigulensi, Gileberti comitis filio, salutem.

"'Tempora[6] si numeres bene quæ numeramus
"'egentes,
"'Non venit ante suum nostra querela diem.'

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[1] Heading omitted in L., though space left for it. New chapter indicated also by initial letter. So also in B.

[2] *jura*] R. B. Ha., &c.; jura jam, L.

[3] *latus*] R. B. Ha., &c.; latus suum, L.

[4] *cui, &c.*] R. B. Ha.; cui se, &c., L.; cui filiam eandem se quondam, Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[5] *Literæ comiti directæ*] L. B. Cl.; Literæ comitis, R. F.

[6] Ovid, Ep. Her. ii. 7, where 'amantes,' not 'egentes.'

A.D. 1169.

"Ciconias et hirundines observavimus; venerunt aves "æstivæ; venerunt, et circio jam flante reversæ sunt. "Desiderabilem, et diu expectatam præsentiam vestram, nec favonius nobis nec eurus advexit. Moram[1] "itaque sanet executionis efficacia; et id operum efficiat exhibitio, ut 'solo' videatur 'tempore lapsa 43. "'fides.'[2] Ad nos Lagenia tota jam rediit. Si in "manu valida tempestivus adveneris, quatuor portiones "ad quintam de facili convertentur. Gratum itaque "reddideris adventum, si acceleratum; celebrem, si "celerem; festivum quoque, si festinum. Vulneratæ "siquidem ex parte per incuriam dilectioni renovata "cicatricem obducit[3] affectio. Amicitia namque cito "sanatur officio; et obsequentis gratiæ beneficio, in "majoris integritatis robur excrescit."

Who, at length, taking courage from the already success, sets about to fulfil his engagement.

Quibus auditis, comes Ricardus, post multa variaque consilia, tandem ex aliorum eventibus sibi formam præscribens, et ex Stephanidæ successibus quam prius abhorruerat audaciam sumens, totis in Hiberniam tendens nisibus, totis in illam anhelans suspiriis, ad ejus expugnationem omnimodas erigit intentiones.

Erat autem vir hic vir sanguine conspicuus, et Clarensium clara de stirpe progenitus; vir quidem plus nominis hactenus habens quam ominis, plus genii quam ingenii, plus successionis quam possessionis. Veniens igitur ad Anglorum regem Henricum secundum, obnixe supplicat et efflagitat, ut vel terras ipsum jure hereditario contingentes eidem[4] saltem mediante justitia restitueret, vel in exteris regionibus se fatis et fortunæ committendi licentiam daret.

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[1] *Moram . . jam rediit*] Not in Ha. The last clause also, "Vulne-"ratæ," &c.. not in Ha.

[2] Ovid, Ep. Her. ii. 102.

[3] *obducit*] R. (originally), B. Cl.; obducet, R. (by alteration), F. Hb. Ra. Rb.; adducit, L.

[4] *eidem*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; ei, L.; sibi, Camden.

[Cap. XIII.]

A.D. 1170. *Adventus Reimundi, et Waterfordensium apud Dundunnolf*[1] *confectio.*

Arrival of Reimund le Gros; about the 1st of May.

Accepta igitur quasi licentia, ironica namque magis quam vera, brumali translapso tempore, juvenem quendam de familia sua, Reimundum[2] nomine, cum decem militibus et sagittariis septuaginta, circa kalendas Maii in Hiberniam præmisit; juvenem scilicet validum et robustum, militaribus armis instructum, tam Stephanidæ quam Mauricii ex fratre primævo nepotem. Applicantes itaque in rupe quadam marina, quæ Dundunnolf dicitur, a Waterfordia miliaribus[3] quasi quatuor, a latere Weisefordiæ meridionali, tenue satis ex virgis et cespite castrum erexerunt.

He is attacked by the citizens of Waterford, &c.

Waterfordiæ vero cives, et cum ipsis Machsachelinus[4] Ophelan, fama statim eventum divulgante, exterorum viciniam suspectam habentes, communicato consilio principiis obviandum ducentes, in ipsos unanimiter arma sumere decreverunt. Transeuntes itaque

[1] *Dundunnolf*] So R. B. Cl., &c., and L. elsewhere; Dundunofh, L. here. Regan calls it "Dondonuil" or "Domdonuil," p. 68.

[2] *Reimundum*] He was a Fitz-Gerald, son of William elder brother of the Maurice Fitz-Gerald of Cap. XI. *supra*. Regan and others commonly call him "Reymond le Gros," the reason of which name we shall see in our author's description of him, *infra*, ii. 8. It seems probable that Giraldus must be wrong in making him arrive in Ireland so early in the year as May. Earl Richard arrived August 23, and it is very difficult to imagine it possible that Reimund could have waited for him all the summer months in idleness at Dundunnolf. Moreover Regan expressly says that earl Richard's arrival was soon after ("Bien tost après," l. 1501) that of Reimund.

[3] *miliaribus*] R. B. Cl., &c.; stadiis, L. Ha.

[4] *Machsachelinus*] L. R. B. Cl. Ra.; Machlachelinus, Hb. Rb., Camden. This was Maelseachlainn Ua Faelain, *Anglice* Melaghlin (or Malachy) O'Phelan, lord of Decies, a large territory in the county of Waterford. Regan (l. 1420) calls him "Del Deys Dovenald Osfelan," *i.e.*, I suppose, Donnell O'Phelan of the Decies. He was taken prisoner when Waterford was captured soon afterwards by earl Richard. *Infra*, p. 255.

flumen Suirense, quod Desmoniam[1] a Lagenia sub ipsius urbis muralibus ab oriente disterminat, quasi tria virorum milia, tribus ad insultum turmis ordinatis, fortiter accedunt ad fossata. A.D. 1170.

Sed quoniam vix est ut virtus clausa celari, ut animositatis ardor extingui, ut probitatis scintilla comprimi valeat et includi, Reimundus cum suis, licet numero perpauci, strenuitate tamen conspicui, eis obviam exeuntes, nimis impari certamine congressi sunt. Sed quia tantæ multitudini paucitas tam exigua, licet eximia, de plano resistere non potuit, ad castra reversi, hostes a tergo persequentes intra valvas vix[2] plene suspensas certatim intrando susceperunt. Videns autem Reimundus seque suosque in arcto, immo extremo articulo jam constitutos, vultum ad hostes viriliter convertens, primum intrantem in ipsis januis gladio transverberavit. Et exclamans voce altisona, uno ictu, nobilique regressu, tam suos ad tutelam revocavit, quam horrendum hostibus metum incussit. Sic igitur, 43 b. ancipiti semper bellorum alea, qui victi videbantur in momento victores effecti, hostes in fugam conversos, et passim jam per campana dispersos, tanta strage persequuntur, ut incontinenti quingentos[3] et eo amplius interimerent. Et cum lassatas feriendo manus ab ictibus jam suspenderent, ab altis in mare rupibus præcipitati sunt infiniti.

Victory of Reimund.

In hoc conflictu miles quidam, Guillelmus scilicet Ferrandus, mirabili strenuitate præpolluit; vir[4] carne[5] quidem infirmus, sed corde firmissimus: imminentem, ut videbatur, lepræ malitiam morte nimirum prævenire desiderans tam præmatura quam præclara.

Gallantry of William Ferrand.

Hic Waterfordiæ superbia cecidit: hic totum ejus

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[1] *Desmoniam*] L. R. B. Cl., &c.; Momoniam, Ha.

[2] *vix*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; vix adhuc, L.

[3] Regan (l. 1468) reckons the slain at 1,000.

[4] *vir . . præclara*] Not in Ha.

[5] *carne quidem*] L. B. Cl., &c.; quidam carne, R. F.

A.D. 1170. robur evanuit. Hinc nobilis urbis cœpit eversio; hinc Anglis spes, hinc[1] consolatio; hinc hostibus horror, hinc desperatio. Inauditum enim hactenus est in partibus[2] illis, tam modica manu tantam stragem factam fuisse. Pravo tamen consilio, detestabili nimis et inhumana sævitia abusi sunt fortuna. Cum[3] enim, completa victoria, septuaginta cives de potioribus et primis intra castra captivos in vinculis tenuissent, propter quos vel urbem ipsam, vel pecuniam infinitam suscepisse potuerant, Herveius de Monte Mauricii,[4] qui cum tribus militibus in eorum adventu se statim ipsis adjunxerat, et Reimundus alternis deliberando sententiis ad contraria contendunt.

Seventy of the principal citizens taken prisoners.

Discussion as to the disposal of them.

[Cap. XIV.]

Oratio Reimundi.

The oration of Reimund, in favour of sparing their lives.

Reimundus enim, ad eorum laborans liberationem, sic adorsus est:

"Viri commilitones, quibus ad gloriæ cumulum virtus "simul et fortuna contendunt, quid de captivis nostris "statuendum videamus. Nec enim hostibus parcen"dum ulla ratione decreverim. Sed hi non hostes "jam, sed homines; non rebelles, sed debellati, sed "victi, sed fatis urgentibus ob patriæ tutelam superati. "Honesta[5] quidem occupatio. Non fures, non factiosi, "non proditores, non prædones. Eo jam numero sunt "constituti, ut in eis potius locum habeat pietas ad "exemplum, quam crudelitas ad tormentum. Difficile

[1] *hinc*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; hic, L.

[2] *partibus*] L. Ha. Cl., &c.; temporibus, R. B. F.

[3] *Symb. Elect.* iii. 11 begins here, under the heading "Oratio Rei"mundi." It comprises to the end of the next chapter. Vol. i 392.

[4] *Mauricii*] L. B. Cl.; Maurisco, R. Ra. Rb. Hb. He is called "Hervi de Mumoreci" by Regan, l. 1496.

[5] *Honesta . . prædones*] Not in Ha., where also the speech ends with the next sentence, "Eo jam . . " . . tormentum."

"quidem est, et tanto virtus antiquior, effrenes semper "et luxuriantes incommodis[1] animos inter prospera "temperare. Efficiat igitur in nobis dignissima laude "clementia, ut cetera qui vicimus animos vincamus et "iram. Solet quippe præcipites animi motus modus "et modestia mitigare. O quam laudabile est viro "magnifico, quoties inter ipsos triumphales successus "pro vindicta reputat vindicare potuisse! A.D. 1170. Ovid, Her. iii. 85.

"Julius Cæsar, cujus victoriis orbis angustus erat, "in tanto imperio suo tantum Domitium, cui tamen "et ante[2] vitam donaverat, jussit occidi. Pietas in "ipso et gloriam adauxit, et victorias non impedivit. "O quam impia, quam bestialis sævitia, ubi victoriam "nulla sequitur misericordia! Fortis enimvero viri est, "qui de victoria contendunt eos hostes putare; qui "victi fuerint eos homines judicare; ut possit bellum "fortitudo minuere, pacem humanitas augere. Est "itaque nobili viro misereri quam vincere laus longe "præstantior. Illud enim fortunæ, istud virtutis est. "Sicut igitur, si gladiis nostris rebelles cum aliis in "acie cecidissent, profecto id nobis augmento victoriæ "cessisset ad gloriam, sic captis et ad vitam reservatis, "et tanquam ex hostium numero in hominum cœtus "jam reversis, de cetero mors indita, cum famæ detri-"mento non modico, ad ignominiam nobis vergeret et "confusionem. Cum igitur eorum internecio[3] patriæ "non sit liberatio, ad augenda tam militum stipendia, "quam virtutis exempla, longe commodior eorum re-"demptio censenda videtur quam peremptio. Sicut "enim martios inter conflictus, galeato jam capite, "sanguinem sitire, cædibus insistere, solum gladiis "allegare, feritate plusquam ferina se cunctis in acti-"bus inexorabilem præbere militem decet, sic, bellico 44.

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[1] *incommodis*] L. R. Hb.; in commodis, B. T. Doubtful in Cl. Ra. Rb.

[2] *ante*] R. B. T. Cl., &c.; antea, L.

[3] *internecio*] L. R. B. Cl. Ra.; interemptio, T. Hb. Rb.

A.D. 1170. "cessante tumultu, armis jam exutis, feritate quoque "deposita, resumi debet humanitas, et animo nobili "pietas et mansuetudo renasci."

[Cap. XV.][1]

Oratio Herveii.

The oration of Hervey de Montmaurice, advocating the putting the prisoners to death.

Finito Reimundi sermone, et murmure populi cum quodam quasi favore[2] subsecuto, surgens ad proceres Herveius sic adoritur:

"Satis exquisite Reimundus de pietate nobiscum "disseruit, internos forsitan animi sui motus verborum "compositione nobis ostentans: tanquam pietatis ope-"ribus, et non potius cædibus et incendiis, terra sit "exterorum expugnanda. Numquid hac via Julius, "numquid Alexander Macedo, universas subdidit na-"tiones? Numquid[3] sponte ad pietatis istorum spec-"tacula gentes undique concurrerunt; et non potius vi "et armis coactæ, crudelitatis quoque terrore compulsæ, "colla submiserunt? Dum adhuc superbi, dumque[4] "rebelles sunt populi, pietate postposita, modis sunt "omnibus expugnandi. Cum vero jam subditi, jam "servire parati, tum demum, salvo regiminis modera-"mine, cum omni mansuetudine sunt tractandi. Hic "itaque pietas, ibi exhibenda crudelitas: hic locum "habet clementia, ibi sævitia. Reimundus vero, quasi "populis jam subditis sola sit opus misericordia, vel "tanquam, hostibus in nimia paucitate constitutis, "ubi virtus eniteat invenire non valeat, cum tamen "totus Hiberniæ populus in nostram nec immerito "conjuraverit perniciem, hostium augere numerum

[1] This Cap. XV. forms the 12th chapter of *Symb. Elect.* iii. Vol. i. 392.

[2] *favore*] L. R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; fervore, T.

[3] *Numquid, &c.*] Hence to "mo-"liuntur exterminium" (p. 253), not in Ha.

[4] *dumque*] R. B. T. Cl., &c.; dumque adhuc, L.

"istorum adjectione mirabili pietate contendit. Contrarius et inconstans esse videtur. Populum expugnare venit; et ut populo parcatur, argute proponit. O quam impiæ pietatis exemplum, propria prorsus contempta salute, super hostium calamitate pie moveri! Præterea, jam plures in castris hostes habemus quam domesticos: undique periclitamur exterius. Parum hoc nobis esse videtur, nisi et intus quoque periclitemur? Foris infiniti, intus multi, nostrum moliuntur exterminium. Quid si forte vinculis ruptis, quibus satis tenuiter alligantur, ad nostras subito proruperint armaturas? Mus in pera, ignis in sinu, serpens in gremio, hostes in ostio, male suos remunerant hospites. Nonne[1] quod agit opere, destruit sermone? Respondeat, quæso, Reimundus. Cum ad nos[2] expugnandos instructis aciebus advenerunt, si eorum forte manu parta fuisset victoria, numquid nobis pietate deferrent? Numquid[3] victis vitam venderent? Numquid captos ulla redemptione liberarent? Sed non est opus[4] multiloquio, ubi res est in expedito. Nostra siquidem sic victoria consummetur, ut istorum interitus aliorum sit metus; et ipsorum exemplo populus effrenis ac rebellis nobiscum de cetero congredi reformidet. Duorum quippe alterutrum eligamus. Aut enim ad quod venimus, id viriliter exequamur; populumque rebellem, dissimulata prorsus clementia, armis et animositate potenti manu debellemus. Aut si pietatis operibus, juxta Reimundi sententiam, potius indulgere dignum duxerimus, reversis velis plebi miserabili patriam et patrimonia relinquamus." Placuit commilitonibus Herveii sententia; et condemnati cives, membris confractis, in maris præcipitium dati sunt.

A.D. 1170.

44 b.

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[1] *Nonne . . sermone*] Not in Ha.

[2] *nos*] R. B. T. Ha., &c.; hos, L.

[3] *Numquid . . . congredi reformidet*] Not in Ha.

[4] *est opus*] R. B.; opus est, L. T. Cl., &c.

[Cap. XVI.]

A.D. 1170. *Adventus comitis, et tam[1] Waterfordiæ expugnatio quam Dubliniæ.*

Earl Richard sails from Milford Haven; and lands at Waterford, Aug. 23.

Interea comes Ricardus, præparato tanti conaminis apparatu, per australis Kambriæ maritima Meneviam petens, electam in partibus illis juventutem coadunavit. Conquisitis igitur et peractis tanto navigio necessariis, in portu Milverdico naves ascendens, vento velis[2] a tergo incubante, cum ducentis militibus, et aliis circiter mille, circa kalendas Septembris, vigilia videlicet Sancti Bartholomei, apud Waterfordiam applicuit.

Prophecies of Merlin Silvester,

Merlinus Celidonius. Tunc[3] impletum est illud Celidonii; "Igneum rogum fax præveniet. Et sicut scintilla "facem, sic fax rogum provocabit." Similiter et illud

and Moling the Irishman.

Hibernicus Melingus. Hibernici Melingi;[4] "Veniet magnus, "præcursor majoris: qui Desmoniæ simul et Lageniæ "capita conculcans, præparatas antea vias armatis "egregie viribus ampliabit."

Next day, Reimund comes to the earl.

In crastino[5] vero, fama eventum divulgante, Reimundus comiti cum quadraginta militibus lætabundus occurrit. Mane vero post festum, die quodam Martis,

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[1] *tam . . . Dubliniæ*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; Waterfordiæ expugnatio, L.

[2] *velis*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; velisque, L.

[3] *Tunc . . ampliabit*] This section in L. R. B. Ha. and Hooker. Not in Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[4] *Melingus*] St. Moling, of Teach-Moling, or Tigh-Moling, now St. Mullins, in county Carlow. In the *Martyrology of Donegal* he is commemorated under June 17, and is called "Bishop and confessor, of Tigh-Moling." According to Harris's *Ware* (Bishops, p. 437), he became archbishop of Ferns in A.D. 632. He died in 696. As to the prophecies ascribed to him, see Professor Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 419, &c. (Dublin, 1861).

[5] *In crastino . . occurrit*] L. R. B. Ha. Ra. and Hooker. Not in Cl. Hb. Rb. Regan also says (l. 1504) that earl Richard arrived at Waterford on the Eve of St. Bartholomew, August 23. But he says that the city was taken by the earl the next day, August 24. He is very brief; has no mention of Reimund taking part in the assault, and no mention of captives.

martia communiter ad urbis insultum jam muris imminentia[1] vexilla vehuntur. Sed cum a civibus, et Dundunnensis cædis reliquiis, jam bis viriliter repulsi fuissent, Reimundus,[2] qui jam omnium assensu totius exercitus dux et tribunus, militiæque princeps, effectus fuerat, videns domunculam quandam per postem deforis a muro dependentem, undique ad insultum[3] omnes acriter invitans, viros armatos ad ejusdem postis succisionem quantocius immisit. Quo succiso, statim domus illius facta ruina, cum muri quoque parte non modica, certatim intrantes hostes in urbem irruerunt; et cæsis catervatim per plateas civibus, victoria potiti sunt cruentissima. Captis igitur in turre Raghnaldi[4] duobus Sitaracis, et gladio sublatis, Raghnaldo vero et Machsachelino Ophelano similiter ibidem captis, sed interventu Dermitii, qui cum Mauricio et Stephanide jam tunc advenerat, ad vitam reservatis, dispositis urbi custodibus, filia quoque Dermitii, Eva nomine, ibidem comiti, patre tradente fœdusque firmante, legitime copulata, cuncta communiter versus Dubliniam vexilla reguntur.[5]

A.D. 1170. Tuesday, Aug. 25, Waterford attacked. Two repulses. Reimund the general.

The town taken, with great slaughter.

Captives.

Marriage of earl Richard and Eva.

Expedition against Dublin.

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[1] *imminentia*] R. B. Ha., &c.; eminentia, L.

[2] *Reimundus . . effectus fuerat*] In L. R. B. Ha. Ra. Not in Cl. Hb. Rb., Camden.

[3] *insultum*] R. B. Ha., &c.; assultum, L.

[4] *Raghnaldi . . Raghnaldo*] R.; Roghnaldi . . Roghnaldo, B.; Rahnaldi . . Raghenaldo, L. Reginald's tower is now commonly called the Ring Tower. Note to *Four Masters*, A° 1170. Machsachelinus Ophelanus, Melaghlin O'Phelan, has been mentioned before, *supra*, p. 248. The *Four Masters*, under A.D. 1170, describing the taking of Waterford, say that the English "took Gillemaire, the officer of the fortress, "and O'Phelan, lord of the Deisi, "and his son, and killed 700 persons there." Regan says that Regenald and Smorch were the leaders of the citizens, l. 1506.

[5] *reguntur*] L. R. B. Ha.; vehuntur, Cl. Hb. Ra., Camden; vehentur, Rb.

[Cap. XVII.]

A.D. 1170.

De Dublinensis urbis expugnatione.[1]

A large army of Irish between them and Dublin.

They therefore go by the mountains of Glendalough.

While treaties of peace going on, Reimund and Milo de Cogan

Sciens autem Dermitius totum fere Hiberniæ populum,[2] in defensionis auxilium a civibus Dubliniæ convocatum, omnes circa urbem vias nemorosas et arctas armis obsedisse, paternæ non immemor injuriæ, nemorosa declinans, per devexa montium de Glindelachan latera exercitum ad urbis mœnia duxit indemnem. Præ omnibus namque Hiberniæ civibus istos non immerito magis habebat exosos. In medio namque domus cujusdam grandis, ubi tanquam in foro[3] pro rostris sedere consueverant, patrem ipsius interemptum,
45. damno dedecus annectentes, cum cane cives tumulaverant. Missis autem legatis, et interveniente præcipue laudabilis memoriæ Laurencio, sedis Dublinensis tunc archipræsule, cum de pace primo tractatus[4] haberetur, ex una parte Reimundus, ex altera miles animosus Milo Coganensis, cum juventute tam belli quam lucri cupida, certatim ad muros irruentes, victoriam statim

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[1] No heading in L. New chapter indicated by initial letter. So also B.

[2] An army of 30,000 men, under Roderic king of Connaught, the monarch of Ireland. Regan, l. 1570, &c. See also *Four Masters*, A° 1170.

[3] *foro pro rostris sedere*] L. R. B. Ha. Cl. Ra.; foro procedere, Hb. Rb. Instead of *rostris* Camden has *curia*. According to O'Donovan, the father of Dermot was Donough O'Maelnambo, lord of Hy-Kinselagh, who fell in battle against Donnell O'Brien and the foreigners of Dublin, A.D. 1115. *Four Masters*, A° 1115, and note (*y*). I have met with no confirmation of Giraldus's account of the burial of his corpse.

[4] *tractatus*] R., &c.; tractus, L. Regan assigns the very questionable exploit of attacking the city, while negotiations of peace were pending, to Cogan alone, without any mention of Reimund, l. 1674, &c. The *Four Masters* (A.D. 1170) say that the foreigners of Dublin deserted the Irish cause for that of Dermot and his English allies, who, nevertheless, treacherously "made a slaughter of "them in the middle of their own "fortress, and carried off their "cattle and their goods." According to Regan (l. 1626), it was on St. Matthew's day, September 21, that Dublin was taken.

adepti, non sine magna civium strage urbem viriliter invaserunt. Pars tamen eorum potior, Hasculpho duce, naves et[1] scaphas cum his quæ pretiosiora possederant intrantes, boreales ad insulas se navigio transtulerunt. A.D. 1170. attack and take the city. Escape of Hasculf, &c.

Eodem die duo magna in urbe miracula contigerunt. De cruce videlicet immobili facta, quam cives ad insulas asportare contenderant; et denario eidem oblato bis resiliente; sicut in *Topographia* declaratur. Miracles. *Supra*, p. 129.

Cum itaque comes per aliquot dies de statu urbis disposuisset, ibidem Milone Coganensi custode relicto, instinctu Murchardidæ, antiquas inimicitias vindicem ad animum revocantis,[2] Ororicii Medensis fines hostili invasione demoliuntur. Tota igitur Media crebris deprædationibus, cædibus quoque et incendiis jam exterminio data, Rothericus Connactensis, suam agi rem prospiciens, "paries ubi proximus ardet," nuncios Dermitio in hæc verba transmisit: Invasion of the territories of O'Rourke of Meath. Hor. 1 Ep. xviii. 84.

"Contra pacis formam, exterorum multitudinem "in insulam advocasti. Dum tamen intra Lageniam "tuam te continuisti, æquanimiter sustinuimus. Nunc "autem, quoniam nec sacramenti memor, nec obsidis "dati misertus, metas positas patriosque fines insolenter "excessisti, aut exterorum tuorum de cetero compescas "excursus, aut præcisum tibi filii tui caput proculdubio "remittemus." Roderic's threatening letter to Dermot.

Cum autem Dermitius ad hæc superbe respondisset, adjiciens quoque se a proposito non destiturum, donec sibi Connactiam, avito jure competentem,[3] cum totius Dermot's contemptuous reply.

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[1] *naves et*] Not in L. B. Ha. An interlineation in R. In text of F. Cl., &c. Hasculph is called by the *Four Masters* Asgall, mac Raghnaill, mec Turcaill; by Regan, "Esculf (or Hesculf) Mac Turkil," l. 1638 and 2260.

[2] *revocantis*] L. Ra.; revocantes, R. B. Ha. Cl. Hb. Rb. Regan has nothing of this invasion of O'Rourke's country. It is mentioned by the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1170.

[3] *competentem*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; contingentem, L.

A.D. 1170. Roderic puts Dermot's son to death.

Hiberniæ monarchia subjugaverit, indignans Rothericus filium ejus, quem ei [1] obsidem dederat, capitali sententia condemnavit.

[Cap. XVIII.] [2]

Armatiense concilium.

Council of the Irish clergy at Armagh.

English slaves in Ireland.

The people of England used commonly to sell their children into Ireland.

Decree of the council that the slaves be emancipated.

His itaque completis, convocato apud Archmaciam totius Hiberniæ clero, et super advenarum in insulam adventu tractato diutius ac deliberato, tandem communis omnium in hoc sententia resedit: propter peccata scilicet populi sui, eoque præcipue re quod Anglos olim tam a mercatoribus, quam prædonibus atque piratis, emere passim et in servitutem redigere consueverant, divinæ censura vindictæ hoc eis incommodum accidisse, ut et ipsi quoque ab eadem gente in servitutem vice reciproca jam redigantur. Anglorum namque populus, adhuc integro eorundem regno, communi gentis vitio, liberos suos venales exponere, et priusquam inopiam ullam aut inediam sustinerent, filios proprios et cognatos in Hiberniam vendere consueverant. Unde et probabiliter credi potest, sicut venditores olim ita et emptores tam enormi delicto juga servitutis jam meruisse. Decretum est itaque prædicto concilio, et cum universitatis assensu publice statutum, ut Angli ubique per insulam servitutis vinculo mancipati, in pristinam revocentur libertatem.

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[1] *ei*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; sibi, L. The son of Dermot had been given as a hostage to Roderic in 1169; *supra*, p. 244. According to the *Four Masters*, 1170, two other hostages were put to death at the same time; viz., a son of Dermot's son Donnell Kavanagh, and a son of Dermot's foster-brother.

[2] This chapter not in L. In R. B. Ha., &c. Giraldus seems to be the sole authority for this council at Armagh.

[Cap. XIX.]

Edictum Anglorum regis.

A.D. 1170.

Auditis interim rerum istarum eventibus, fama de magnis semper majora vulgante, et quoniam comes non tantum Lageniam, sed et alia quædam nec sibi nec uxori ullo jure competentia jam invaserat, ab Anglorum rege edictum emanavit, ut ab universis terris suæ ditioni subditis nulla de cetero navis in Hiberniam quicquam advectare præsumat; et ut omnes omnino de terris suis illuc advecti, aut infra proximum pascha redeant, aut exheredati prorsus exules a regno inperpetuum fiant. 45 b. Henry II.'s edict against the invaders of Ireland.

Videns autem comes seque suosque in arcto jam positos, et tam suorum amissione, quam necessariorum defectu desperanter afflictos, communicato suorum consilio, ad Anglorum regem, licet in remotis Aquitannicæ Galliæ partibus agentem, Reimundum in hæc verba destinavit. Earl Richard sends Reimund to the king:

"Licentia vestra, mi domine, si bene recordor, in "Hiberniam transfretavi, fideli vestro Dermitio resti-"tutionis auxilium impendere desiderans. Unde et "quicquid in ea vel ex ejus, vel alterius patrimonio, "mihi fortunæ favor adjecit, sicut ex vestræ benigni-"tatis munificentia totum provenit, sic ad eandem "pro libito vestro[1] nutuque redibit." placing his conquests in the king's hands.

[Cap. XX.]

Martyrium Thomæ.[2]

Ea tempestate, Reimundo curiam sequente, et rege solita morositate responsum differente, Thomas Can- Martyrdom of St. Thomas of

[1] *vestro*] Not in L. B. In margin of R. In text of F. Ha. Cl., &c.

[2] *Thomæ*] R. B. Cl. Hb. Ra., Camden; beati Thomæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, L. This chapter forms the 26th chapter of *Symb. Elect.* iii. (vol. i. 393). It is repeated in large part, but with large

A.D. 1170. Canterbury. His seven years exile. His penitential disciplines. The proscription of all of his blood. Remarkable circumstances of his passion.

tuariensis archiepiscopus in Anglia gladiis impiorum occubuit; non sine multa majorum tam regni quam sacerdotii nota. Cui,[1] præter multiplex illud septennalis fere exilii martyrium, in multo mœrore, cilicio scilicet duplici, tam femorali quam corporali, in lectione et oratione continua, et omnium angustiarum gravissima, nec ætati parcente nec sexui tam miserabili sanguinis universi proscriptione, ad consummabilem totius martyrii gloriam id totum accessit; quod ipse furibundis hostibus templi[2] fores aperuit, et aperto vertice gladiis occurrens, sacram vulneribus coronam obtendit; quod in ecclesia matre et metropolitana, et coram altari; quod a quatuor aulicis canibus, rabie plusquam canina furentibus, in corona, quæ clero potius signum protectionis esse solebat, quatuor vulnera sustinuit, et nullum extra; quod ea solum in parte, quæ passionem Christi significat, Christi miles et martyr insignis intrepide passus emicuit, felici commercio incorruptibilem pro corrupta coronam suscipiens; quod sacram Dominici natalis hebdomadam suo quoque sanguine consecravit; et sicut primus Thomas quinta natalem luce prævenit, sic iste secundus, sacris ex nomine jam cessantibus, eundem numerum subsequenter implevit; quod ille orientis lampas fuit, hic occidentis; quod ille nascenti ecclesiæ lumen dedit, hic senescenti; et sicut ille surgentis ecclesiæ fundamenta suo sanguine cœmentavit, sic iste suo diu fundatæ, tanquam ruinosæ jam et tam senio confectæ quam vi tempestatum crebro concussæ, pristinum statum reformavit; et sicut ille fervens erat fide fervente, sic iste non

St. Thomas Ap. Dec. 21. St. Thomas Cant. Dec. 29. Further comparison with St. Thomas Ap.

additions, in the *Vita S. Remigii*, &c., cap. 27; and again, in large part, in the 3rd chapter of 2nd Distinction of *De Instructione Principis*. Hooker refuses to insert it in his translation, because it "tendeth "wholly in extolling of one, who "was a froward and obstinate "traitor against his sovereign."

[1] *Cui, &c.*] Of all the rest of this chapter, only the conclusion, "Anno "videlicet," &c., in Ha.

[2] *templi fores*] L. B., *Vit. Remig.*, &c.; fores templi, R. F.

tantum fervens, sed et plusquam fervor fuit jam refrigente; et sicut ille, ut ecclesiæ substantiam erigeret,[1] tortoribus se cruentis exposuit, sic iste, ut ejusdem formam conservaret illæsam, gladiis[2] occumbere non formidavit. Cujus quoque triumphales tantæ gloriæ titulos hi duo versiculi sub compendio satis egregie comprehendunt; A.D. 1170. 46.

"Pro Christi sponsa, Christi sub tempore, Christi
"In templo, Christi verus amator obit."

De quo, inter varias ejusdem virtutes, illud præcipue[3] spectabile, memoriaque dignum occurrit, quod separatis membris et projectis, inaudito more nova reposuit: et hac suæ novitate virtutis, vere novus martyr apparuit. [Unde[4] quidam, Miracles of a new and unheard-of sort.

"Miratur rediisse virum[5] neutratus: ocelli
"Succedunt oculis, albus hic, ille niger."

Quia, ne causari malignitas posset, eosdem oculos fuisse quos prius habuerant,[6] non erutos ad plenum sed læsos, dati sunt minores et diversi coloris; miraculoque majori, quibus non minus in tenebris et nocte obscura, quam clara luce videbant.]

Merlinus Celidonius.[7] Nec hoc aliquatenus Silvestrem nostrum latere potuit, qui ait: "Miracu- Prophecy of these miracles,

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[1] *erigeret*] L. T., *Vit. Rem.*, *De Instr. Pr.*, Cl., &c.; exigeret, R. B. F.

[2] *gladiis*] After this, *impiorum* in L., but in no other MS.

[3] *præcipue*] Not in L., but everywhere else.

[4] *Unde quidam . . . . videbant*] This, probably, has no right to be here. It is in no early MS. of the *Expugnatio*, first appearing in the 14th century MSS. It is not in the *De Instruct. Princ.*, about the latest of our author's works, where he says expressly that he is quoting from this Vaticinal History. It is in *Vit. Rem.*, Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb. It seems to have been inserted here, by some 14th century copyist, from the *Vita Remigii.*

[5] *virum*] So the MSS., and so *Vit. Rem.*: "visum," surely, must be the right reading.

[6] *habuerant . . . videbant*] *Vit. Rem.*, Cl. Ra. Rb.; habuerat . . . . videbat, Hb.

[7] *Celidonius*] L. B.; Silvester, R. F. These prophecies not in *Vit. Rem.* or *De Instr. Princ.* Not in Cl. Hb. Rb. The three first words only, "Nec hic aliquatenus," in Ra.

A.D. 1170. by Merlin Silvester. "lorum novitate martyr novus emerget: qui in occiduis tam terris quam temporibus, mutilatis et miseris speciali virtute tam eruta restituet[1] quam præcisa." Others of his prophecies. Item, "Dolor in gaudium convertetur, cum matris in utero patrem filii trucidabunt. Orientis privilegio gaudebit occidens; et solis in occasu,[2] sole per occasum oriente, dum opprimi lumen et extingui videtur, nubilos occidentis tam terræ quam temporis nova serenitate dies illustrat. Venient oratores ab oriente, et terrarum tam principes quam primates in occiduis oceani finibus novi vestigia martyris adorabunt, etc." As to be further set forth in the Book of Prophecies. Quæ de eodem martyre idem manifeste vates emisit: sicut in *Vaticiniorum libro* declarabitur.[3]

Date of St. Thomas's birth, death, &c. Occidit autem hoc tritici granum, et in terram cadens multum fructum attulit, anno videlicet ortus sui circiter quinquagesimo quarto,[4] consecrationis octavo, exilii septimo, in fine Decembris felici bravio cursum finiens, veteremque vitam cum anno terminans et novam inchoans; ab incarnatione vero Domini M°C°LXXI°., præsidente Romæ Alexandro tertio, imperante Frederico, regnante in Francia Lodovico. [Unde[5] quidam;

"Annus millenus centenus septuagenus
"Primus erat, primas quo ruit ense Thomas."]

[1] *restituet*] R. B. T., &c.; restuet, L.

[2] *occasu*] R. B. T.; occasum, L.

[3] *declarabitur*] R. B. T.; manifeste declarabitur, L. After this section is added in T., on an inserted leaf, and in a somewhat later hand, "Unde et pauca quæ circiter finem "martyris, &c. . . . ad hæc revelandum eadem hora tam magnifice "suscitavit;" as in *Vit. Remig.* (*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 423, 424).

[4] *circiter quinquagesimo quarto*] R. B.; quadragesimo octavo, L. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; and so *Vit. Remig.* and *De Instr. Princ.* Becket was born in 1117; and therefore on Dec. 29, 1170, the day of his martyrdom, was in the 54th year of his age. He was consecrated June 3, 1162, and escaped from England Nov. 2, 1164; therefore Giraldus is short by a year in saying the eighth of his consecration, but right in saying the seventh of his exile.

[5] *Unde quidam . . Thomas*] Not in L. R. B. T. Ha. In *Vit. Rem.*, Cl. IIb. Ra. Rb. It is also in *De Instr. Princ.*; but introduced very differently, as if not repeated from here.

Elapsa interim hieme, Dermitius Murchardi filius, plenus dierum, apud Fernas circa[1] kalendas Maii rebus humanis exemptus est.

A.D. 1171 Death of Dermot.

[Cap. XXI.]

Confectio Norwagiensium apud Dubliniam.[2]

Eadem fere tempestate, circa Pentecosten,[3] Hasculphus, olim Dublinensium princeps, vindice defervens animo, cum Norwagiensibus et insulanis in sexaginta[4] navibus urbem expugnaturus, Avenliphense litus obtinuit. A navibus igitur certatim[5] erumpentes, duce

Dublin attacked by Hasculph; and a Norwegian, &c., army, led by John the Mad.

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[1] *circa*] R. B. Ha.; circiter, L. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb. Regan says that Dermot abode at Ferns during the winter of 1170–1171, and then adds that he lies buried there:

> " A Fernes pus demorout
> " En cel yver li rei Dermod.
> " Li reis, qui tant esteit gentils,
> " A Fernes gist enseveliz.
> " Si est mort le rei Dermot. Pro-
> " pitius sit Deus animæ ejus."
> ll. 1728–1733.

The *Four Masters*, A.D. 1171, thus describe his death: "Diarmaid " MacMurchadha, king of Leinster, " by whom a trembling sod was " made of all Ireland, after having " brought over the Saxons, ... " died of an insufferable and un- " known disease. For he became " putrid while living, through the " miracle of God, Colum-Cille, and " Finnen, and the other saints of " Ireland, whose churches he had " profaned and burned some time " before. And he died at Fearna- " mor, without a will, without pen- " ance, without the body of Christ, " without unction, as his evil deeds " deserved."

[2] The order of events in Regan is different. First after Dermot's death he places the siege of Dublin by the king of Connaught, Cap. XXII. *infra* of Giraldus; and this attack by Hasculf not until after earl Richard's departure into England to meet the king, *infra*, Cap. XXVII. It is plain that the earl was not at Dublin when Hasculf's attack was made, but it does not follow that he was therefore gone into England. The *Four Masters*, 1171, place Hasculf's attack first, as Giraldus. But they do not profess to put the events always of each year in the order in which they occurred.

[3] Whitsunday in 1171 fell on May 16.

[4] A hundred ships, according to Regan; who also says the invading army was reckoned at 20,000 men, from Eir (Orkney), Man, and Norwiche (Norway): p. 108.

[5] *certatim*] Not in L. B. Interlined in R. In text of F. Ha. Cl., &c.

A.D. 1171. The Danish armour. Johanne agnomine þe Wode, quod Latine sonat *Insano*,[1] vel *Vehementi*, viri bellicosi, Danico more undique ferro vestiti, alii loricis longis, alii laminis ferreis arte consutis, clipeis quoque rotundis et rubris circulariter ferro munitis, homines tam animis ferrei quam armis, ordinatis turmis ad portam orientalem muros invadunt.

Miles de Cogan, the governor of the city, goes out to meet them. Verum Milo Coganensis, tunc urbis custos, innatæ animositatis audacia, longe licet impari numero, viriliter ipsis obviare præsumpsit. Sed hostiles impetus tam parva manu perferre non prævalens,[2] parte suorum perdita, militis quoque coxa, ferro utrinque vestita, uno securis ictu cum panno loricæ præcisa,[3] hoste urgente in portam regredi compulsus est; Is at first driven back. donec Ricardus Coganensis, Milonis frater, per posticam australem cum paucis clam egressus, ipsos a tergo acriter exclamando percussit. Cujus inopinati eventus et desubitationis [4] causa, aliis ante, aliis retro confligentibus, ambigua semper bellorum alea, statim confecti et in fugam sunt conversi. But at length gains a complete victory. Interfectis itaque fere cunctis, Johanne quoque Vehementi, non absque tutela virili, a Gualtero de Ridenesfordia et aliis quibusdam demum expugnato et interempto,[5] 46 b. John the Mad killed. Hasculph taken prisoner; Hasculphus a marina glisi, per quam ad naves transfugerat, retractus, ad majorem victoriæ cumulum vivus in urbem cui paulo ante præerat est reductus. Ad redemptionem itaque reservatus, et in curia coram Milone constitutus, in

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[1] So Regan calls him, "Johan le "Devé—de Norwiche," *i.e.* John the Mad, from Norway; and adds that he was nephew of the king of Norway, according to Irish report: p. 108. The *Four Masters*, 1171, call him "Eoan, a Dane, from the "Insi-hOrc" (Orkney islands).

[2] *prævalens*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; sustinens, L., but with *vel prævalens* over it.

[3] This feat by John the Mad, according to Regan, besides killing nine or ten others of the English: l. 2443, &c.

[4] *desubitationis*] R. B. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.; dubitationis, L., but altered to *subitationis* by a later hand; subitationis, Ha.

[5] According to Regan (l. 2451), John was killed by Miles de Cogan himself. Of the whole Norwegian army, not more than 2,000, he says, made their escape (l. 2491).

publico auditorio verbum hoc indignanter [et impudenter [1]] emisit. "Parva," inquit, "manu nunc advenimus, et solum nostri conaminis initialia sunt ista. "Sed tantum [2] mihi vita superstite, in brevi his longe "disparia multoque majora sequentur." Quo audito, quoniam "In manibus linguæ mors et vita," [3] et quoniam frangit Deus omne superbum, maleque dolorem vindicat quisquis doloris augmento dolorem accumulat, præcepto Milonis statim illi capite præciso, paulo ante clementer indultam insolenti verbo vitam amisit.

A.D. 1171.

beheaded, by order of Milo.

[Cap. XXII.]

Obsidio Dubliniæ a Rotherico Connactensi facta et insulanis.

His ita completis, videntes Hibernici comitem et suos, tam suorum jactura quam victualium defectu, quibus Anglicanæ copiæ beneficio hactenus insula abundare consueverat, jam deficientes, collectis undique viribus, cum infinita totius fere Hiberniæ principes [4] multitudine Dubliniam obsidione cinxerunt: Laurentio Dublinensi antistite zelo suæ gentis, ut ferebatur, hoc procurante. Missis quoque literis, tam archipræsulis quam Rotherici Connactensis, Gottredum Maniæ principem, necnon et alios insulanos, ad portum urbis maritimum obsidendum, tam verborum invitant persuasione, quam larga quoque stipendiorum promissione. Qui tanto promptiores effecti, quanto sibi quoque ex

Dublin besieged by an immense army of the Irish.

At archbishop Laurence's instigation, it was said.

A fleet also from the Isle of Man, under king Gottred.

[1] *et impudenter*] Not in L. R. B. Ha. In Cl. Ra. Rb.; et imprudenter, Hb.

[2] *tantum*] L. R. B. Cl. Ra. Rb.; tamen, Hb. Camden.

[3] "Mors et vita in manu linguæ." Prov. xviii. 21.

[4] *principes*] L. R. B. Cl. Hb. Ra.; principum, Ha.; princeps, Rb. According to Regan (l. 1753), this army consisted of 60,000 men. In Cap. XXIV. *infra*, Giraldus seems to say that Roderic's division alone consisted of 30,000. Neither Regan, nor the *Four Masters*, have any mention of archbishop Laurence's instigation, or of the auxiliary fleet from the Isle of Man.

A.D. 1171.

Anglorum successibus subjectionis imminere periculum formidantes, circio flante, naves circiter triginta bellicosis plenas viris in Avenliphii portum incunctanter adducunt. Tutum namque præsidium, suave collegium, eorum habere solatia quos ipsa simul delectat subire discrimina.

After a two months' siege, victuals fail in the city.

Cum itaque[1] duobus jam fere mensibus intra muros urbis comes et sui clausi fuissent, nec ulla prorsus victualia vel ipsis terra vel mare misisset, deficientibus alimentis, solitaque malitia non uno contenta malo, sed cumulante semper incommoda fortuna sinistra, ecce Duvenaldus, Dermitii filius, de Kenceleiæ finibus adveniens, Stephaniden intra Karrectense[2] castrum a Weisefordiæ civibus, necnon et Kenceleiensibus, quasi tribus virorum milibus, cum paucis obsessum nuntiavit; et nisi infra diem tertium ei in manu valida succurratur, de ipso et his qui cum ipso sunt non amplius cogitandum. Erant autem intra Dubliniam cum comite obsessi, Giraldides Mauricius, et Reimundus, a curia jam reversus; tam suorum quam sui non mediocriter anxietate turbati. Quorum Mauricius, quanquam propria plurimum, longe plus tamen optimi fratris et uxoris, pignorumque suorum calamitate commotus, quæ in hostium medio municipium tenebat immunitissimum, virgis tenuiter[3] et cespite clausum, ad comitem surgens et proceres, in hæc verba prorupit.

Fitz-Stephen also besieged in Carrick fort, by the men of Wexford, &c.

[Cap. XXIII.]

Oratio Mauricii.

The oration of 47.

"Non ad delicias, viri, non ad otia vocati, in hos "terrarum fines advecti sumus. Fortunæ potius ten-

[1] The remainder of this chapter, with the whole of the next, forms Cap. 13 of *Symb. Elect.* iii. (vol. i. 392).

[2] *Karrectense*] R. B. T.; Karractense, L.

[3] *tenuiter*] L. R. B.; tantum, T. IIa. Cl. IIb. Ra. Rb.

"tare vices, et sub capitum periculo vires[1] animosi-"tatis venimus experiri. In summitate rotæ aliquam-"diu stetimus, et ecce ad ima jam devolvimur; iterum "ad summa, volubilitatis ratione, provehendi. Hæc "est enim rerum mundanarum mutabilitas, ut alternis "vicibus semper adversis prospera distinguantur. Solis "ortum, cœli revolutione, sequitur occasus; et occi-"dentis tenebras ad ortum tendens orientis lampas "illuminat. Quibus hactenus, cum triumphi gloria, "tantam rerum omnium copiam fortunæ favor minis-"traverat,[2] en clausis undique hoste marique victualia "jam deficiunt. Auxilium nobis nec mare mittit, nec "classis inimica permittit.

A.D. 1171. Maurice Fitz-Gerald, advocating an attack on the enemy.

"Stephaniden quoque, cujus animositas et nobilis "ausus viam in insulam nobis aperuit, exili municipio "clausum, privatumque, gens inimica coarctat. Quid "igitur expectamus? Numquid enim ad nostræ gentis "solatium aspiramus? Ea jam lege tenemur, ut sicut "Hibernicis Angli, sic et Anglis Hibernici simus.[3] "Nec enim[4] minore nos odio illa quam ista per-"sequitur insula. Moram itaque rumpentes et igna-"viam, quoniam 'Audentes[5] fortuna juvat,' dum nobis "jamjam deficientia vires adhuc alimenta ministrant, "hostes viriliter aggrediamur; animosaque paucitas "et armata, solita strenuitatis opera, consuetaque belli "victoria, multitudinem inermem conterat et imbellem."

Virg. Æn. x. 284.

"Talia[6] voce refert; curisque ingentibus æger,
"Spem simulat vultu, premit alto corde dolorem."

Virg. Æn. i. 208.

Finito Mauricii sermone, Reimundus, ejusdem doloris telo percussus, cum universorum applausu simili sen-

Reimund speaks to the same purport.

[1] *vires*] L. T. Ha. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.; viros, R. B. F.

[2] *ministraverat*] L. R. B. Ha.; adjecerat, T. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[3] *simus*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl. Ra.; sumus, L. Hb. Rb.

[4] *nec enim . . ministrant*] Not in Ha.

[5] *Audentes*] L. R. B. Cl. Ra.; audaces, T. Hb. Rb.; "audentes" in Virgil, with *alias* "audaces."

[6] This quotation not in Ha.

A.D. 1171. tentia peroravit;[1] adjiciens quoque Connactensium in regem, tanquam primum et principalem, in primis irruendum, ut, illo confecto, aliorum exercituum haud difficilis fieret persecutio.

[CAP. XXIV.]

Confectio Rotherici apud Dubliniam.

They march in three small troops: Certatim igitur electa juventus ad arma prosiliens, in tres turmas, quanquam tenues, se statim separat et secernit.[2] In prima Reimundus cum militibus viginti; in[3] media Milo cum triginta; in tertia et ultima comes et Mauricius cum quadraginta: præter arcarios[4] et cives paucos, salva urbis custodia, singulis turmis adjunctos. Egredientes itaque subito, hora quasi post nonam, non sine magna contentione, utri[5] videlicet, an urbis an familiæ præfecto, primus de jure cederet cum hoste conflictus, against an army of 30,000 men. triginta milium virorum exercitum, propter matutinos ejusdem diei congressus improvidum penitus et improvisum, tam parva manu viriliter invadunt. They surprise Roderic's camp; Reimundus igitur, inter primos primus existens, et primum in hostes impetum faciens, longe ante alios statim duos lancea perforavit. Meilerius quoque, et duo Mauricii filii, Giraldus et Alexander, licet ultimæ turmæ addicti,[6] innatæ tamen strenuitatis

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[1] Hooker here adds a long speech of Reimund. I have seen it nowhere else. But it sounds, in his translation, vastly like a genuine oration of Giraldus. Regan has nothing about Maurice Fitz-Gerald or Reimund urging a sally. He describes the gallant conduct of Cogan, Reimund, earl Richard, and Meiler, in the attack on the Irish camp, pp. 92, 93; but has no mention whatever of Fitz-Gerald throughout the siege.

[2] *separat et secernit*] L. R. B. Ha.; separant et secernunt, Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[3] *in*] L. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in R. B. Regan places Miles de Cogan in the van, then Reimund, p. 91.

[4] *arcarios*] L. R. B.; satellites equestres, Ha. Cl., &c.

[5] *utri*] R. B. Cl; utrum, L. (originally), Ha. Hb. Ra.; utrique, L. (by alteration), Rb.

[6] *addicti*] L. R. B.; primitus addicti, Ha. Cl., &c.

indicio ad primam se subito proripientes, viri armis et animositate conspicui, promptissime subsequentes, multos ad tenebras a luce transmittunt. A.D. 1171.

Multis igitur interemptis, et cunctis omnino confectis, Rotherico vero, qui tunc forte in balneis sedebat, vix elapso, fugitivos et victos cædibus insistendo usque ad vesperam persecuti, demum victualibus et vecturis, spoliis quoque et armis onerati simul et honorati revertuntur.[1]

and gain a complete victory.

47 b.

Dispersis igitur et statim disparentibus[2] exercitibus;[3] tam australi scilicet archipræsulis, cum totis præter Kenceleiam et Weisefordiam Lageniæ viribus, Machelano scilicet et Machtalewi, Gillemeholmoch, et Otuethelis,[4] quam aliis quoque simili terrore concussis; ex parte boreali his, scilicet Ororicio Medensi, Ocaruelo Urielensi, Machsachelino, et Ocadhesi,[5] cum multitu-

The other armies disperse: viz., the southern one of the archbishop, and the northern one under O'Rourke, &c.

[1] Regan says they found such stores of provisions in the camp, wheat, flour, and bacon, that victuals were plentiful in Dublin for a year: p. 94. According to the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1171, it would seem that Roderic was not present. Their account is this: "Roderic O'Conor, " &c., led an army to Dublin, to lay " siege to the earl, *i.e.*, Strongbow, " and Miles Cogan. There were " conflicts and skirmishes between " them for a fortnight. O'Conor " afterwards went against the Lein- " stermen (with a portion of his " troops), to cut down and burn the " corn of the Saxons. The earl " and Milo Cogan afterwards en- " tered the camp of Leath-Chuinn, " (*i.e.*, the northern half of Ireland, " to which nearly all Roderic's " army belonged,) and slew many " of their commonalty, and carried " off their provisions, armour, and " horses." However, as it is not directly stated that Roderic had not returned from his foray, before the attack on the camp, there is no actual contradiction in the accounts.

[2] *disparentibus*] L. R. B. Ha. Cl. Ra.; dispergentibus, Hb. Rb.; se dispergentibus, Camden.

[3] *exercitibus*] L. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; exercitus, R.

[4] *Otuethelis*] L. R. B.; Oneyl, Ha. Otuethelis is Ua Tuathail, *Anglice* O'Toole, the surname of a powerful Leinster family, whose tribe and territory name was Ui-Muirreadhaigh, "Omurethi" of our author. The territory Ui-Muirreadhaigh comprised about the southern half of the present county Kildare. See O'Donovan's note (*e*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1180. The archbishop of this siege, the famous and afterwards canonized St. Laurence, was of this family.

[5] *Ocadhesi*] R. B.; Ochatesi, L. Ua Cathasaigh, *Anglice* O'Casey.

A.D. 1171. On the morrow the earl sets out for Wexford.

dine multa; in crastino, dispositis urbi custodibus, versus Weisefordiam, superiore per Odronam via, victricis palmæ vexilla reguntur.

[Cap. XXV.][1]

Dolosa Stephanidæ captio.

The men of Wexford and Kinselagh, about 3,000 in number, make frequent assaults upon Fitz-Stephen, with his five knights and a few archers. But in vain.

Interim autem, fortuna variante vices, et semper adversis quibusdam secunda turbante, ne cuiquam inveniatur fida comes, neu firma in terris[2] contingere valeat vel perfecta felicitas, Weisefordenses cum Kenceleiensibus, circa tria virorum milia, Stephaniden improvisum, et nil tale timentem, cum militibus quinque et sagittariis paucis circumseptum, fidei sacramentique religione contempta, crebris insultibus impetere non cessant. Sed quoniam se nihil viribus profecturos præsentiunt, viris quanquam perpaucis ad defensionem tamen promptissimis, et præcipue milite quodam, Willelmo videlicet agnomine Not, longe præ aliis in hac defensione virtute micante, ad consueta fallaciæ tela figmentaque dolosa concurrunt. Adductis igitur episcopis ad fossata duobus, Weisefordensi scilicet et Kildarensi, aliisque viris religionem habitu[3] præferentibus, reliquiis[4] appositis, communiter omnes sacramento corporaliter præstito jurantes affirmant, comitem, Mauricium, et Reimundum, necnon et Anglos universos, Dublinia capta, jam deletos; Connactensem quoque exercitum, simul cum Lageniensi, ad Weisefordiæ partes jam appropriare. Asserunt quoque se, Ste-

At length, by falsehood and perjury, they seduce him into surrendering.

[1] This chapter, with part of the next, forms Cap. 17 of *Symb. Elect.* iii. (vol. i. 392).

[2] *terris*] R. B. T., &c.; terra, L.

[3] *religionem habitu*] L. R. B., &c.; religionis habitum, Ha.

[4] *reliquiis*] Hooker's translation is, "A masse-booke, Corpus Domini, "and certain reliques." Regan has nothing about the bishops, &c. He says that, after Fitz-Stephen had sent thirty-six of his men to the aid of earl Richard, the traitors attacked him, killed most of his men, and took him and five other chevaliers prisoners: p. 85.

phanidæ ipsius commodi causa, id totum fecisse; ut ipsum scilicet, quoniam mitis eis et liberalis princeps extiterat, ante inimicæ multitudinis adventum, salve cum suis in Kambriam transvectare potuissent. Quorum assertioni tandem Stephanide fidem adhibente, seque suosque eorum fidei committente, statim quibusdam suorum interemptis, alii verberibus, alii vero vulneribus graviter afflicti, in carceres et vincula contruduntur. Nec mora: fama pernicibus alis veram Dubliniæ confectionem, et comitis adventum divulgante, proditores statim, urbem totam proprio incendio concremantes, ad insulam Begeri in portus ostio sitam, quæ et sancta vocatur, cum suis omnibus tam rebus quam captivis navigio transferuntur.

A.D. 1171.

They kill some of his men, imprison others. On news of the English triumph at Dublin, they burn their city, and take refuge in the island of Begeri.

[Cap. XXVI.]

Descriptio Stephanidæ.

O virum, virtutis unicum verique laboris exemplum; fortunæ variæ, sortique adversæ plusquam prosperæ, semper obnoxium! O virum toties, tam Hibernia[1] quam Kambria, utrasque rotæ circumferentias æquanimiter expertum, et

Description of Robert Fitz-Stephen.

"Omnia[2] passum,
"Quæ pejor fortuna potest, atque omnibus usum
"Quæ melior!"

O vere[3] Marium secundum, Stephaniden! Cujus si felicitatem respexeris, felicissimum videas; si vero miseriam, miserorum omnium miserrimum dicas. Erat autem vir amplo corpore et integro, vultuque decenti, 48.

[1] *Hibernia*] L. R. B. T. Ha. Cl. Ra. Rb.; in Hibernia, Hb., Camden.

[2] *Omnia, &c.*] Lucan, Pharsal. ii. 131. Lucan says this of Marius.

[3] *O vere . . dicas*] This clause not in Ha.

A.D. 1171. et statura[1] paulo mediocritatem excedente; vir dapsilis et largus, liberalis et jocundus, sed vino Venerique trans modestiam datus.[2]

The earl, on his march to Wexford, defeats an army of Leinster men in the pass of Odrone.

Interea comite Weisefordiam tendente, Lageniensium exercitus in passu Odronæ, quanquam in sui natura arcto nimis et invio, concidibus tamen plurimum arte munito, illi obviam venit. Ubi et commisso gravi conflictu, interemptis tandem hostium multis,[3] præter juvenis unius casum cum suis omnibus ad campana comes indemnis evasit: Meilerio præ aliis ibidem solita strenuitate micante.

[Cap. XXVII.]

Descriptio comitis.

Description of Richard, earl of Striguil.

Comiti vero modus hic erat. Vir subrufus, lentiginosus, oculis glaucis, facie feminea, voce exili, collo contracto: per cetera fere cuncta, corpore procero. Vir liberalis et lenis. Quod re non poterat, verborum suavitate componebat. Togatus et inermis, parere paratior quam imperare: extra bellum plus militis quam ducis, in bello vero plus ducis quam militis habens. Omnia suorum audens consilio: nihil unquam ex se vel armis aggrediens, vel animositate præsumens. In prælio positus, fixum suis recuperationis et refugii signum manebat. In utraque belli fortuna stabilis et constans; nec casibus adversis desperatione fluctuans, nec secundis ulla levitate discurrens.

[1] *et statura . . . excedente*] Not in L. B. In margin of R. In text of F. T. Ha, &c.

[2] Cap. 17 of *Symb. Elect.* iii. ends with "datus." Cap. 18 begins with "Interea comite," &c., and reaches to end of next chapter.

[3] According to Regan (p. 96), O'Ryan, lord of Odrone, was amongst the slain.

[Cap. XXVIII.]

De occursu comitis Anglorum regi.[1] **A.D. 1171.**

Nec mora: descendentibus illis ad Weisefordiæ fines, occurrunt eis nuncii, Stephanidæ eventum, reique casum, et urbis incendium explicantes; ex parte quoque proditorum firmiter asserentes, quod si ad illos accedere forte præsumant, præcisa sibi suorum capita statim cuncta remittent. Quibus auditis, non sine magna mentium amaritudine, versis in dexteram loris, versus Waterfordiam iter arripiunt. Ubi et Herveium repeniunt ab Anglorum rege, quo perrexerat, jam reversum; ad eundem quoque comitis in Angliam accessum tam literis quam verbis persuadentem. Comes itaque, venti velique beneficio statim æquore transcurso, in Claudicestriæ[2] partibus apud Niwenham regi occurrit; jam in Hiberniam cum exercitu non modico transmigrare[3] parato. Ubi, post multas et varias altercationes, tandem Herveii circumventu pariter et interventu, regia erga ipsum sic resedit indignatio, ut renovato subjectionis vinculo, regni caput, Dubliniam scilicet, cum cantaredis adjacentibus, necnon et urbes maritimas et castra regi cuncta concederet; residuum vero conquisitionis suæ de rege et heredibus suis ipse et heredes sui recognoscerent. Quibus eo tenore completis, rex per maritimam viam versus Meneviam iter arripuit. Et Penbrochiam veniens, pulcherrimam in brevi Milverdico portu classem conjunxit.

The earl deterred by the threats of the Irish from attempting to rescue Fitz-Stephen.

Proceeds to Waterford.

Thence to Henry II., whom he finds at Newnham, Gloucestershire.

Henry's anger against him appeased.

Henry collects a fleet in Milford Haven.

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[1] No new chapter in L., or indication of one. No heading in B., but new chapter indicated by initial letter. Heading in the text is that of R. "De pace et concordia inter "regem et comitem in Claudioces"triæ finibus reformata," is the heading in Cl. Hb. Ra., Camden.

[2] *Claudicestriæ*] R. B. Ha.; Claudiocestriæ, L. Regan says, at Pembroke, l. 2230.

[3] *transmigrare*] L. B.; transfretare, R. Ha., &c.

[Cap. XXIX.]

A.D. 1171. *Confectio Ororicii apud Dubliniam.*

Attack of O'Rourke upon Dublin: about the beginning of September.

Interim[1] autem rex monoculus Medensis Ororicius, captata tam comitis quam Reimundi, qui adhuc Waterfordiæ moram fecerat, absentia, cum multitudine magna circa kalendas Septembris Dubliniam venit. Et inveniens in ea viros perpaucos, sed tamen viros, cum impetu magno et clamore muris et fossatis acriter insultant. Sed quoniam virtus claudi nescit, et[2] ignis oppressus in flammam erumpit,[3] Milo Coganensis et sui, se foras subito mittentes, tanta statim hostes strage persequuntur, ut, eisdem confectis, Ororicii filium, juvenem egregium, cum aliis infinitis ibidem interimerent.

Defeated by Miles de Cogan.

48 b.

His son slain.

Henry's anger with the chieftains of South Wales.

Interea rex Anglorum in australis Kambriæ Penbrochiæque proceres, quia comitem Ricardum hac in Hiberniam transire permiserant, minis acerrimis intonare cœpit. Sed tandem in ipsorum castris regiis custodibus assignatis, versa est in tranquillitatem tempestuosa procella: tanta[4] siquidem tonitrua letali fulminis ictu non subsecuto.

The Welsh falcon, and the king's Norway hawk.

Contigit ea tempestate,[5] rege in partibus illis avium volatu delectari volente, falconem nobilem in saxo quodam sedentem cum forte conspiceret, eundem lateraliter ambiendo, accipitrem Norwagiensem generosum et

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[1] This attack upon Dublin is not mentioned by Regan. The account of it in the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1171, agrees very closely with that of Giraldus. They say, "An army "was led by Tiernan O'Rourke, "and the men of Breifne and Air-"ghialla, a second time, to Ath-"cliath (*i.e.*, Dublin): and they "made battle with Milo Cogan and "his knights, in which the men of "Breifne and the Airghialla were "defeated; and Aedh, son of Tier-"nan O'Rourke, tanist of Breifne, "and many others, were slain."

[2] *et*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[3] *erumpit*] L. Ha. Cl., &c.; erupit, R. B.

[4] *tanta, &c.*] Hence to end of chapter not in Ha.

[5] This is repeated at the end of the 12th chapter of *Itin. Kamb.*, i.

grandem quem gestabat læva projecit. Falco vero, quanquam in primis tardior, ad alta tamen vix subvectus, iraque vindice vice versa de præda prædo jam effectus, a summis impetuosius ad ima descendens, quadrati pectoris ictu vehementi, præpositaque talorum armatura, talionem reddens, ad pedes regios accipitrem confodiendo prostravit. Unde et ab hac hora singulis rex annis,[1] circa nidificationis tempora, propter falcones terræ illius, qui marinis in rupibus excluduntur, mittere consuevit. Nec in terra sua nobiliores illis, aut præstantiores invenit. A.D. 1171.

[Cap. XXX.]

Adventus Anglorum regis; et tam australium Kambriæ[2] principum, quam borealium, spontanea subactio.

His ita completis, ad tanti tam nobilis ausus apparatum mora in Meneviæ partibus aliquamdiu facta, sanctique David sede devotis orationibus honorifice requisita, captata temporis idoneitate, et tam aeris quam auræ prosperitate, velo ventoque se committens, cum militibus quasi quingentis, arcariis[3] quoque et sagittariis multis, circa kalendas Novembris, die videlicet sancti Lucæ,[4] transmenso maris spatio, apud Waterfordiam rex animosus applicuit.

Henry's arrival, on St. Luke's day, Oct. 18, at Waterford.

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[1] *annis*] R. B. Cl., &c., *Itin. Kamb.*; amicis, L.

[2] *Kambriæ*] This is the reading in every MS. (L. R. B. Ha.) where the full rubric is found, as in the text. It is the reading also of Camden. It would seem as if the blunder of *Kambriæ* instead of *Hiberniæ* must have originated with Giraldus himself,—it was a natural blunder to make, as his pen was still wet from the Welsh matters of the last chapter,—and must have been faithfully and universally followed, even down into Camden's printed text. It is a curious instance of the persistency of a blunder in the hands of medieval copyists.

[3] *arcariis*] L. R. B.; satellitibus equestribus, Ha. Cl., &c.

[4] According to Hoveden (301 b), Henry sailed from Milford Haven on Saturday, Oct. 16, 1171; came to land the next day at a place

A.D. 1171. Fulfilment of prophecies of Merlin of Celidon, and the Irish Moling.

Merlinus Celidonius. Tunc[1] impletum est illud Merlini Silvestris: "Igneus ab euro globus ascendet; et Hiberniam in circuitu devorabit." Et illud Hibernici Hibernicus Melingus. Melingi; "Veniet ab aurora turbo validus; qui in occidentem irruens, Herimoniæ robora cuncta prosternet." Sicut in *Libro Vaticiniorum* exponetur.

Dates of his arrival.

Applicuit ergo anno regni sui decimo septimo, ætatis suæ quadragesimo,[2] ab incarnatione Domini M°.C°.LXX°.II°.: præsidente, imperante, regnante, Alexandro tertio, Frederico, Lodovico.

[Cap. XXXI.]

De Stephanide[3] regi in vinculis adducto.

Fitz-Stephen brought by

Apud Waterfordiam igitur paucis diebus[4] rege morante, ecce Weisefordiæ cives ei Stephaniden, quasi[5]

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called Croch (Crook), eight miles from Waterford, with 400 large ships; and the next day, Monday, Oct. 18, the feast of St. Luke, proceeded to Waterford. Regan speaks of 400 chevaliers attending him, when he took ship, l. 2588; and of his arriving at Waterford, with 4,000 English, on All Saints' day ("a la "Tusseinz"), Nov. 1.: l. 2595, &c. The *Four Masters*, A° 1171, say: "The king of England, the second "Henry, duke of Normandy and "Aquitaine, earl of Andegavia, and "lord of many other countries, "came to Ireland this year. Two "hundred and forty was the number "of his ships, and he put in at Port-"Lairge (*i.e.*, Waterford)." And this is the sole notice that the *Four Masters* condescend to take of Henry's visit and doings in Ireland.

[1] These prophecies in L. R. B. Ha. In no later MS.; not in Camden. In Hooker's translation, however.

[2] *quadragesimo*] L. B. Ha.; quadragesimo primo, R. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb. Henry was born in 1132, therefore fortieth of his age the right date. In the *Topographia* (*supra*, p. 189), there is the same variation in the MSS. He was crowned Dec. 19, 1154, therefore seventeenth of his reign right. In all the MSS. of the *Topographia*, as well as of the present treatise, there is the mistake of 1172 instead of 1171.

[3] *De Stephanide, &c.*] R.; De Stephanidæ apud Waterfordiam liberatione, et australis Hiberniæ principum ultronea subjectione, Cl. Hb. Ra., Camden. No heading in L. B. New chapter indicated by initial letter only.

[4] *paucis diebus*] Fifteen, according to Hoveden, 301 b.

[5] *quasi*] R. B. Ha., &c. Not in L.

sub prætextu obsequii, eo quod Hiberniam citra ipsius assensum primus intraverit,[1] aliisque malignandi occasionem præstiterit, vinctum et captivum adducunt. Cui rex cum in primis, de tanto tam temerario Hibernicæ expugnationis ausu, non absque indignatione plurima et comminatione, multa graviter improperasset, tandem ipsum in catenis cum alio[2] quodam firmiter compeditum, in turrem Raghnaldi custodiendum remisit.

A.D. 1171. his captors, in chains, to the king.

Imprisoned by Henry in Reginald's tower.

Nec mora: rex Corcagiensis Dermitius[3] advenit, qui statim tam subjectionis vinculo quam fidelitatis sacramento, necnon et obsidibus datis firmiter astrictus, annuo constituto regni sui tributo, se Anglorum regi sponte submisit.

Dermot, king of Desmond, 49. makes submission.

Abhinc autem rex exercitum movens, primo Lismoriam progressus, ibique dierum mora facta duorum, inde Cassiliam est profectus. Ubi et Duvenaldus, rex Limericensis,[4] se illi in crastino ad aquam Suirensem obviam dedit; impetratoque pacis beneficio, constituto similiter regni sui tributo, firmissimis subjectionis vinculis se quoque regi fidelem exhibuit.

Henry proceeds to Lismore; then to Cashel. Where Donnell O'Brien, king of Thomond, makes submission.

[Cap. XXXII.]

De[5] Stephanide regi reconciliato.

Præfectis itaque tam Corcagiæ quam Limerico regiis custodibus ac ministris, cunctisque australis Hiberniæ

Cork and Limerick placed in

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[1] *intraverit*] R. Cl. Hb. Rb.; intravit, L. B. Ha. Ra.

[2] *alio*] L. Ha. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.; aliquo, R. B.

[3] In Hooker's translation, he is called, "Dermot Mac Arth, prince "of Cork. He was Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh, *Anglice* Dermot Mac Carthy, prince of Desmond (South Munster), of which Cork was the principal city.

[4] This was Domhnall Ua Briain, *Anglice* Donnell O'Brien, prince of Thomond (North Munster), of which the principal city was Limerick. Regan also calls him "Le rei de "Lymerich," l. 2041; and elsewhere, king of Munster, "reis "O'Brien de Monestere," l. 2099.

[5] *De, &c.*] This the heading in R. No heading in L., though space left. New chapter indicated also by initial letter. So too B. Cl. "De "Stephanide" only in Ra. In Hb. Rb., Hooker, and Camden, this chapter is part of the last chapter.

A.D. 1171.

custody of royal officers.

Submission of other princes of South Ireland.

The king returns to Waterford.

Takes Fitz-Stephen into favour.

principibus, tam his quam et[1] aliis, quanquam non tam principalibus, magnis et authenticis tamen in gente sua duobus, Duvenaldo scilicet Ossiriensi, et Machsachelino Ophelano, sponte submissis, singulis quoque in regionem suam cum regiis donariis et honore reversis, rex per Tibracciam Waterfordiam remeavit. Ubi et adducto iterum ei Stephanide, rex videns virum tantis fortunæ periculis et toties expositum, interiore pietate commotus, tantique viri laboribus humaniter compassus, magnorum quoque virorum interventu, indignationem ei omnem ex corde remisit: ipsumque solitæ liberationi et libertati, Weisefordia tamen[2] cum terris adjacentibus sublata, plene restituit.

[Cap. XXXIII.]

De[3] borealis Hiberniæ principibus.

Robert Fitz-Bernard being left governor of Waterford, the king goes to Dublin.

Submission of princes of Leinster, Uriel, and

His ita gestis, relicto apud Waterfordiam Roberto Bernardi filio cum familia multa, rex per Ossiriam cum exercitu versus Dubliniam iter arripuit.[4] Ibique mora aliquamdiu facta, adveniunt quoque partium illarum principes, sub fidelitatis et subjectionis obtentu, a rege piissimo pacem obnixe postulantes et impetrantes; hi scilicet, Machelanus Ophelan, Machtalewi, Otuetheli, Gillemoholmoch, Ocathesi, Ocaruel Urielensis, et Ororicius Medensis. Rothericus vero

[1] *et*] L. B. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in R.

[2] *tamen*] R. B. Cl., &c.; solum, L.

[3] *De, &c.*] R. No heading in L. B.: new chapter, however, indicated. De borealis Hiberniæ principibus apud Dubliniam subditis, et Botherico Connactensi sponte subacto, Cl. First clause of this only in Ra.

[4] Hoveden has nothing about Henry's progress from Waterford to Lismore and Cashel, as in Cap. XXXI. *supra*. He says that after his arrival at Waterford, Oct. 18, Henry stayed there fifteen days, and then proceeded to Dublin, where he remained the whole winter, from the feast of St. Martin (Nov. 11) to the first day of Lent (March 1, 1172): 301 b—303. Regan also says that Henry's first progress from Waterford was to Dublin; but that he went from Dublin to Cashel and Lismore, and thence back again to Dublin: pp. 126, 127.

Connactensis nunciis regiis, Hugoni scilicet de Laci, et Guillelmo Aldelini filio, versus aquam Sinnenensem quæ Mediam Connacciamque disterminat occurrit. Qui, pace similiter impetrata, regioque dominio constituto regni sui tributo, firmissimis se fidelitatis et subjectionis vinculis innodavit.

A.D. 1171. Meath. Of Roderic of Connaught.

Sic itaque, præter solos Ultonienses, subditi per se singuli. Sic et in singulari [Rotherico[1] scilicet Connactiæ principe, et tanquam Hiberniensium capite et insulæ monarcha,] subditi redduntur universi. Nec alicujus fere in insula vel nominis erat vel ominis, qui regiæ majestati vel sui præsentiam, vel debitam domino reverentiam non exhiberet.

All submitted, except the princes of Ulster.

Hibernicus Melingus. Tunc[2] impletum est illud Hibernici Melingi; "Coram ipso procident principes, et "fucato sub fœdere pacis amorem consequentur." Et Merlinus Celidonius.[3] illud Merlini Silvestris; "Ad ejus lucernam "aves insulæ convolabunt; et majores in "illis, alis accensis, corruent in capturam." Et illud ejusdem; "Quinque portiones in quintum convenient, "et regiones in regnum convertentur." Item et illud Merlinus Ambrosius. usitatum Merlini Ambrosii vaticinium; "Quinque portiones in unum redigentur; "et sextus Hiberniæ mœnia subvertet," et cetera. Quem enim Ambrosius sextum, illum Celidonius quintum vocat: sicut in *Libro Vaticiniorum* exponetur.

Prophecies fulfilled: of St. Moling, and the two Merlins.

Imminente vero Dominici Natalis solemnitate, Dubliniam terræ illius principes ad curiam videndam accessere quam plurimi. Ubi et lautam Anglicanæ

Henry keeps Christmas

49 b.

[1] *Rotherico . . monarcha*] Not in L. R. B. Ha. In margin of Cl. In text of Hb. Ra. Rb., Camden.

[2] *Tunc . . Vaticiniorum exponetur*] L. R. B. Ha., and Hooker's translation. Tunc impletum videtur usitatum illud et vulgatum, quia de veritate nil assevero, Merlini Ambrosii vaticinium, "Sextus Hiberniæ mœnia subvertet;" et illud ejusdem, "Quinque portiones in "unum redigentur," Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[3] *Celidonius*] L. B.; Silvestris, R.

A.D. 1171. at Dublin, with the Irish princes. Who, for the first time, eat crane's flesh.

mensæ copiam, venustissimum quoque vernarum obsequium plurimum admirantes, carne gruina, quam hactenus abhorruerant, regia voluntate passim per aulam vesci cœperunt.[1]

The sacrilegious archers at Finglas. *Supra*, p. 135.

Ea tempestate sagittarii apud Fineglas in arbores, sanctorum manibus per cemiterium olim plantatas, enormiter desævientes, singulari peste consumpti sunt: sicut in *Topographia* declaratur.

[Cap. XXXIV.]

A.D. 1171 or 1172.

Cassiliense Concilium.[2]

The synod of the Irish clergy at Cashel.

Under the legate, the bishop of Lismore.

Silente igitur insula in conspectu regis, et tranquilla jam pace gaudente, ecclesiæ Dei decus, Christique cultum, in partibus illis magnificandi ampliori desiderio rex accensus, totius cleri Hiberniæ concilium apud Cassiliam convocavit. Ubi, requisitis et auditis publice terræ illius et gentis tam enormitatibus quam spurcitiis, et in scriptum etiam[3] sub sigillo legati Lismoriensis, qui ceteris ibidem dignitate tunc præerat, ex industria redactis, constitutiones sacras, quæ adhuc extant, de matrimoniis contrahendis, de decimis dandis, de ecclesiis debita devotione venerandis et frequentandis, quam plures emisit; ecclesiæ illius statum ad

[1] Hoveden tells us (302) that Henry caused to be built, near the church of St. Andrew without the city, a royal palace of marvellous workmanship, constructed of smoothed rods, after the manner of the country; in which, with the kings and princes of Ireland, he kept the solemn festival of Christmas.

[2] According to Hoveden (302), it was before he left Waterford that Henry sent his clerks, viz., Nicholas the chaplain, and Ralph the archdeacon, together with the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, to hold the council at Cashel. Diceto. and Wendover after him, speak of the council under A.D. 1172, but as being held at Lismore. There is no mention of it in Regan; and none in the Irish Annals.

[3] *etiam*] L. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; et, R.

Anglicanæ ecclesiæ formam redigere modis omnibus elaborando. Quas constitutiones, sub eisdem verbis quibus et promulgatæ sunt, hic interserere non superfluum reputavi.

A.D. 1171 or 1172.

[Cap. XXXV.]

Constitutiones Cassiliensis Concilii.

Constitutions made at this synod.

Anno igitur Dominicæ incarnationis M°C°LXXII°., primo autem anno quo illustris Anglorum rex et Hiberniæ triumphator ipsam insulam acquisivit, Christianus[1] Lismoriensis episcopus, et Apostolicæ sedis legatus, Donatus[2] Cassiliensis, Laurencius Dublinensis, et Catholicus[3] Tuotuenensis[4] archiepiscopi, cum suffraganeis suis et coepiscopis, abbatibus quoque, archidiaconis, prioribus, et decanis, et multis aliis Hiberniensis ecclesiæ prælatis, ex ipsius triumphatoris mandato, in civitate Cassilia convenerunt; et de utilitate ecclesiæ, et statu ejus in meliorem formam perducendo,[5] ibidem concilium celebrarunt. Huic concilio interfuerunt isti, a rege missi: venerabilis vir Radulfus abbas de Buil-

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[1] *Christianus*] Criostan, *i.e.*, Giolla-Criost (the servant of Christ). See *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 394. He is called Ua Condoirche by the *Four Masters*, A° 1157; Christian O'Conarchy in Harris's *Ware* (Bishops, p. 550), where he is said to have been bishop of Lismore, from about 1150, to his resignation, about 1175.

[2] *Donatus*] He is called Domnall Ua Huallachain by the *Four Masters*, A° 1182, where his death is recorded; Donald O'Hullucan in Harris's *Ware* 468, where he is said to have been archbishop of Cashel from 1158 to 1182.

[3] *Catholicus*] He is called Cadhla Ua Dubthaigh (Keyly O'Duffy) by the *Four Masters*, A° 1172, 1176, 1200; Catholicus, or Cadla O'Dubhai, in Harris's *Ware* 604, where he is said to have been archbishop of Tuam from 1161 to 1201. See O'Donovan's note (*a*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1200.

[4] *Tuotuenensis*] R. B.; Tuothuenensis, L.; Conactensis, Ha. Elsewhere, for instance, *infra*, ii. 19, Giraldus calls Tuam "Thuemia." The Irish name is Tuaim-da-Ghualann.

[5] *perducendo*] R. B. Ha.; reducendo, L.; producendo, Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

A.D. 1171 or 1172.

dewas, Radulfus archidiaconus de Landaf, Nicolaus capellanus, et alii clerici et nuncii domini regis. Concilii autem statuta subscripta sunt, et regiæ sublimitatis authoritate firmata.

1st Constitution: about marriages.

Primo statutum est, quod universi fideles per Hiberniam constituti, repudiato cognatarum et affinium contubernio, legitima contrahant matrimonia et observent.

2nd: about baptism.

Secundo, quod infantes ante fores ecclesiæ catezizentur, et in sacro fonte in ipsis baptismalibus ecclesiis baptizentur.

3rd: about tithes.

Tertio, quod universi fideles Christi decimas animalium, frugum, ceterarumque proventionum, ecclesiæ cujus fuerint parochiani persolvant.

4th: about immunity of property of the church.

In quarto, quod omnes terræ ecclesiasticæ, et earum possessiones, ab omni[1] secularium hominum exactione penitus sint immunes. Et specialiter, quod nec reguli, nec comites, nec aliqui potentes viri Hiberniæ, nec eorum filii, cum familiis suis, cibaria et hospitalitates in territoriis ecclesiasticis secundum consuetudinem exigant, nec amodo violenter extorquere præsumant: et quod de villis ecclesiarum cibus ille detestabilis, qui quater in anno a vicinis comitibus exigitur, de cetero nullatenus exigatur.

5th: about immunity of clerks from payments for homicide.

In quinto, quod pro homicidio a laicis perpetrato, quoties inde cum inimicis suis componunt, clerici, videlicet eorum cognati, nihil inde persolvant: sed sicut
50. in homicidii perpetratione, ita[2] in pecuniæ solutione sint immunes.

6th: about the sick making their wills.

Sexto, quod universi fideles in infirmitate positi, confessore suo et vicinis astantibus, cum debita solemnitate testamentum condant. Bona sua mobilia, dummodo uxores et liberos habeant, ære alieno et servientium mercede exemptis,[3] in tres partes dividant; unam

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[1] *omni*] L. B. Ha., &c.; omnium, R.

[2] *ita*] L. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; sic, R.

[3] *exemptis*] L. B. Ha. Cl. Ra.; exceptis, R. Hb. Rb.

liberis, alteram uxori legitimæ, tertiam propriis exequiis relinquentes. Et si forte prolem legitimam non habuerint, bona ipsa inter ipsum et uxorem in duo media dividantur. Et si legitima uxor decesserit, inter ipsum et liberos bipartiri debent. A.D. 1171 or 1172.

Septimo, quia cum bona confessione decedentibus, et missarum et vigiliarum exhibitione, et in more[1] sepeliendi, obsequium debitum persolvatur. Itaque omnia divina, ad instar sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ, juxta quod Anglicana observat ecclesia, in omnibus partibus ecclesiæ amodo tractentur. Dignum[2] enim et justissimum est, ut sicut dominum et regem ex Anglia sortita divinitus est Hibernia, sic etiam exinde vivendi formam accipiat meliorem. Ipsi namque regi magnifico tam ecclesia quam regnum Hiberniæ debent, quicquid de bono pacis et incremento religionis hactenus est assecuta. Nam ante ipsius adventum in Hiberniam, multimoda malorum genera a multis retro temporibus ibidem emerserant: quæ ipsius potentia et munere in desuetudinem abiere. 7th: about funeral services.

Archmatiensis vero primas,[3] ob corporis imbecillitatem, et grandævitatem, tunc præsens non fuerat: sed postea Dubliniam venit, regiæ dispositioni per omnia favorem præbens:[4] vulgi opinione, vir sacer; vaccam candidam, cujus solum lacte vescebatur, secum quocunque venerat, circumducens. The primate of Armagh not present at the synod. A holy man. His white cow.

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[1] *et in more*] R. B.; in more, L.; et more, Ha. Cl., &c.

[2] *Dignum . . . assecuta*] These two sentences not in Ha.

[3] *Archmatiensis primas*] This was Gilla Mac Liag, *Anglice* Gelasius, who succeeded to the primacy of Armagh in 1137, on the resignation of it by St. Malachy. He died in 1174, March 27, on which day he is commemorated in the *Martyrology of Donegal*, in the 87th year of his age. The *Four Masters* place his death under the year 1173; but as they fix it on the "27th of March, "the Wednesday after Easter," it must have been in 1174.

[4] *præbens*] Here the chapter ends in Ha.

[Cap. XXXVI.]

De tempestatibus.

A.D. 1171 or 1172. Stormy winter. No communication with England. Compare Diceto, 559, 34.

Effractis[1] itaque claustris eolicis, et convulsis maris ructibus, tanta tamque continua tempestatum[2] importunitas ingruebat, ut per hiemem totam vix una navis in insulam transnavigasset; nec aliquæ aliunde novellæ audiri omnino valuissent. Ita ut iram Dei, peccatis exigentibus, in eos imminentem communiter omnes existimarent.

Ancient forest laid bare on the coast of South Wales.

Eadem fere[3] tempestate, ex nimia præter solitum procellæ vehementia, sabulosis australis Kambriæ litoribus solo tenus sabulo nudatis, longis operta retro seculis terræ facies apparuit; arborumque in[4] ipsum mare stipites stantium undique præcisarum, ictusque securium tanquam hesterni, terra quoque nigerrima, lignaque truncorum ebeno simillima; mirandis rerum mutationibus, ut olim navium via nunc navibus invia, non litus jam sed lucus esse videretur, aut forte a diluvii tempore, aut potius longe post, antiquitus tamen tam præcisus, quam maris violentia, semper excrescentis et terram amplius eluentis, paulatim absumptus et absorptus.

The king at Wexford; very anxious for news.

Rex autem apud Weisefordiam[5] interim moram faciens, et summo desiderio transmarinos audire rumores affectans, optimam sibi quam in partibus illis invenerat familiam, Reimundum scilicet, Milonem Coganensem, Guillelmum Maskerellum, et alios ex industria quosdam allexit; ut et suam validiorem, et comitis partem redderet exiliorem.

[1] *Effractis*] R. B. Cl., &c.; Affractis, L. The two first sections of this chapter, "Effractis . . . . absorptus," not in Ha.

[2] *tempestatum*] R. B., &c.: tempestarum, L.

[3] *fere*] R. B. Cl., &c. Not in L. This section is repeated in *Itin. Kamb.*, i. 13.

[4] *in*] R. B. Cl., &c., *Itin. Kamb.*; usque in, L.

[5] According to Hoveden (302 b) the king proceeded from Dublin to Wexford on Ash Wednesday, Mar. 1, 1172.

[Cap. XXXVII.]

A.D. 1172.

De rege revocato.[1]

Post mediam vero quadragesimam tam ex Anglicanis quam Aquitannicæ Galliæ partibus, tandem euro spirante, naves adveniunt, tam gravitatis nunciæ quam pravitatis. Venerant enim in Normanniæ partes, a summo pontifice Alexandro tertio transmissi, cardinales duo, quorum nomina Albertus et Theodinus, de morte martyris scrutinium facturi; viri, ut putabatur, justi et boni, et ad hoc fideliter electi, sed tamen Romani; nisi citius eis rex occurrerit,[2] toti regno, terrisque universis suæ ditioni subditis, interdicti sententiam acriter interminantes. Accessit et aliud incommodum, longe gravius et periculosius, quoniam soli accidere solent fortunæ favores, sed infortunia nunquam. Filii namque regis, primævus scilicet, quem tanta diligentia regio insigniri diademate procuraverat, aliique duo, fratrem puerili levitate secuti, pravissimo consilio, multos habentes complices tam Anglicanos proceres quam transmarinos, in regem absentem unanimi conscriptione[3] conjuraverant. Quibus auditis, tantaque et tam inopinata malitia jam detecta, multiplici rex anxietate desudat. Dolet in primis se tanta tam immerito suspicione notari: timet sibi[4] regnum terrasque adjacentes tam pravis machinationibus perturbari. Dolet quoque plurimum,[5] se regnum Hibernicum, quod æstate imminente tam incastellare quam firma stabilire pace statuerat, et in formam omnino redigere, tam

After Mid-lent, bad news from 50 b. Aquitaine and England.

The papal scrutiny about St. Thomas's death.

Far worse; the conspiracy of his sons against Henry.

Henry's intentions as to Ireland.

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[1] This the heading in R. None in L. B.: new chapter indicated by initial letter. *In regem conjuratio, et Romanæ curiæ legatio* is the heading in Cl. Hb. Ra.

[2] *occurrerit*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; occurreret, L. Hb.

[3] *conscriptione*] R. B.; conspiratione, L. Ha. Cl., &c.

[4] *sibi*] L.; igitur, R. B. Ha.; etiam, Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[5] *plurimum*] L. B.; perplurimum, R. Ha. Cl., &c.

A.D. 1172. intempestive relicturum. In primis itaque, quibusdam suorum in Angliam præmissis, tam de reditu suo, quam de regni Hibernici securitate, primo secum, deinde cum suis, cœpit diligenter deliberare.

[Cap. XXXVIII.] [1]

De reditu regis per Meneviam, et lapide Lechlavar.

Governors left by Henry; of Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford.

Relictis ergo demum custodibus; apud Dubliniam videlicet Hugone de Laci, cui jam Mediam in feodum donaverat, cum militibus viginti, Mauricio quoque et Stephanide cum aliis viginti; Weisefordiæ [2] vero Guillelmo Aldelini filio, Philippo de Hastinges,[3] et Philippo de Breusa,[4] cum militibus triginta;[5] Waterfordiæ [2] vero Humfredo Bohonensi, Roberto filio Bernardi, et Hugone de Gundevilla, cum militibus quadraginta; Paschali luce secunda,[6] sole recens orto, apud Weisefordiam, exteriore scilicet portus limbo, navem scandens, circio flante, prospero navigio in portu Menevensi circa meridiem applicuit. Accedens itaque [7] Meneviam, devoto [8] peregrinantium more, pedes, baculoque suffultus, canonicorum ecclesiæ processionem, ipsum debita reverentia

Early on Easter Monday, Henry sails from Wexford. At St. David's, as a devout pilgrim.

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[1] This chapter repeated in *Itin. Kamb.*, ii. 1.

[2] *Weisefordiæ, &c. . . Waterfordiæ, &c.*] So L. R. B. In Ha. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb., *Itin. Kamb.*, Hooker, and Camden, the order is reversed, *Waterfordiæ, &c.*, coming before *Weisefordiæ, &c.*

[3] *Philippo de Hastinges*] L. R. B. Cl. Hb. Rb. Not in Ha. Ra., *Itin.*

[4] *Breusa*] R. B. Ha. Cl., *Itin.*; Braosa, L.

[5] *triginta*] L. R. B.; viginti, Ha. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[6] So Hoveden says, that Henry sailed on Easter Monday, and landed near St. David's: 302 b. Easter Monday, A.D. 1172, was on April 17. Henry, therefore, had been exactly six months in Ireland. Regan says that he was in Ireland only eighteen weeks: "Dis e wit "simeins" (l. 2677); "Quinzeine "e quatre meis" (l. 2688).

[7] *itaque*] R. B., &c., *Itin.*; autem, L.

[8] *devoto*] L. R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; devote, *Itin.*

A.D. 1172.

et honore suscipientium, apud albam portam obviam invenit.[1]

The Welshwoman's attack on him.

Accidit autem ut procedente[2] seriatim processione, et rite præcedente,[3] mulier Kambrica ad pedes regis se subito provolveret. Quæ et, querimonia de loci illius episcopo facta, et regi per interpretis linguam exposita, quoniam jus suum incontinenti non est assecuta, voce altisona et proterva, cum manuum quoque complosione non modica, cœpit coram omnibus exclamando ingeminare; " Vindica nos hodie, Lechlavar, vindica genus et gentem[4] de homine hoc." Cumque ab illis qui Britannicam linguam noverant inhiberetur et expelleretur, ipsa quoque tanto fortius et acrius in hunc modum vociferabat; alludens illi fictitio vulgari nec vero Merlini proverbio, quo dici solebat, Angliæ regem, Hiberniæ triumphatorem,
ab homine cum rubra manu in Hibernia vulneratum, 51.
per Meneviam redeundo, super Lechlavar moriturum. Erat autem hoc nomen lapidis qui trans flumen Aluni,[5] quod cemiterium a boreali ecclesiæ parte præterfluendo disterminat, jacens vice pontis fungebatur. Erat autem lapis hic marmoreus et pulcher, transeuntium pedibus superficie tenus perpolitus, decem pedes in longum, et sex in latum præferens, et unius pedis spissitudinem habens. Sonat autem Lechlavar Britannica lingua *Lapis loquax*. Erat enim[6] de lapide hoc ab antiquo vulgata relatio,[7] quod cum hominis cadaver super illum aliquando deferretur, eadem hora in sermonem erumpens, ipso conatu crepuit medius, fissuram per medium adhuc prætendens. Unde et de barbara superstitione

The stone of Lechlavar, prophesied of by Merlin.

Lechlavar; *i.e.*, the speaking stone.

Why so called.

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[1] *invenit*] L. B. Ha., &c., *Itin.*; venit, R.

[2] *procedente*] L. B. Cl., &c.; procidente, R.; præcedente, Ha.

[3] *præcedente*] R. B. Cl. Hb. Rb., *Itin.*; procedente, L. Ha. Ra.

[4] *gentem*] R. B., &c., *Itin.*; gentem nostram, L.

[5] *Aluni*] L., *Itin.*; Alirni, R. B.

[6] *enim*] L. B., &c., *Itin.*; autem, R.

[7] *relatio*] R. B., &c., *Itin.*; locutio, L., but with *relatio* in margin in a later hand.

A.D. 1172. illi antiquitus exhibita, usque in hodiernum quoque[1] per ipsum mortuorum corpora non efferuntur.

Accedens igitur ad lapidem rex, quia forte illius[2] vaticinii mentionem audierat, ad pedem lapidis paulisper gradum sistens, et eundem acriter intuens, incunctante tamen passu audacter pertransiit. Verso itaque vultu ad lapidem respiciens, in vatem invectus, verbum hoc indignanter emisit; "Merlino mendaci quis de "cetero fidem habeat?"[3] Et sic intrans ecclesiam, in sancti Andreæ sanctique David honore fundatam, fusis devote orationibus, et missa solemniter audita, a capellano quodam quem solum inter tot loci illius presbyteros ea hora jejunum tanquam ad hoc divina reservaverat providentia, cœna ibidem sumpta, statim ad castrum Haverfordiæ, quasi per miliaria[4] duodecim abinde distans, transmigravit.

Henry's devotions at St. David's.

[Cap. XXXIX.]

Qualiter[5] cum Romanis legatis, et Lodovico, se pacificavit.

He hastens, through Wales and England, into Normandy.

Litoris itaque maritimi via rediens qua venerat, a Kambria in Angliam, ab Anglia quoque cum summa festinatione in Normanniam navigio transvectus, Romanis cardinalibus se incontinenti, laudabili in principe

[1] *quoque*] R. B. Ha., &c., *Itin.*; quoque diem, L. Cl.

[2] *illius*] R. B., &c., *Itin.*; vani illius, L.

[3] There is added here in Ha., in Hooker's translation, and in the *Itin. Kamb.*, this sentence: "Lecator "autem ibi cum aliis astans, et rei "eventum observans, ut vatis inju- "riam vindicaret, sic alta voce "subjecit; Tu vero non es rex, qui "Hiberniam conquirere debet, nec "de te Merlinus mentionem fecit." It is in no other MS. of the *Expugnatio* besides Ha.; and not in Camden.

[4] *miliaria*] B. Ha. Cl., &c., *Itin.*; milia, R.; stadia, L.

[5] *Qualiter, &c.*] R. No heading in L. B.; but new chapter indicated. Subita cum legatis, et cum Francorum rege facta concordia, Cl. Hb. Rb., Camden; Cum legatis colloquium, Ra.

devotione, apud Custanciam[1] præsentavit. Ubi et, post varias hinc inde altercationes, demum innocentia sua sacramento purgata, pœnitentia quoque sibi injuncta, quoniam licet per ipsum minime, propter ipsum tamen interemptum martyrem non diffitebatur, legatis cum honore remissis, ipse statim ad marchiam cum Francorum rege Lodovico colloquium habiturus accessit. Ubi et, interventu proborum virorum, et præcipue Philippi Flandrensium comitis, a Sancto Jacobo jam tunc reversi, reformata est inter reges concordia super offensa, quam Francorum rex ob prædictam martyris mortem contraxerat, puta quem Anglorum rex archipræsuli in Angliam redituro, cum aliis magnis et potentibus viris, fidejussorem donaverat. Cujus initæ pacis occasione, tam filiorum quam complicum suorum tanta in animo, et tam clandestina concepta malitia, usque in annum sequentem conquievit.

A.D. 1172. His innocence of St. Thomas's death, and purgation.

[Cap. XL.]

[*De visione,*[2] *immo verius visitatione, regi Henrico apud Kaerdif divinitus facta, et revelatione facta.*[3]

Hic autem, priusquam ad ulteriora procedamus, quid regi per maritimam australis Kambriæ viam de Hibernia revertenti contigit explicare, nec superfluum nec inutile reputavimus. In oppido namque de Kerdif sabbato primo Paschali[4] cum pernoctasset, missaque mane, dominica scilicet quæ vulgo Clausum Pascha

The mysterious visitant to Henry at Cardiff;

[1] According to Hoveden, he found the cardinals at Caen; and the purgation took place at Avranches (Abrincam) on Wednesday, Sept. 27: 302 b.

[2] This chapter not in L. R. B. Ha. Cl. In Hb. Ra. Rb., Hooker, Camden. In *Itin. Kamb.* i. 6; not, however, in earlier editions. In *De Instr. Princ.*, ii. 12.

[3] *facta*] Hb.; monstrata, Camden. Not in Ra.

[4] *primo Paschali*] So the MSS. and Camden; Paschali primo, *De Instr. Princ.*; primo post Pascha, *Itin.*

A.D. 1172. vocatur,[1] jam audita, cum a capella Sancti Pirani præter regem omnes exissent, ipso in orationibus plus solito tunc forte morante, tandem cum exiret, et ad ostium capellæ jam equum ascenderet, astitit ei vir quidam ante faciem, poste quodam præfixo quasi pro podio fungens, flavus, tonsuraque rotunda, vultus macilenti, staturæ aliquantulum proceræ, ætatis quasi circiter annos quadraginta, tunica indutus alba, clausa quoque et[2] usque ad collum[3] pedis demissa, zona præcinctus, et pedibus nudis. Qui et regem in hæc verba quasi Teutonice convenit; "God holde þe, cuning," [4] et postea eadem lingua prosecutus est in hanc sententiam,[5] "Salutat vos Christus, et pia mater ejus, "Johannes quoque Baptista, et apostolus Petrus, mandantes vobis quatinus, per totas ditioni vestræ terras "subditas, ne mercatus dominicis diebus fiant firmiter "inhiberi faciatis, et quod in illis nihil uspiam operis "fiat, nisi divinum officium, et illud devote facere et "audire, præter cibaria solum quæ ad usum diurnum "præparentur. Quod si feceritis, nihil unquam in"choabitis quod fine bono non compleatur, vitamque "feliciter consummabitis." Rex autem militi, cui nomen Philippus de Mertros, qui et frenum equi regis tenebat, de finibus illis oriundus, qui et hæc nobis vera relatione propalavit,[6] dixit lingua Gallica; "Quære "a rustico illo utrum hoc somniaverit." Et cum hoc Anglice miles exponeret, subjecit ille lingua priori; "Sive hoc somniaverim," inquit, "sive non, vide quis "hodie dies sit," loquens regi, non interpreti, "quia

bringing him a mandate to enforce a stricter observance of the Sunday.

[1] *quæ vulgo . . vocatur*] Not in *Itin.* or *De Instr. Princ.*

[2] *clausa quoque et*] So the MSS. and Camden; et clausa, *De Instr. Princ.* Not in *Itin.*

[3] *collum*] Hb. Ra., *Itin.*; calcem, *De Instr. Princ.*; talum, Camden. "Collum pedis" is the ancle, or instep. See Du Cange.

[4] In *Itin.* is added, "quod Latine "sonat, *Deus te custodiat, rex.*" This not in *De Instr. Princ.*

[5] *in hanc sententiam*] So also *De Instr. Princ.*; in hunc modum, *Itin.*

[6] *de finibus . . . propalavit*] So also *De Instr. Princ.* Not in *Itin.*

"nisi hoc feceris, vitamque maturius emendaveris, A.D. 1172.
"priusquam annus iste prætereat, tales de rebus quas[1] "in mundo plus diligis rumores audies, talemque "turbationem inde recipies, quæ tibi usque ad exitum "vitæ non deficiet." Et cum rex, hoc dicto, equo calcaribus monito, parum versus portam et quasi passibus octo processisset, super hoc tamen quod audierat cogitans[2] et lora regyrans, "Vocate," inquit, "mihi "bonum hominem illum." Et cum miles prædictus, et juvenis quidam cui nomen Willelmus, qui soli tunc in oppido cum rege remanserant, illum vocassent, et non inventum primum in capella, deinde per aulam et diversoria cuncta quæsissent, nusquam comparuit. Rex autem, eo non reperto, cum tamen diutius eum solus in oppido dum alii quærerent expectaret, mœstus plurimum et plangens quod amplius illi locutus non fuisset, versus Novumburgum per pontem de Rempni iter arripuit.

Sicut autem comminando vir ille promiserat, sic anno contigit non completo. Filii namque ipsius tres, primævus scilicet Henricus, et alii duo, Pictavensis scilicet[3] et Brito, contra ipsum in quadragesima sequente ad regem Francorum Lodovicum discesserunt. Unde tanta mota est ei inquietatio, quantam antea nunquam habuerat, et quæ semper ei, usque ad extremum spiritus halitum, per aliquem filiorum fere incessanter perdurasset. Exquisita[4] namque Dei vindicta, sicut credi potest, qualem se filium patri spirituali exhibuerat, tales erga sequos genuerat filios carnales invenit.

Multas etiam alias præmonitiones pariter et præmunitiones[5] rex iste divina miseratione, quæ magis

[1] *rebus quas*] So also *De Instr. Princ.*; re quam, *Itin.*

[2] *super hoc . . cogitans*] So also *De Instr. Princ.* Not in *Itin.*

[3] *scilicet*] So the MSS. Not in *Itin.*, *De Instr. Princ.*, or Camden.

[4] *Exquisita . . invenit*] So also *De Instr. Princ.* Not in *Itin.*

[5] *pariter et præmunitiones*] Ra. Rb.; not in Hb.; et castigationes, *Itin.* The latter part of this section is differently worded in *Itin. Kamb.* It is not in *De Instr. Princ.*

A.D. 1172. conversionem peccantium et pœnitentium appetit quam eversionem, circiter eadem tempora et fini propinquiora suscepit: quas utinam omnes non animo obstinato, non corde indurato contempsisset, sed potius cordi pœnitenti corrigibiliter et feliciter apposuisset. Sicut in libro nostro *De Principis Instructione* toties promisso, Deo propitiante, plenius explicabitur.]

[Cap. XLI.]

Ororicii tam proditio quam interemptio.[1]

Colloquy between Hugh de Laci and Tiernan O'Rourke.

Interea sub regni custodibus tranquilla Hibernia pace respirante, contigit apud Dubliniam inter Hugonem de Laci et regem monoculum Ororicium Medensem, colloquii cujusdam locum et diem assignari. Sed nocte cujus mane colloquii illius dies imminebat, miles quidam, nepos videlicet Mauricii Stephanidæque, Griffinus nomine, visus est in somnis sibi videre silvestrium porcorum multitudinem in Hugonem et Mauricium similiter irruisse; aprumque horribilem et grandem præ aliis venientem, ipsos fere dentibus transverberasse, nisi ipse utrique, aprum interimendo, potenti manu subvenisset.

Griffith's dream.

51 b.

In crastino vero ad colloquium proficiscentes, locum scilicet qui Collis Ororicii [2] dicitur, in primis per nuncios et a longe, deinde sumpta securitate, et sacramentis utrinque præstitis, ad colloquendum convenerunt; ex condicto tamen perpauci, et numero pares; et illi inermes, præter hinc gladios tantum, inde secures; utriusque partis populo aliquantulum ab ipsis remoto. Griffinus vero, qui cum Mauricio ad colloquium venerat, super

[1] *interemptio*] R. B. Ha. Cl.; peremptio, L.

[2] This is the famous hill of Tlachtgha, now called the hill of Ward, near Athboy. It was perhaps, for a time, called O'Rourke's hill by the English, as the scene of his death. It was, however, in that part of Meath which had been ceded to O'Rourke.

visione quam viderat valde solicitus, cum septem militibus de cognatione sua quos ad hoc elegerat,[1] de quorum scilicet animositate magis confidebat, ex una collis parte quam propius poterant se trahentes,[2] clipeis assumptis et lanceis erectis, dextrariis admissis, ex industria tornamentis Gallicis præludia faciebant; ut in partem quamcunque colloquium vergeret, sub hoc prætextu præludii prompti invenirentur et parati. Ororicio vero et Hugone de Laci variis interim altercando quæstionibus, nec ad concordiam vergentibus, in discordiam jam redactis, monoculus ille proditionis virus sub pectore versans, simulans ad mingendum[3] parumper abscessum, suis innuit ut cum summa statim festinatione venirent. Quo facto cum reverteretur, elevata securi, vultu pallido, passuque peramplo et præpropero, Mauricius Giraldides, qui ob visionis mentionem, quam forte a nepote audierat, præmunitior existens, hæc omnia diligentius observaverat, extracto gladio, quem semper in colloquio promptum super genua per capulum tenuerat, Hugonem quoque præmuniens et suscitans, se statim ad tutelam viriliter erexit. Proditor autem Hugonem percutere properans, viri interpretis, qui se fideliter ictui objecit, letali vulnere brachium amputavit. Mauricius vero, voce altisona suis exclamans, dum contra securim gladio confligebat, ob fugæ maturationem Hugo de Laci bis retro cadens Giraldidæ beneficio vix evasit.

A.D. 1172.

O'Rourke's treachery.

De Laci's narrow escape.

Interim autem Hibernici, numero non pauci, proditoris ad nutum e vallibus emergentes, cum jaculis binis et securibus amplis, undique quantocius accurrerunt, de Mauricio et Hugone jam facturi finem,[4] quando Griffinus et sui, ad Mauricii vocem invitati, in equis cursoribus

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[1] *elegerat*] L. Ha. Cl., &c.; delegerat, R. B.

[2] *trahentes*] L. B. Ha.; retrahentes, R. Cl. Hb., &c.

[3] *mingendum*] R. Ha. Hb. (erased in B.); megendum, L.; megerndum, Cl.; mergendum, Ra. Rb., Camden.

[4] *jam facturi finem*] R. B.; finem jam facturi, L. Ha. Cl., &c.

A.D. 1172. statim affuerunt. Quo viso, sibi fugæ præsidio consulere cupiens, cum equum adductum scandere proditor jam parasset, in ipso ascensu Griffinus accelerans, tam equum quam ascensorem ejus lancea perforavit. Interfectis igitur ibidem cum ipso tribus ejusdem familiaribus, qui sub tanto discrimine equum ei adduxerant, ejusque capite præciso, quod postmodum Anglorum regi in Angliam usque[1] transmissum est, cunctis per campana tam diffusis quam confusis, usque ad ipsa quæ procul aberant silvestria strages fieri quam maxima non cessavit. Radulfus itaque, Stephanidæ filius, juvenis animosus et validus, strenua præ aliis virtute laudem hic meruit.

O'Rourke killed by Griffith.

[Cap. XLII.][2]

De Visionibus.

Visions, in dreams. 52.

Quoniam autem de visionibus variæ solent esse sententiæ, hujus visionis occasione vera quædam et authentica visionum exempla hic interseri nulli fastidio venire debet.

True dreams. Val. Max. i. 7, Ext. 10.

Refert Valerius Maximus quod cum duo Archades iter facientes, alter se ad hospitem sospitem contulerit, alter in tabernam meritoriam[3] diverterit,[4] is qui in

[1] *in Angliam usque*] R. B. Cl., &c. Not in L. in Angliam est transmissum, Ha. In the Irish account of O'Rourke's death, the treachery is all on the part of De Laci. "A.D. 1172 — Tiernan "O'Rourke, lord of Breifny and "Conmaicne, was treacherously "slain at Tlachtgha, by Hugh de "Laci, and Donnell the son of "Annadh O'Rourke, one of his "own tribe, who was along with "them. He was beheaded by "them, and they conveyed his "head and body ignominiously to "Dublin. The head was placed "over the gate of the fortress; and "the body was gibbeted, with the "feet upwards, at the northern side "of Dublin"—*Four Masters*. Regan has no mention of his death.

[2] This chapter not in Ha. In L. it is a continuation of last chapter.

[3] *meritoriam*] L. B. Cl., &c., Val. Max.; metatoriam, R.

[4] *diverterit*] L. B. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.; diverteret, R., Camden.

hospitio erat videt per somnium comitem suum orantem, ut sibi a caupone oppresso subveniret. Excitatus somnum repetit. Socius ejus sauciatus iterum ei apparuit,[1] quoniam auxilium ei[2] ferre noluerat, vel mortuum rogans vindicare. Dicebat corpus suum tunc a caupone ferri in plaustro ad portam, sterquilinio cooperiendum. Quod evigilans ita invenit, et cauponem ad capitale supplicium deduxit.

Arcerius[3] Rufus vidit se manu retiarii confodi; quod in crastinum[4] contigit. Val. Max. i. 7, 8.

Simonides poeta, cum in litore quodam corpus humanum inhumatum jacens sepelisset, eadem nocte admonitus ab ipso ne proximo die navigaret, in terra remansit. Qui vero navigare cœperunt, in conspectu ejus fluctibus et procellis obruti sunt. Ibid. i. 7, Ext. 3.

Calpurnia, uxor Julii, ea nocte quam is in terris ultimam egit, in somnis[5] vidit eum vulneribus multis confectum[6] in sinu suo jacentem. Exterrita rogavit eum in crastinum a curia abstinere. Quod ille, ne mulieris somnio id egisse videretur, distulit. Ibid. i. 7, 2.

Et ne longius exempla petantur, frater meus, miles egregius, cui nomen Gualterus Barrensis, cum in gentem inimicam nostris diebus expeditionis cujusdam iter arripere jam parasset, nocte præcedente mater mea præmortua astitit ei in somnis, monens diligenter et præmuniens quatinus ab expeditione crastina, si vitam diligeret, modis omnibus abstineret. Sua tamen mater non fuerat, immo noverca; quanquam non novercali, sed materno diligens affectu. Hæc cum ille patri suo ac meo retulisset, germanus namque mihi fuerat, non

Giraldus's deceased mother appeared in a dream to Walter de Barri his brother.

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[1] *iterum ei apparuit*] L. B. Cl., &c.; ei aperuit, R.

[2] After *ei* is added *vivo* in Camden; but it is in no MS.

[3] *Arcerius*] R. B. Hb.; Arterius, L. Cl. Ra. Rb.; Aterius, Val. Max.

[4] *crastinum*] L. B. Cl., &c.; crastino, R.

[5] *somnis*] R. B. Cl., &c.; somniis, L.

[6] *confectum*] R. B. Cl., &c.; affectum, L., but with "vel con" interlined over the "af."

uterinus, et eandem ab ipso commonitionem suscepisset, ipse tamen, ut humanæ præsumptionis mos est, ne vanis terreri somniis videretur, contra monita mane profectus, et eodem die[1] ab hostibus est interemptus.

False dreams. Val. Max. i. 7, 1.

Et e diverso, Valerio testante, Augusto contra Brutum pugnaturo, Minerva Artorio medico in somnis præcepit, ut illum moneret ne propter morbum prælio interesset. Quod cum audisset, lectica se in prælium ferri fecit, et vicit.

Instance of a false dream in South Wales.

Parum etiam[2] ante nostra tempora contigit in Kambriæ finibus. Demetiæ videlicet provincia quadam quæ Kemmeis dicitur, ut vir quidam locuples ibidem mansionem habens, a boreali videlicet montium de Presseli latere,[3] tribus noctibus continue in somnis moneretur, quatinus in fonte proximo, qui sancti Bernaci fons dicebatur, lapidi qui scaturigini fontis supereminebat manum submittens, aureum inde torquem extraheret. Qui die tertio monitis obtemperans, vipereo ibidem morsu letalem in digito læsionem suscepit.

The author's conclusion as to dreams.

Ob hæc igitur, et varia rerum experimenta, quicquid ceteri de somniis somnient, mihi quidem sicut rumoribus, sic et somniis credi oportere et non oportere visum est. De visionibus[4] autem, cujusmodi per angelos in somnis prophetis divinitus immitti solent, longe secus est: quarum effectus irrefragabili veritate comprobantur.

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[1] *statim* after *die*, in L. only.

[2] This told again in *Itin. Kamb.*, ii. 2., where it is said to have happened in Henry I.'s time.

[3] *a boreali . . latere*] R. B. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[4] *De visionibus, &c.*] This last clause not in L. B. In margin of R. In text of Cl., &c.

[Cap. XLIII.]

Descriptio Mauricii.

Erat autem[1] Mauricius vir venerabilis et verecundus; vultu colorato, decentique; mediocri quadam modicitate, tam mediocribus minor quam modicis major; vir tam animo quam corpore modificato, nec illo elato nec hoc dilatato; innata vir bonitate bonus, et tamen longe cura propensiori bonus fieri quam videri malens. Mauricio modus, in omnibus servare modum; ut credi[2] possit suarum partium, suique temporis, tam censura morum quam facetiarum[3] exemplum. Vir breviloquus, et sermone perpauco sed ornato; puta plus pectoris habens quam oris, plus rationis quam orationis, plus sapientiæ quam eloquentiæ. Et tamen, cum sermonem res exigebat, ad sententiam dicendam sicut serus, sic scientissimus. Rebus in martiis vir animosus, et nulli fere strenuitate secundus. Ad capessenda tamen pericula nec impetuosus nec præceps; sed sicut providus in aggrediendis, sic pertinax erat in aggressis. Vir sobrius, modestus, et castus; stabilis, firmus, atque fidelis. Vir quidem non expers criminis, crimine tamen omni notabili carens et enormi.

Description of Maurice FitzGerald. 52 b.

[Cap. XLIV.]

Prima filiorum in patrem discessio.[4]

A.D. 1173.

Sequenti vero Aprili Anglorum rex junior, Henricus scilicet Henrici regis filius, nequitiam erga patrem, pravorum consiliis olim conceptam, amplius occultari non perferens, cum duobus fratribus suis, Pictaviæ sci-

Rebellion of the princes, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey.

[1] *autem*] L. R. B. Ha, &c.; itaque, T. This chapter forms Cap. 19 of *Symb. Elect. III.*, vol. i. 392.

[2] *ut credi . . exemplum*] Not in Ha.

[3] *fascesciarum*, L. B.

[4] *discessio*] R. B. Ha. Cl.; dissentio, L. Hb. Ra.

A.D. 1173. licet et Britanniæ comitibus, ad Lodovicum Francorum regem, cujus filiam maritali copula junctam habuerat, in Franciam secessit; ut soceri fultus auxilio, proh dolor, "ante diem patrios incurrat in annos;" multos quoque proceres tam Anglicanos quam transmarinos manifeste, multo plures occulte complices habens et fautores.

Ovid, Met. i. 148.

Rex vero, regis junioris pater, ob inopinata quæ sibi undique emergunt incommoda non mediocriter anxius existens, vultu tamen hilari et elato, ex summa industria solatium simulans et spem præferens, omni ex parte quæcunque potuit modis omnibus auxilia conquisivit. Directis itaque nunciis, et optima quam in Hibernia reliquerat revocata familia, apud urbem Rothomagensem[1] comiti Ricardo Hibernici regni custodiam ex toto commisit; Reimundum iterum ei, sed quasi manu sua coadjutorem, adjungens; sine cujus societatis auxilio, custodiam illam suscipere comes omnino renuerat. Tunc etiam comiti urbem Weisefordiæ, cum castello Wikingelonensi, regia contulit munificentia.

Henry summons to him the garrisons he had left in Ireland; and commits the custody of Ireland to earl Richard, with Reimund as coadjutor.

[Cap. XLV.][2]

A.D. 1173 and 1174.

Victoriæ Anglorum regis Henrici secundi.

Henry's two years' civil wars.

Rex ergo,[3] tam in Anglicanis quam Aquitannicæ Galliæ partibus, bella plusquam civilia per biennium

[1] According to Regan (pp. 136, 137), earl Richard had been summoned into Normandy to the king's aid, and made governor of Gisors. But Regan's order of events is different: he makes out that it was not till after Reimund's departure into Wales, as *infra*, ii. 2, that the earl had this summons into Normandy. Diceto (572) mentions him as being with the king in Normandy in the early part of August 1173, and as having lately arrived from Ireland: "Henricus rex Angliæ, secum habens . . . Ricardum comitem de "Estriguil, qui nuper ab Hibernia "venerat."

[2] This chapter and the next form Cap. 28 of *Symb. Elect. III.*, vol. i. 393. The greater part of this chapter occurs again in *De Instr. Princ.*, ii. 4.

[3] *ergo*] R. B.; vero, L. T. Ha. Cl., &c.

sustinens, tot maturationibus, tantisque vigiliis, tanta quoque et tam laboriosa diligentia, tantorum simul et tot hostium invicta virtute conatus elusit, ut ob innaturalem filiorum in patrem injuriam, divina potius quam humana potentia victor ubique videretur.[1] A.D. 1173 and 1174.

Sed quoniam "Inimici hominis domestici ejus," et inter pestes pessima familiaris semper inimicitia,[2] hoc ei ad cumulum doloris et desperationis accessit, quod illi quoque quos cubicularios[3] sibi milites elegerat, in quorum manibus mortem simul et vitam commiserat, qualibet fere nocte ad filios hostili animo se transferentes, mane requisiti non comparebant. Bellum tamen tam desperabilis initii tam triumphali fine melior fortuna conclusit, tantoque favore regis gloriam et tam feliciter augmentavit, ut sicut in primis indignatio 53. divina vindictam accelerasse omnium æstimatione putabatur, sic eadem, conversione magis gaudens quam eversione, processu dierum, digna demum complacatione misericorditer resedisse videretur. Mic. vii 6. Matt x. 36. The desperate state of his affairs at first.

Post gravem itaque Dolensis[4] capturæ dolorem; post Sancti Edmundi inundantem[5] regna favorem; post Cantuariæ nocturnam principis peregrinantis pœnitentiam, propitiante nobili martyre Thoma, lacrimis et devotione jam placato, in crastino, apud Anwicense[6] castrum, His successes at Dol, Bury St. Edmund's, and Alnwick.

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[1] *videretur*] L. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; videtur, R. T.

[2] *inimicia*, L.

[3] *cubicularios*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; cubiculares, L.

[4] Dol, in Britanny, was surrendered to Henry by the earl of Chester, Sunday, August 26, 1173. Hoveden, 306 b.

[5] *Edmundi inundantem*] R. B. T. Cl., &c.; Eadmundi mundantem, L. Ha. The battle near Bury St. Edmund's, where the earl of Leicester was defeated and taken prisoner, was fought Oct. 17, 1173. Diceto, 574. The royal forces marched from St. Edmund's, "præferentes "sibi vexillum S. Eadmundi regis "et martyris pro signo: et ordinatis aciebus suis, in virtute Dei, et "gloriosissimi martyris sui Eadmundi, percusserunt aciem in qua "comes Leicestriæ erat, et in momento, in nictu oculi, victus est "comes Leicestriæ et captus, et "uxor ejus," &c. Hoveden, 307.

[6] *Anwicense*] L. R. B. T. Cl., &c.; Sanwicense, Hb.; Sandwich, Hooker; Amoytense, Camden.

After his penance at Becket's

A.D. 1173 and 1174.

præsidente probo prudentique viro, et in utraque fortuna fidelissimo, Ranulfo Glanvillensi, diurnam adepta est Anglia diuturnamque lætitiam.

Capture of the king of Scotland, and of the earls of Chester and Leicester, &c.

Captus igitur Albaniæ rex, capti Cestriæ comites et Leicestriæ;[1] præterea ex utraque Gallici maris parte, sorte consimili, tot proceres capti, tot duces, tot viri militares, ut vix victis vincula, vix captis carceres invenirentur.

Henry's clemency.

Sed quoniam princeps, donec de se ipso triumphet, obscure de hostibus triumphabit; quippe nihil[2] est, unde non triumphet animi triumphator; inter tot rerum aliarum victorias, fortuna ubique spirante favorem, egregiæ virtutis et inauditæ pietatis exemplo, sibi rex imperans, deque seipso triumphans,

Ovid, Her. iii. 85.

"Vincens animos, iramque suam, qui cetera vicit,"

hostibus undique victis et triumphatis vitam reddidit et honorem. Quodque rebus in secundis rarum esse solet, æqua ferens commoda mente, inter ipsos triumphales eventus summam clementiam, summam inter prospera modestiam conservavit.

Post varias igitur belli biennalis vexationes, et inanes omnino fatigationes, sub pacis demum osculo, umbratilique magis quam vera concordia, sicut ex post facto claruit, ad patrem filii sunt reversi.

Prophecy of Merlin of Celidon.

Merlinus Celidonius.

Impleta[3] sunt ergo illa Merlini Silvestris vaticinia; "Ex delicto geniti delinquunt "in genitorem; et præcedens delictum fit causa se-

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tomb, Henry left Canterbury for London the next morning, Saturday, July 13, 1174. This same Saturday, William king of Scotland was captured at Alnewic. Hoveden, 308. Camden's reading, "Amoytense," has led to the conclusion that Giraldus is here referring to the peace concluded at the colloquy held between Tours and Amboise, in the autumn of this same year.

[1] *Leicestriæ*] R. B. T. Ha., &c.; Leircestriæ, L.

[2] *quippe nihil . . . . conservavit*] Not in Ha.

[3] This last section in L. R. B. T. Ha. Not in Cl. Hb., &c., Hooker.

"quentium delictorum. Filii insurgent[1] in parentem, et "ob sceleris vindictam in ventrem viscera conjurabunt. "In virum sanguinis sanguis insurget, et desperabilis "fiet afflictio, donec Albania peregrinantis fleverit pœni-"tentiam." Sicut in *Libro Vaticiniorum* palam erit.

[Cap. XLVI.]

Descriptio Anglorum regis Henrici secundi.

Expressam[2] vero regis naturam, et tam interioris hominis quam exterioris proprietatem, æternitati depingere, non indignum reputavi; ut qui insignia ejusdem gesta in posterum audire gestierunt, imaginarium quoque vultum ejusdem præ oculis gerant. Tantum quippe temporis nostri decus transitorie perire, præsens historia non permittit: impetrata tamen veritatis explicandæ venia, citra quam omnis historia non solum authoritatem, sed et nomen historiæ demeretur. Naturam enimvero imitari arte professus authoritatem pictor amittit, si diligentius apta dum protrahit, minus idonea verecunde prætermittit. Unde et quoniam,

> "Vitiis sine nemo nascitur; optimus ille est Hor. 1 S.
> "Qui minimis urgetur," iii. 68.

nihil humanum a se alienum sapiens putet. Semper Ter. Heaut.
enim mundanis in rebus, quia nulla sub cœlo perfecta i. 1, 25.
felicitas, et mala sunt vicina bonis, et vitia virtutibus 53 b.
distinguuntur. Sicut ergo sive naturæ, sive industriæ bona, mentem bene compositam audita delectant, sic recitata bonis contraria non offendant. Sed quoniam, juxta philosophicum illud, "Colere officiis oportet, non "exasperare verbis potestatem;" et illud comicum,

[1] *insurgent*] R. B. T. Ha.; insurgunt, L.

[2] The first part of this chapter, down to *literis eruditus*, (*infra*, p. 303), is repeated in *De Instr. Princ.*, ii. 29. The first section, *Expressam . . . exasperare*, not in Ha.

Ter. And. i. 1, 41.

"Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit;" meticulosa nimirum res est, quantalibet occasione in illum allegare qui potest relegare; arduum opus, et periculosum magis quam fructuosum arripui, multis illum verbis describere, qui uno verbo potest proscribere. Gratiosum quippe foret, et nostras longe vires excedens, veritatem in singulis non supprimere, et in[1] nullo tamen principis animum non exasperare.

Description of Henry II.: as to his person.

Erat igitur Anglorum rex Henricus secundus vir subrufus, cæsius,[2] amplo capite et rotundo, oculis glaucis, ad iram torvis, et rubore suffusis, facie ignea, voce quassa, collo ab humeris aliquantulum demisso, pectore quadrato, brachiis validis, corpore carnoso, et naturæ magis quam gulæ vitio, citra tumorem enormem et torporem omnem, moderata quadam immoderantia ventre præamplo.[3] Erat[4] enim cibo potuque modestus ac sobrius, et parcimoniæ, quoad principi licuit, per omnia datus. Et ut hanc naturæ injuriam industria repri-

As to his habits.

meret ac mitigaret, carnisque vitium animi virtute levaret, bello plusquam intestino tanquam in se conjurans, immoderata corpus vexatione torquebat. Nam præter bellorum tempora, quæ frequenter imminebant, quibus, quod rebus agendis supererat, vix id tantillum quieti dabat, pacis quoque tempore, sibi nec pacem ullam nec requiem indulgebat. Venationi namque trans modestiam deditus, summo diluculo equo cursore transvectus, nunc saltus lustrans, nunc silvas penetrans, nunc montium juga transcendens, dies ducebat inquietos: vespere vero domi receptum, vel ante cœnam vel post, rarissime sedentem conspexeris. Post tantas namque fatigationes, totam statione continua curiam

[1] *in*] L. R. B. Cl., &c. Not in T.

[2] *cæsius*] R. B. Cl., &c.; cælius, L. In Cl. is this marginal note: "Cæsii dicuntur Lentiginosi, quia "cæsam faciem habere videntur."

[3] *præamplo*] L. R., &c.; over "plo" is interlined "vel bulo" in T. and Cl.; *præambulo* the reading in Ra.

[4] Hence down to *amore demulcens*, (*infra*, p. 303,) not in Ha.

lassare consueverat. Sed quoniam hoc "adprime in "vita utile, ut ne quid nimis," nullumque remedium simpliciter bonum, cum tibiarum pedumque tumore frequenti, recalcitrantium ad hæc jumentorum ictibus aucta læsione, ceteras id ipsum corporis incommoditates accelerabat; et si non aliam, matrem malorum omnium ac[1] ministram certe vel senectutem. Ter. And. i. 1, 34.

Staturæ vir erat inter mediocres: quod nulli filiorum contingere potuit; primævis ambobus paulo mediocritatem excedentibus, junioribus vero duobus infra[2] subsistentibus. His stature.

Citra animi turbationes, et iracundiæ motus, princeps eloquentissimus: et quod his temporibus conspicuum est, literis eruditus. His eloquence and learning.

Vir affabilis,[3] vir flexibilis et facetus: nulli prorsus hominum, quicquid intus palliaverit, urbanitate secundus. His affability.

Princeps adeo pietate spectabilis, ut quoties armis vicerat, ipse quoque magis pietate vinceretur. His piety.

In armata militia strenuus, in togata perprovidus. Strenuous in war; but most prudent in avoiding it.

Semper tamen rebus in martiis ambigua bellorum fata reformidans: et ex summa prudentia, juxta comicum illud, omnia prius quam arma pertentans. 54.

Amissos in acie plus principe plangens; et humanior extincto militi, quam superstiti; longeque majori dolore mortuos lugens, quam vivos amore demulcens. Ter. Eun. iv. 7, 19. His grief for the dead in battle.

Urgentibus incommodis, nemo benignior: resumpta securitate nemo rigidior. His kindness; yet severity.

Acer in indomitos: clemens in subactos.
Durus in domesticos: diffusus in extraneos.
Largus in publico: parcus in privato. His bounty; yet parsimony.

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[1] *malorum omnium ac*] L. R. B.; incommodorum atque, T. Cl. IIb., &c.; malorum multorum atque, *De Instr. Princ.*

[2] *infra*] R. B. T. Cl., &c.; citra, L.

[3] *Vir affabilis . . secundus*] Not in L. B. In margin of R. T. In text of Cl., &c.

His steady hatred, or love.

Quem semel exosum habuerat, vix in amorem; quem semel amaverat, vix in odium revocabat.

His extreme delight in falconry and hunting.

Avium,[1] quarum victus ex præda, volatu plurimum; canumque, feras narium sagacitate persequentium, tam voce sonora et consona, quam cursu veloci, ultra modum delectatus. Et utinam tam devotioni deditus, quam venationi.

An open violator of his marriage vow.

Post gravem, matris, ut fertur, instinctu, filiorum in patrem offensam, publicus legitimi fœderis violator.

His untruthfulness.

Naturali quadam inconstantia, verbi spontaneus plerumque transgressor. Nam quoties in arctum res devenerat, de dicto malens quam facto pœnitere, verbumque facilius quam factum irritum habere.

His dilatoriness in matters of justice.

Adeo in cunctis agendis prospector providus et moderator; ut ob hoc etiam, medicina ex parte modum excedente, juris et justitiæ dilator extiterit; et non absque suorum enormi gravamine, morosus ad cuncta responsor.

His simoniacal practices.

Denique, gratis exhibenda quæ Deus est justitia dum pretio provenit impretiabilis,[2] et in quæstu prostat omnia præstans, magnos Giezi tam regno quam sacerdotio reliquit heredes.

His love of peace: almsgiving:

Author pacis diligentissimus, et observator.

Incomparabilis elemosinarum largitor, et præcipuus terræ Palestinæ sustentator.

humility, &c.

Humilitatis amator; nobilitatis oppressor; et superbiæ calcator.

Luc. i. 53.

Esurientes[3] implens bonis; et divites demittens et dimittens inanes.

"Exaltans humiles; ponens de sede potentes."

His usurpations in things of God.

Detestandis in ea quæ Dei sunt usurpationibus multa præsumens; zeloque justitiæ, sed non ex scientia,

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[1] Hence down to *Palestinæ sustentator*, (*infra*,) not in Ha.

[2] *impretiabilis*] L. R. B. Cl., &c.; impretiabili, T.; impretiabile, Camden.

[3] Hence to the end of the chapter not in Ha., excepting the first sentence of the last section, *Sed hæc . . . sufficiat*.

regni sacerdotiique jura conjungens,[1] et omnia solus existens.

Ecclesiæ filius, et ab illa sceptri nactus honorem, sacramentalis delibutionis vel immemor vel dissimulator acceptæ, sacræ vix horam hostiæ mittendæ divinis accommodans; et id ipsum temporis, ob regni forte negotia tanta, reique publicæ causa, plus consiliis et sermone quam devotione consumens.

His inattention to divine service.

Vacantium proventus ecclesiarum in fiscale ærarium mittens; et modico fermenti massa corrupta, dum aufert fiscus quod sibi vindicat Christus, novis semper emersis incommodis, thesauros universos profundebat; dans impio militi, quæ dari debuerant[2] sacerdoti.

His seizures of the revenues of vacant churches.

Ex summa prudentia multa machinans, multa provide disponens; quæ tamen, eventus non sortita secundos, in contraria plerumque vergere videbantur. Nec unquam ingens emersit incommodum, quod originem familiaribus ex causis non contraxerit.

Legitimæ prolis pueritiam naturali affectu plusquam pater amplectens, provectiores ejusdem annos plusquam vitricus[3] oblique respiciens. Et quanquam filios tam inclitos habens et illustres, magno tamen absolutæ felicitatis impedimento, forsan ex meritis, semper odio persequens successores.

His treatment of his sons.

54 b.

Et quoniam humana prosperitas, sicut nec perpetua, sic nescit esse perfecta, exquisita quadam fortunæ malitia, unde gaudium habere debuerat, inde gladium, unde securitatem inde securim, unde pacem inde pestem, unde fortitudinem inde ingratitudinem, unde quietem et tranquillitatem, summam inde cum inquietudine suscipiens turbationem.

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[1] *conjungens*] L. R. B., &c.; over it is interlined "vel confundens" in T. and Cl.; *vel confundens* only in text of Ra.; *conjungens, vel confundens potius*, is Camden's text.

[2] *dari debuerant*] L. B. Cl., &c.; dare debuerat, R. T., (R., however, having "dara" instead of "dare.")

[3] *vitricus*] L. B. T.; victricus, R. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

Unde aliquo vel[1] maritalis copulæ vitio, vel parentum criminis cujuslibet vindicta videtur accidere, quod nec patris in filios, nec filiorum in parentem, nec fratrum inter se vera concordia.

Sublatis statim tam regni detentoribus quam pacis ejusdem turbatoribus, tam fratribus et filiis quoque quam alienis, tam domesticis quam extraneis, diu ad votum succedentia cuncta suscipiens. Et utinam finalem sibi divinum hunc favorem, dignis operum meritis, vel in fine recognoscens.

His wonderful memory.

Quemcunque[2] vel semel in facie attentius inspexerat, quanquam in tanta quotidie multitudine constitutus, nunquam amplius ignotum habebat. Quicquid aliquando memoria dignum audierat, nunquam a mente decidere poterat.[3] Unde et historiarum omnium fere promptam[4] notitiam, et cunctarum propemodum experientiam rerum, ad manum habebat. Et ut paucis plura[5] concludam, si a Domino finaliter electus fuisset,[6] et ad ejus obsequia se converterit, inter mundi principes erat[7] multis naturæ dotibus incomparabilis.

Sed hæc hactenus, nec præter rem tamen, cursim et breviter hic delibasse sufficiat. Magnis quippe tam nobilis historiæ scriptoribus amplam gradiendi viam paucis aperientes, ad nostram de cetero Hiberniam revertamur.

Explicit liber primus.

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[1] *aliquo vel*] R. B.; vel aliquo, L. T. Cl., &c.

[2] *Quemcunque . . incomparabilis*] This section not in B. In margin of R. In text of L. T. Cl., &c.

[3] *poterat*] R. T. Cl., &c.; potuit, L.

[4] *promptam*] L. T. Cl., &c. Not in R.

[5] *plura*] R. Cl., &c.; plurima, T., Camden; multa, L.

[6] *fuisset*] R. T. Cl., &c.; fuerit, L.

[7] *erat*] L. T. Cl., &c. Not in R.

INCIPIT [LIBER][1] SECUNDUS.

Hactenus historiam pleno perfectoque tenore produximus; nihil memoratu dignum omittentes, quod rerum gestarum series videbatur expetere. Sed quoniam generalibus illis et necessariis crucis Christi jam occupati negotiis,[2] otium studio suppeditare nequivimus, nec opus inchoatum semiplenum relinquere ulla ratione sustinuimus, cursim et breviter, communi quoque sermone, non ornato, cuncta de cetero prosequemur; ut posteritati potius materiæ delibatio, quam historiæ narratio, tradi videatur. Otium namque versum est in negotium, studium[3] in odium, in luctum lætitia, in summam inquietudinem summa tranquillitas. Non artis hodie vigent, sed Martis officia; non mentis sed corporis exercitia; non musis sed mucronibus, non animis sed armis indulgetur. Non ordinem hic ergo[4] lector requirat, non leporem. Necesse enim erat ut tempori morem gerentia, singula quæque turbate proveniant; sicut et ipsa sunt tempora turbatissima. Plerumque nimirum per exteriora tam vultus quam verborum indicia interior animi passio declaratur.

As yet Giraldus has given us a full history. But now, occupied in preparing for the crusade, he purposes a brief and cursory narration.

[1] *Liber* not in the MSS., this Incipit forming one rubric with the Explicit of 1st book. This preface is omitted in Ha. It forms Cap. 7 of *Symb. Elect. IV.* (vol. i. 393).

[2] Giraldus took the cross in the spring of A.D. 1188, as related in *Itin. Kamb.*, i. 1; before the end of which year probably, at all events not later than the early part of 1189, this preface must have been penned. His crusading zeal evaporated with the death of Henry II., whom he had expected to pay his expenses. He was absolved from his vow about the end of the year 1189. *De Rebus, &c.* (vol. i. 84.)

[3] *studium*] L. B. T. Cl., &c.; stadium, R.

[4] *ergo*] R. B. T. Cl., &c. Not in L.

55. Inter ipsos itaque tanti conaminis apparatus, et tanquam in ipso viæ procinctu, non absque lucubratione plurima et indebita maturatione, præsens opus consummari procuravimus; itinerantium more, qui cum tardius iter arripiunt, celeritate moram compensant; quicquid in salutiferæ crucis obsequiis de nostra Salvator salute statuerit, cum *Hibernica Topographia* vaticinalem hanc historiam, nostræ monumenta diligentiæ, posteris et patriæ relinquentes.

[Cap. I.]

A.D. 1173. *De comite Ricardo in Hiberniam custode transmisso; et Reimundo iterum familiæ præfecto.*

Earl Richard's return into Ireland. *Supra*, p. 298, n. (1). All Ireland almost in rebellion: and the earl's troops mutinous, because of the inactivity of their constable, Hervey de Montmaurice.

Comes autem Ricardus in Hiberniam rediens, quoniam gens Hibernica tantam in transmarinis discordiam nuper obortam audierat, utpote gens sola constans inconstantia, sola instabilitate stabilis, sola infidelitate fidelis, omnes fere terræ illius principes regi sibique rebelles invenit. Consumptis autem in brevi thesauris, quos secum comes attulerat, deficientibus quoque stipendiis, familia comitis, quæ sub Herveio, Reimundi æmulo, seque constabularium jam gerente, nihil in prædis, ut assolet, proficere poterat, demum ad comitem omnes unanimiter accedunt; communiter asserentes, nisi Reimundum iterum eis præficiat, se statim eundem omnes proculdubio relicturos, et vel in Angliam reversuros, vel etiam, quod pejus erat, ad hostes transituros.

Reimund is set over them.

Præfecto vero hoc necessitatis articulo[1] familiæ Reimundo, resumptis animis statim in Offelanos[2] in-

[1] *hoc necessitatis articulo*] Not in L. B. In margin of R. In text of Ha. Cl., &c.

[2] *Offelanos*] R.; Ofelanos, B.; Ophelanos, L. Ha. Cl. Regan describes this foray into Offaly, but places it before earl Richard's summons into Normandy, and soon after Henry's leaving Ireland in the spring of 1172: p. 132, &c. Regan has nothing about the other events related in this chapter.

surgentes, prædis quam maximis refici cœperunt; equis quoque et armis egregie reformari. Abinde quoque Lismoriam profecti, tam urbe quam urbis provincia spoliata simul et deprædata, prædas per maritimam viam immensas Waterfordiam duxere. Spoliis vero naviculas tredecim, quarum quædam de Waterfordia venerant, alias in eodem portu repererant, oneravere. Cum ergo zephyri beneficium ibidem aliquamdiu expectassent, ecce Corcagiensi ab urbe, quæ occidentali ex parte per miliaria[1] sedecim abinde distat, ad eos expugnandum triginta duæ naves bellicosis refertæ viris adveniunt. Prælio itaque navali conserto, dum isti lapidibus et securibus acriter impetunt, illi vero tam sagittis, quam laminis ferreis quibus abundabant, promptissime resistunt. Tandem victis Corcagiensibus et confectis, eorumque[2] duce Gilleberto, Turgerii filio, a juvene pervalido, Philippo scilicet Gualensi, interfecto, Adam Herefordensis, qui electæ juventuti ibi tunc præerat, aucto navium numero, cum armis et oneribus Waterfordiam navigio victoriosus advenit. Reimundus vero, qui forte conflictus hujus nuncium habuerat, cum militibus viginti et arcariis[3] sexaginta, per maritimam viam ad partes illas properans, Dermitio Desmoniæ principe statim a Lismoria fugato, quo in auxilium Corcagiensium cum exercitu magno venerat, Waterfordiam quatuor animalium milia secum reduxit.

A.D. 1173. The incursion into Offaly, &c.

Sea-fight in Lismore haven, with a fleet from Cork.

Circa[4] hæc eadem tempora, cum Hibernici partium illarum aliquantulum ad silvas de plano prædam Waterfordiæ rapuissent, et in silvæ ipsius ora in insidiis latitassent, clamore ad urbem facto, familia prosiliit; et in primis Meilerius, ut erat præceps semper et probus, satellite quodam comitatus equestri, prædones usque

An exploit of Meiler.

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[1] *miliaria*] B. Ha. Cl., &c.; milia, R.; stadia, L.

[2] *eorumque*] L. B. Ha. Cl. Ra.; eorum, R. Hb. Rb.

[3] *arcariis*] L. R. B. Ha.; satellitibus equestribus, Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[4] This section not in L. B. In margin of R. In text of Ha. Cl., &c.

A.D. 1173 or 1174.

ad silvæ condensa est persecutus. Sed cum ipse redire pararet, juvene instigante temerario, et præaccelerante, silvæ partem usque ad saltum interiorem transpenetrarunt: et statim juvene eodem coram ipso multis vulneribus confosso, et frustatim securibus dilacerato, cum frustra solus contra mille subvenire vellet, et impetum in hostes faceret, conclusus ab ipsis et ad manus etiam undique comprehensus, exserto[1] gladio viam sibi vir animosus viribus aperuit; et illi manus, huic brachium, alii caput et humeros viriliter amputans, tres secures Hibernicas in equo confixas, duasque in clipeo portans, corpore tamen indemnis et illæsus, ad planitiem suis obviando remeavit.

[Cap. II.]

55 b.

Interfectio Dublinensium apud Ossiriam.

A.D. 1174.

Reimund having returned into Wales; Hervey again constable.

The disastrous expedition into

His ita completis, familiaque tam maris quam terræ successibus egregie refecta, dum Reimundus, ob patris quem audierat obitum,[2] nobilis videlicet viri Guillelmi Giraldidæ, remenso pelago in Kambriam recessisset, Herveius, iterum se constabularium gerens, ut absente Reimundo aliquid agere videretur, comitem cum familia Cassiliam duxit.[3] Dublinensium autem exercitus, in

[1] *exserto*] R. Cl.; extracto, Ha. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[2] Regan gives a very different reason. He says that Reimund had asked the earl to give him his sister in marriage, with the constableship of Leinster, void by the death of Robert de Quenci. This the earl refused; and Reimund, offended, withdrew with his followers into Wales. This still, according to Regan, before the earl's summons into Normandy to the king: p. 135, &c.

[3] Regan has nothing about this invasion of Munster. The account of it in the *Four Masters* is as follows: "A.D. 1174.—The earl led "an army to plunder Munster: "king Roderic marched with ano- "ther army to defend it against "them. When the English heard "of Roderic's arrival in Munster, "for the purpose of giving them "battle, they solicited to their as- "sistance the Galls (Ostmen) of "Dublin; and these made no delay "till they came to Thurles" (Co.

eorum interim auxilium ex edicto veniens, cum apud Ossiriam forte pernoctaret, ecce Limericensium princeps Duvenaldus, vir sua in gente non improvidus, ipsorum adventus exploratione certissima præscius, summo diluculo cum manu forti irruens in incautos, quatuor milites qui aliis præerant, et quadringentos Ostmannorum viros simul interemit. His autem auditis, comite Waterfordiam cum confusione reverso, casus istius occasione totus totius[1] Hiberniæ populus in Anglos unanimiter insurgunt: ita ut comes, tanquam obsessus, Waterfordensi nusquam ab urbe discederet.

A.D. 1174. Munster; and slaughter of the men of Dublin by Donnell O'Brien.

Earl Richard retreats to Waterford.

Rothericus vero Connactensis, Sinnenensis fluvii fluenta transcurrens, in manu valida Mediam invasit: cunctaque ejusdem castra vacua reperiens atque deserta, usque ad ipsos Dubliniæ fines, igne combusta soloque confracta redegit.

Roderic's invasion of Meath, &c.

[Cap. III.]

De reditu Reimundi.[2]

Considerans itaque comes se in arcto jam positum, communicato suorum consilio, tanquam ultimo salutis

Earl Richard's message to Reimund.

Tipperary). "Thither came Don-" nell O'Brien and the Dalcassians, " the battalion of West Connaught, " the great battalion of the Sil-" Murray, besides numerous other " good troops left there by king " Roderic. A brave battle was " fought between the English and " Irish at this place, in which the " English were finally defeated by " dint of fighting. Seventeen hun-" dred" [this a mistake for 700 probably, as in the *Innisfallen Annals*] of the English were " slain in this battle; and only a " few of them survived with the " earl, who proceeded in sorrow to " his house at Waterford."

This account differs very materially from that of Giraldus, and is probably the truer one of the two. If, as Giraldus says, it was the Danish detachment from Dublin only that was defeated, the earl would not have been in the desperate strait he evidently was, when he shut himself up in Waterford, and sent begging for aid to Reimund.

[1] *totius*] L. B. Ha. Not in R. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[2] No new chapter in L. No heading in B., but new chapter indicated by initial letter. *De reditu Reimundi*, R.; *Reimundi in Hiberniam revocatio, et Basiliæ desponsatio*, Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb., Camden.

A.D. 1174. refugio literas in Kambriam Reimundo sub hoc tenore[1] transmisit:

"Inspectis literis istis, nobis in manu forti subvenire "non differas: et desiderium tuum, in Basilia sorore "mea tibi legitime copulanda, in ipso statim adventu "tuo proculdubio noveris adimplendum." Reimundus autem, his agnitis, tam nobilis puellæ diuque concupitæ fruendi amplexibus, quam vires experiendi, dominoque in necessitatis articulo subveniendi voto succensus, cum Meilerio consobrino suo, necnon et aliis de stirpe sua militibus triginta non invalidis, arcariis[2] quoque centum, et sagittariis pedestribus de electa Kambriæ juventute trecentis, incontinenti se præparans, primo flante subsolari, apud Weisefordiam in quindecim[3] navibus applicuit.

Reimund's return into Ireland.

Threatened revolt at Wexford.

Eadem siquidem hora cives urbis iniquæ, furore debacchantis amentiæ, Anglos ubicunque repertos trucidare jam paraverant, quando navium intrantium vexilla non incognita in proris eminentia conspexere. Igitur adventu tam subito tanta seditione sedata, statim Reimundus Waterfordiam profectus, in manu forti comitem abinde Weisefordiam [4]reduxit.

[1] *Reimundo sub hoc tenore*] L. R. B. Ha.; sub hoc vel simili tenore, Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb., Camden.

[2] *arcariis*] L. R. B. Ha.; satellitibus equestribus, Cl. Hb., &c.

[3] Regan says, in three ships ("treis nefs"), l. 3,003. But may not "treis" be thirteen, *treize* of modern French? It is certainly, however, three in other instances in Regan. Regan has nothing about the intended revolt at Wexford, or the slaughter of the English at Waterford. The latter is mentioned in the *Annals of Innisfallen*, which state that the constable of Waterford, with 200 others, were slain by the Galls of their own fortress; but they seem to say that this occurred directly after the battle of Thurles. Note (*y*) to *Four Masters*, A°. 1174.

[4] *Weisefordiam*] L. Ha. Cl. Hb. Rb.; Waterfordiam, R. B. Ra. Compare Regan, p. 143, &c. Regan's "iddle de Instepheni" (l. 3,015) I suppose to be Inis-Teimhne, the Little island, near Waterford, where, and not in Waterford itself, the Dublin copy of the *Innisfallen Annals* states that the earl took refuge, after his defeat at Thurles, and the slaughter of the English garrison of Waterford.

Fretellus interim, Waterfordiæ custos, dum per aquam Suirensem comitem sequi properaret, in scapha, qua vehebatur, ab iniquis Ostmannis, vector a vehentibus, cum suorum nonnullis interemptus occubuit. Qui statim, hoc perpetrato, ad urbem revertentes, Anglos quoscunque in plateis et domibus reperiebant, nec sexui parcentes nec ætati, crudeliter ad umbras transmiserunt. Verumtamen, urbe per turrem Raghnaldi retenta, solum exclusis sceleris auctoribus, frustratorio conamine delusi, denuo proditores ad pacem cum deteriore tam opinione quam conditione sunt reversi.

A.D. 1174. Slaughter of the English at Waterford.

56.

Reimundus vero, promissi non immemor, donec, nunciis cum festinatione transmissis, revocatam a Dublinia Basiliam solemni desponsatione sibi copulaverat, a Weisefordia non discessit. Quibus legitime completis, nuptialique more, toto in epulis die, in thalami deliciis nocte consumpta, audito [1] Rothericum Connactensem, Media prorsus exterminio data, ipsos Dubliniæ fines jam invasisse, in crastino Reimundus, nec vino nec venere retardatus, septus suorum cuneis, iter ad partes illas incunctanter arripuit. Rothericus autem, expertus antea viri virtutem, ad propria remeando formidabilem ejus adventum non expectavit. Reformatis igitur in partibus illis quæ turbata fuerant, et castris Mediæ, tam Trumensi scilicet quam Duvelescensi, dirutis, et ab Hugone Tyrello [2] eorundem custode paulo ante relictis, Reimundi vero beneficio jam reparatis et in statum redactis,[3] præ timore viri insula aliquamdiu sub pace quievit.

Marriage of Reimund and Basilia.

Invasion of Meath, &c., by Roderic of Connaught.

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[1] After Reimund's marriage, Regan recounts the grants of land made by earl Richard to his followers (p. 146, &c.), and those made by Hugh de Laci in Meath (p. 148, &c.). He then describes an invasion of Meath by the kings of Uriel, Ulster, &c. (p. 151, &c.); and after this the invasion by Roderic, and destruction of the castle of Trim (p. 153, &c.).

[2] *Tyrello*] R. B. Ra.; Tirello, L. Ha. Cl., &c.

[3] *redactis*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; reductis, L.

A.D. 1174.

[Cap. IV.]

De generum inter se connexione.[1]

Inter-marriages amongst the invading families.

Videns autem Herveius Reimundi gloriam crescere, vel invitus, ejusque successus de die in diem amplius prosperari, quoniam[2] in publico non poterat lædere quærens vel in occulto, et sub affinitatis specie, falsæque amicitiæ fuco, cupiens efficacius opprimere non provisum, Reimundi consobrinam, Mauricii Giraldidæ filiam, Nestam nomine, sibi legitime copulandam petiit et obtinuit. Et ut firmiore junctura genera coirent et convenirent, Reimundo procurante, primævo Mauricii filio Guillelmo comes Alinam filiam suam dedit uxorem. Ipsi quoque Mauricio, a Kambria in Hiberniam iterum ascito, medium Ophelaniæ cantaredum,[3] quem et antea regio dono possederat, cum Wikingelonensi castro in feodum donavit; Meilerio vero, tanquam marchioni,[4] remotiorem; proximum autem Dubliniæ, qui et olim Stephanidæ regia munificentia fuerat assignatus, fratribus Herefordensibus.

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[1] No new chapter in L. No heading in B., but new chapter indicated by initial letter. *De generum, &c.*, R.; *Generum confederatio, et majorum subsequenter confeodatio*, Cl. Ra., Camden; *Generum confederatio*, Hb.

[2] *quoniam*] R. B. Ha.; quem, L. Cl., &c. (the right reading probably).

[3] This middle cantred, to Maurice Fitzgerald, part of Ui-Faolain (Ophelan), in north of present county Kildare, is called by Regan (l. 3,088, &c.), when relating these grants, "Le Nas," in "La terre de "Ofelan, ki fud al traitur Mac "Kelan." The "remotior" cantred, to Meiler, he calls "Karebri" (l. 3,084), *i.e.* Cairbre, *Anglice* Carbury, a barony in north-west of county Kildare. See note (379) to *Topographical Poems*, p. xlviii. As to the cantred nearer Dublin, which, as well as the middle cantred here, is also called "Ophelaniæ cantare-"dus" at the end of Cap. XV. *infra*, assigned to the Hereford brothers, see Harris's *Ware, Antiquities*, p. 192.

[4] *marchioni*] L. Hb. Rb., Camden; machioni, R. B.; marchiani, Cl.; marchiañ, Ha.

[Cap. V.]

Privilegiorum[1] *impetratio.*

Interea quanquam martiis plurimum intentus et detentus exercitiis, Anglorum rex, suæ tamen inter agendum Hiberniæ non immemor, cum prænotatis spurcitiarum literis in synodo Cassiliensi per industriam quæsitis, directis ad curiam Romanam nunciis, ab Alexandro tertio[2] tunc præsidente privilegium impetravit, ejusdem auctoritate simul et assensu, Hibernico populo tam dominandi, quam ipsum, in fidei rudimentis incultissimum, ecclesiasticis normis et disciplinis juxta Anglicanæ ecclesiæ mores informandi. In Hiberniam itaque privilegio transmisso,[3] per Nicolaum Gualingefordensem tunc priorem, Malmesburiensem quoque postmodum abbatem tam positum quam depositum, necnon et Guillelmum Aldelini filium, convocata[4] statim apud Waterfordiam episcoporum synodo,

A.D. 1174 or 1175.

Henry II. procures a privilege from pope Alexander III.

56 b.

[1] *Privilegiorum*] L. R. B.; Privilegii, Cl. Hb. Ra., Camden. This chapter is repeated in the *De Instructione Principum, II.* 19 (p. 51, &c.). In the later manuscripts, Cl., &c., and Camden, as will be seen, it appears in a strangely mutilated form. They omit pope Alexander's privilege; do not even mention him; and make Adrian's privilege, who died in 1159, to be now granted after the year 1171. Hooker's translation, published several years before Camden's volume, contains both privileges, as in the early manuscripts. Ussher, in 1632 (*Epist. Hibern. Sylloge,* No. 46 and 47), printed the two privileges from two manuscripts of the *Expugnatio.*

[2] *Alexandro tertio*] L. R. B. Ha.; Adriano papa de Anglia oriundo, *De Instr. Princ.,* Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb., Camden. This latter reading must have been a mere blunder in the *De Instr. Princ.;* it perhaps affords a clue to the origin of the mutilation of this chapter in the later manuscripts of the *Expugnatio.* Hoveden says, under A.D. 1171 (f. 302), that after the council at Cashel (*supra,* p. 280), Henry sent to Rome a transcript of the charters of allegiance of the archbishops and bishops, and received from Alexander III. the papal confirmation of Ireland to him and his heirs.

[3] *transmisso*] L. B. Ha., &c.; transmissum, R. F.

[4] *convocata*] L. B. Ha., &c.; convocato, R. F.

A.D. 1174 or 1175. This recited and assented to in a synod at Waterford: as also a former privilege granted by pope Adrian. A gold ring of investiture sent by Adrian to Henry.

in publica audientia ejusdem privilegii cum universitatis assensu solemnis recitatio facta fuit; necnon [1] et alterius privilegii per eosdem transmissi, quod idem rex ab Adriano papa Alexandri [2] decessore antea perquisierat, per Johannem Salesberiensem, postmodum episcopum Karnotensem, Romam ad hoc destinatum. Per quem etiam idem papa Anglorum regi annulum aureum in investituræ signum præsentavit; qui statim, simul cum privilegio, in archivis Wintoniæ [3] repositus fuerat. Unde et utriusque [4] privilegii tenorem hic [5] interserere non superfluum reputavi. Erat itaque primi [6] et primo impetrati tenor hic.

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[1] *necnon . . perquisierat*] L. R. B. Ha., *De Instr. Princ.* Not in Cl. Hb., &c.

[2] *Alexandri*] L. Ha., *De Instr. Princ.*; Alexandro, R. B. F. Adrian's privilege was granted in 1155: Diceto, 530; Wendover, &c., *sub anno*. Diceto simply gives a copy of it. Wendover gives great part of it, with the preface that Henry had sent "solemn messengers" to Rome to ask license to invade Ireland. R. de Monte tells us that about Michaelmas 1155, in a council held at Winchester, Henry proposed to his nobles the invasion of Ireland; but that it was postponed, because unpleasing to his mother the empress. *Sigeberti Continuatio* (vol. 160, col. 480 A, Migne). John of Salisbury's agency in procuring this bull, and the sending the ring of investiture with it, is thus described by himself, writing some few months after Adrian's death: "Ad preces meas illustri regi Anglorum Henrico secundo (Adrianus) concessit et dedit Hiberniam jure hereditario possidendam; sicut literæ ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem. Nam omnes insulæ, de jure antiquo, ex donatione Constantini qui eam fundavit et dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam ecclesiam pertinere. Annulum quoque per me transmisit aureum, smaragdo optimo decoratum, quo fieret investitura juris in gerenda Hibernia: idemque adhuc annulus in curiali archivo publico custodiri jussus est. *Metalog.* iv. 42. Dr. Lynch, very ineffectually, devotes the whole of a long chapter to proving this bull to be spurious: *Camb. Evers. II.*, 410, &c. It is, most indisputably, genuine; and so now allowed by Irish scholars. See, for instance, the note to the *Macariæ Excidium* (p. 242, &c.) of the Irish Archæological Society.

[3] *Wintoniæ*] R. B.; Guintoniæ, L. Ha.

[4] *utriusque*] L. R. B. Ha., *De Instr. Princ.*; ejusdem, Cl. Hb., &c.

[5] *hic*] L. B. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in R. F.

[6] *primi et primo impetrati*] L. R. B. Ha., *De Instr. Princ.* Not in Cl. Hb., &c.

Privilegium Adriani papæ. Adrian's privilege.

"Adrianus[1] episcopus, servus servorum "Dei, carissimo in Christo filio illustri "Anglorum regi salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. "Laudabiliter satis[2] et fructuose, de glorioso nomine "propagando in terris, et æternæ felicitatis præmio "cumulando in cœlis, tua magnificentia cogitat; dum "ad dilatandos ecclesiæ terminos, ad declarandam "indoctis et rudibus populis Christianæ fidei veritatem, "et vitiorum plantaria de agro Dominico exstirpanda, "sicut catholicus princeps intendis; et ad id con-"venientius exequendum, consilium apostolicæ sedis "exigis et favorem. In quo facto, quanto altiori con-"silio et majori discretione procedis, tanto in eo "feliciorem progressum te, præstante Domino, confi-"dimus habiturum; eo quod ad bonum exitum semper "et finem soleant attingere, quæ de ardore fidei, et "religionis amore, principium acceperunt. Sane Hi-"berniam, et omnes insulas, quibus sol justitiæ Christus "illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ ceperunt, "ad jus beati Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, "quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit, non est dubium "pertinere. Unde tanto in eis libentius plantationem "fidelem et germen gratum Deo inserimus, quanto id "a nobis interno examine districtius prospicimus "exigendum. Significasti siquidem nobis, fili in Christo "carissime, te Hiberniæ insulam, ad subdendum illum "populum legibus, et vitiorum plantaria inde exstir-"panda, velle intrare; et de singulis domibus annuam "unius denarii beato Petro velle solvere pensionem; "et jura ecclesiarum illius terræ illibata et integra "conservare. Nos itaque, pium et laudabile desiderium

[1] This privilege repeated in our author's *De Rebus*, &c., vol. i. p. 62. This privilege, as given in *Cambrensis Eversus* (ii. 410), is said to be derived from a copy in the Vatican: through Baronius, I suppose, who published it from a *Codex Vaticanus*.

[2] *satis*] L., *De Instr. Princ.*, Ussher, Diceto, *Camb. Evers.* Not in R. B. Ha. Cl., &c., *De Rebus*, &c.

"tuum cum favore congruo prosequentes, et petitioni "tuæ benignum impendentes assensum, gratum et "acceptum habemus, ut pro dilatandis ecclesiæ termi-"nis, pro vitiorum restringendo decursu, pro corrigen-"dis moribus et virtutibus inserendis, pro Christianæ "religionis augmento, insulam illam ingrediaris, et quæ "ad honorem Dei et salutem illius terræ spectaverint "exequaris; et illius terræ populus honorifice te reci-"piat, et sicut dominum veneretur. Jure nimirum "ecclesiarum illibato et integro permanente, et salva "beato Petro, et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, de sin-"gulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione. Si ergo
57. "quod concepisti animo, effectu duxeris prosequente "complendum, stude gentem illam bonis moribus "informare; et agas tam per te, quam per illos quos "ad hoc fide, verbo, et vita, idoneos esse prospexeris, "ut decoretur ibi ecclesia, plantetur et crescat fidei "Christianæ religio, et quæ ad honorem Dei et salu-"tem pertinent animarum [per te][1] taliter ordinentur, "ut a Deo sempiternæ mercedis cumulum consequi "merearis, et in terris gloriosum nomen valeas in "seculis obtinere."[2]

Alexander's privilege.

Privilegium Alexandri tertii.

Secundi[3] vero privilegii tenor hic.[4] "Alexander episcopus, servus servo-"rum Dei, carissimo in Christo filio, illustri Anglorum "regi, salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Quoniam

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[1] *per te*] Not in L. R. B. Ha. Cl. Ra., *De Instr. Princ.*, *De Rebus*, &c., Diceto, Wendover. In Hb. Rb., Camden, Ussher (but bracketed), *Camb. Evers.*

[2] After *obtinere* is added, in Ussher and *Camb. Evers.*, "Datum "Romæ," &c.

[3] This second privilege in L. R. B. Ha., *De Instr. Princ.* Not in Cl. Hb., &c.

[4] After *hic* is this curious addition in *De Instr. Princ.* (p. 53): "Sicut a quibusdam impetratum "asseritur aut confingitur; ab aliis "aut unquam impetratum fuisse "negatur." This has much the air of a marginal note, that had got incorporated in the text; but it may perhaps be of early date, if not Giraldus's own addition, and perhaps affords another clue to the mutilation of this chapter in the later manuscripts.

" ea, quæ a decessoribus nostris rationabiliter indulta " noscuntur, perpetua merentur stabilitate firmari, " venerabilis Adriani papæ vestigiis inhærentes, ves- " trique desiderii fructum attendentes, concessionem " ejusdem super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto, " salva beato Petro et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, " sicut in Anglia sic et in Hibernia, de singulis domi- " bus annua unius denarii pensione, ratam habemus " et confirmamus: quatinus, eliminatis terræ illius " spurcitiis, barbara natio, quæ Christiano [1] censetur " nomine, vestra diligentia morum induat venustatem; " et redacta in formam hactenus informi finium illo- " rum ecclesia, gens ea per vos Christianæ professionis " nomen cum effectu de cetero consequatur."

[Cap. VI.] [2]

De quinquepartito jure.

The king of England's fivefold right to Ireland.

Cessent igitur invidi, cessent et incauti, amplius obstrepere, Anglorum reges nullo Hiberniam jure contingere: et discant eos, ad hoc innitendo, quinquepartito pariter, duplici videlicet antiquo triplicique novo, se jure tueri. Sicut in *Topographia* [nostra] [3] declaratur.

1st, from Gurguntius.

Quippe Gurguncium, Belini filium et Britanniæ regem, a Dacia cum triumpho redeuntem, Basclensium [4] classem, apud Orcades inventam, viæ ducibus eis adhibitis, primo in Hiberniam transmisisse Britannica testatur historia.

2nd, from Arthur.

Testatur quoque, famosum illum Britanniæ regem Arturum [5] Hiberniæ reges tributarios habuisse; et

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[1] *Christiano*] L. B. Ha., *De Instr. Princ.*; Christiana, R. F.

[2] This chapter not in Ha.

[3] *nostra*] Not in L. R. B. In Cl., &c. Compare this chapter with *Top. Hib.*, *supra*, p. 148, &c.

[4] *Basclensium*] R. B. Cl., &c.; Basclessium, L. The "Britannica "historia" is Geoffrey of Monmouth, iii. 12, and ix. 10 and 12.

[5] *Arturum*] R. B. Cl. Ra.; Arthurum, L. Hb. Rb.

magnæ Urbis Legionum curiæ Gillomarum Hiberniæ regem, cum aliis regibus insulanis interfuisse.

3rd, from the Irish having come from the Basque provinces.

Præterea urbs Baonensis, quam hodie nostra continet Gasconia, Blasconiæ caput est, unde Hibernenses provenerant.

4th, from the submission of the Irish princes.

Item, cum juri suo renuntiare liberum sit cuilibet, quanquam subjectionis cujuslibet hactenus immunes, his tamen hodie nostris diebus, Anglorum regi Henrico secundo omnes Hiberniæ principes firmis fidei sacramentique vinculis se sponte submiserunt.

Quanquam enim, innatæ levitatis inconstantia, a fide quantocius resilire non formident, a fidei tamen et fidelitatis vinculo non solvuntur. In contrahendo quippe liberi sunt contractus hujusmodi, non in distrahendo.

5th, from the pope's authority.

Et, quod solum sufficere posset ad perfectionis cumulum, et absolutæ consummationis augmentum,[1] summorum[2] pontificum, qui insulas omnes sibi[3] speciali quodam jure respiciunt,[4] totiusque Christianitatis principum et primatum, confirmans accessit auctoritas.

[Cap. VII.][5]

Nobilis Limerici expugnatio.

A.D. 1175.

57 b.

Reimund leads an

Interea Limericensium princeps Duvenaldus, cum se nimis insolenter habere cœpisset, et a fidelitate Anglorum regi exhibita non minus infideliter quam irre-

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[1] *augmentum*] L. R. B. Cl. Hb. Rb. But over "aug," in R. B. Cl., "vel argu" is interlined; argumentum, Ra. and Camden (with "augmentum" in margin).

[2] *summorum, &c.*] L. R. B., &c.; summi pontificis . . . vindicat . . . principis et primatis, Cl.

[3] *sibi*] Not in L. B. In R. Cl., &c.

[4] *respiciunt*] L. R. B.; vindicant, Hb. Ra. Rb.

[5] This chapter, the last section omitted, forms Cap. 14 of *Symb. Elect. III.* (vol. i. 392). In Clyn's *Annals*, published by the Irish Archæological Society, the taking of Limerick is placed under A.D. 1174. But 1175 seems, no doubt, to be the right year. The *Four Masters* do not mention it.

verenter resiliisset, Reimundus, collecta in unum validæ juventutis cohorte, cum militibus centum et viginti, arcariis[1] trecentis, sagittariis pedestribus quadringentis, circa kalendas Octobris Limericum audacter aggreditur. Accedentibus igitur illis ad aquam Sinnenensem, quæ nobilem urbem Limericum[2] circumfluendo complectitur, quoniam ob rapidi profundique fluminis interlabentis obstaculum transitum habere non poterant, juventus tam lucri quam laudis cupida, tanquam ad aquas Tantali posita, desideratæ rei tam propinquum non sine molestia pertulit impedimentum.

A.D. 1175. army against Limerick.

Miles itaque novus et tiro validus, Reimundi nepos, David agnomine Walensis non cognomine, natione Kambrensis non cognatione, juvenis egregius, pulcher et procerus, præ aliis omnibus moræ impatiens, horrendumque mortis periculum laudis amore contemnens, in rapidissimum flumen, asperum funditus et saxosum, se præcipitem dedit. Cursum itaque fluminis lateraliter obliquans, et crispantis undæ caput observans, ad oppositam indemnis ripam nobili transvectus equo, se vadum reperisse suis exclamavit. Sed quoniam præter militem unum, cui nomen Galfridus Judas, sequaces non invenit, eadem reversus via, militem illum in redeundo amnis impetuosi violentia raptum ad ima submersumque non reduxit.

David, a nephew of Reimund, first swims the Shannon.

Quo viso, Meilerius, qui cum Reimundo advenerat, tantæ strenuitatis audaciam alteri, et etiam sanguine propinquo,[3] et tam nobilis invidens ausus honorem, forti residens equo[4] fluvium fremebundus intravit: et imitabili accensus æmulatione, nec militis jam submersi terribili retardatus exemplo, ad alteram statim

Then Meiler.

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[1] *arcariis*] L. R. B. Ha.; satellitibus equestribus, T. Cl., &c.

[2] *Limericum*] Not in L. B. In R. T. Ha. Cl., &c.

[3] *et etiam sanguine propinquo*] Not in L. B. Ha. In margin of R. In text of T. Cl., &c.

[4] *forti residens equo*] L. R. B. Ha.; forti statim quo residebat monito calcaribus equo, T. Cl., &c.

A.D. 1175. ripæ partem non trepide, non timide, sed audacter magis ac temerarie transpenetravit.

Who is attacked by the citizens, and in great danger.

Cives autem tam in ipsa ripa ei obviantes, quam ab urbis muralibus, quæ ripæ imminebant, creberrimis lapidum jaculorumque jactibus, dum ipsum repellere vel potius oppetere nituntur, miles insignis hinc hostis furentis, illinc aquæ ruentis rabiem intuens, galeam ictibus clipeumque prætendens, inter duo pericula se medium, et a neutro tutum, animose retinuit. Facto igitur ex utraque parte clamore non modico, Reimundus, qui in ultima turma tanquam exercitus caput et rector militiæque princeps extiterat, eventuum istorum ignarus omnino, per medias continenter acies se proripiens ad aquam pervenit.

Videns itaque nepotem suum ex altera ripæ parte in arcto jam positum, hostiumque sine juvamine cuneis expositum, non absque plurima cordis anxietate suis acriter exclamavit;

"Viri,[1] quibus virtutis vigorem insitum novimus a "natura, quorumque in tot angustiis animositatis vires "experti sumus, viri, venite, via nobis ostensa est, "et aqua hactenus invia nostrorum ausu inventa est "pervia. Sequamur itaque prævium, juvemus oppres- "sum, animosumque juvenem, communisque commodi "hæc aggressum gratia,[2] defectu auxilii præ oculis "tam prope perire nullatenus permittamus." Quo dicto,

58. Reimund and the whole army follow.

se primus in amnem Reimundus immisit; cunctoque certatim exercitu sequente, seque suosque fortunæ commisit. Transeuntes igitur indemnes, præter duos solum arcarios[3] submersos, et militem unum cui nomen Guido, fugatis in urbem hostibus, non sine grandi civium

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[1] A new chapter commences here in Cl. Hb. Rb., and Hooker's translation; not in the early MSS., and not in Ra. or Camden.

[2] *communisque commodi hæc aggressum gratia*] L. R. B.; et communis hæc tam commodi nostri quam honoris gratia tam viriliter aggressum, T. Cl., &c. Not in Ha. at all.

[3] *arcarios*] L. R. B. Ha.; satellites equestres, T. Cl., &c.

strage muros statim irruperunt;[1] et urbe potiti cum victoria, spoliis plurimum ditati et auro, periculi damna lucri simul et laudis honore compensarunt. A.D. 1175. The city taken.

Elige, lector, trium virorum audentissimum: an illum, qui citra exemplar omne primus omnium transeundo aliis omnibus viam dedit; an illum, qui post exemplar simul, et formidabile mortis exemplum, transpenetrando se hostium multitudini solum exposuit; an illum qui post utrumque se cum exercitu toto tam animose periculo dedit.

Hic[2] quoque notandum videtur, die Martis captum fuisse Limericum, die Martis eidem fuisse subventum, die Martis captam Waterfordiam, die Martis Weisefordiam, die Martis Dubliniam: nec per industriam hæc, sed casu solo contigisse. Nec mirum tamen, vel rationi dissonum, si Martis potissimum die martia negotia sint completa. The martial deeds on Mars's day.

[Cap. VIII.][3]

Descriptio Reimundi.

Erat itaque Reimundus vir amplæ quantitatis, staturæque paulo plus quam mediocris; capillis flavis et subcrispis, oculis grossis, glaucis, et rotundis, naso mediocriter elato, vultu colorato, hilari, ac sereno; et quanquam[4] carnosa superfluitate ventre turgescens, naturalem tamen corporis gravitatem innata cordis redimens vivacitate, carnis vitium animi virtute levabat. Super exercitus cura noctes ducebat insomnes; et tanquam excubarum excuba, mirabili solicitudine Description of Reimund.

[1] *irruperunt*] L. R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; irrumpunt, T.

[2] This last section not in *Symb. Elect. III.*, 14. It is added, however, at the end of its Cap. 15, *Oratio Duvenaldi*, after "victoriosus intravit" of Cap. 13 *infra*, p. 330, n. (1).

[3] This chapter forms Cap. 20 of *Symb. Elect. III.* (vol. i. 392).

[4] *et quanquam . . . oberraverit*] Not in Ha.

nocte tota circumeundo, gyrovagus, clamosus, errabundus excubare solebat. Felix in hoc et fortunatus, quod vel nunquam, vel rarissime, cui præerat manus aut temerariis ausibus, aut per incuriam oberraverit. Vir modestus et [1] providus, nec cibo nec veste delicatus; caloris [2] et algoris ei patientia par; vir patiens iræ, patiensque laboris. Quibus præsidebat prodesse magis quam præesse, potiusque minister quam magister videri volens. Ut autem viri virtutes, mores, et modos sub brevitate concludam, vir erat liberalis et lenis, providus et prudens; et quanquam animosus plurimum, et armis instructus, prudentia tamen rebus in martiis et providentia præcellebat. Vir in utroque laudabilis: multum quidem militis habens, sed plus ducis.

[Cap. IX.] [3]

Descriptio Meilerii.

Description of Meiler.

Meilerius vero vir fuscus, oculis nigris et torvis, vultuque acerrimo; staturæ paulo mediocri plus pusillæ; corpore tamen pro quantitatis captu pervalido; pectore quadrato, ventreque substricto, brachiis ceterisque membris ossosis, plus nervositatis habentibus quam carnositatis. Miles animosus et æmulus; nihil unquam abhorrens, quod aggredi quis vel solus debeat vel comitatus; primus in prælium ire, ultimus conserto prælio redire consuetus.[4] In omni conflictu, omnis strenuitatis opera, seu præire paratus seu perire; adeo [5] impatiens et præ-

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[1] *et*] Not in L. In R. B. T. Ha. Hb., &c.; ac, Cl.

[2] *caloris et algoris ei*] R. B.; cal. ei et alg., L. T. Ha. Cl., &c.

[3] This chapter, with first part of the next, down to "ab alto descen-"disset," and the middle part of Cap. 15 *infra*, "Hoc etenim gentis " . . . sicut Topographia nostra "describit," form Cap. 21 of *Symb. Elect. III.* (vol. i. 392).

[4] *consuetus*] L. T. Ha., Cl., &c.; consuevit, R. B.

[5] *adeo impatiens . . . moriendo*] Not in Ha.

ceps, ut vel vota statim, vel fata complere dignum ducat, inter mortis et martis triumphos nihil medium ponens; adeo laudis cupidus et gloriæ, quod si vivendo forte non valeat, vincere velit vel moriendo. 58 b.

Vir itaque fuisset cumulata laude dignus uterque, si, ambitione posthabita,[1] Christi ecclesiam debita devotione venerantes, antiqua et authentica ejusdem jura non tantum illibata conservassent, quinimmo[2] tam novæ tamque cruentæ conquisitionis, plurima quippe sanguinis effusione, Christianæque gentis interemptione fœdatæ, partem placabilem Deoque placentem laudabili largitione contulissent.

Verumtamen, quod mage[3] stupendum, ampliorique dolore dolendum, postremum hoc vitium toti fere militiæ nostræ, a primo adventu usque in hodiernum,[4] constat commune fuisse.

[Cap. X.]

Generis commendatio.

Praises of the race of Fitz-Stephens, Fitz-Geralds, &c.

Quid Stephanidæ filii suis meruere temporibus? Quid Mauricii? Quid Robertus Barrensis, vir verecundus et audax, cujus laudes præcedentia tenent? Quid[5] Milo Menevensis, tam Stephanidæ quam Mauricii nepos, qui cum primis[6] inter primos advenerit? Quid Henrici filius Robertus, Meilerii frater? Quem,[7] nisi præpropere[8]

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[1] *posthabita*] L. R. B. Cl., &c.; postposita, Ha.

[2] *quinimmo . . contulissent*] Not in Ha.

[3] *mage*] L. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; magne, R. B.

[4] *hodiernum*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; hod. diem, L.

[5] *Quid Milo . . advenerit*] Not in L. B. In margin of R. In text of T. Ha., &c.; but latter part differently.

[6] *cum primis . . . advenerit*] R.; cum primis et inter primos animosus advenit, Ha. Cl. Hb. Rb. And so T. and Camden, but with "primus" after "primis." The passage is corrupt in Ra.

[7] *Quem . . . crediderim*] Not in Ha.

[8] *præpropere*] L. R. B. Hb., &c.; præpropere nimis, Cl.

rebus humanis exemptus fuisset, nobili fratre minorem strenuitate non crediderim. Quid Reimundus Kantitunensis; quid Robertus Barrensis junior; uterque procerus, pulcher, et probissimus? Quid Reimundus Hugonides, quanquam staturæ minoris, probitate tamen atque prudentia non tacendus?

Horum autem trium, quos postmodum in Desmoniæ partibus virtus egregia sublimavit, damno suorum non modico, ob nimiam animositatis immoderantiam, longe ante diem fata caduca mors præmaturior anticipavit. Quid alii generositatis ejusdem quamplurimi, quibus insignia singulorum gesta perennem poterant laudis memoriam promereri?

Virg. Georg. II. 43.

"Non mihi si linguæ centum sint, oraque centum,
"Ferrea vox,[1] digne promere cuncta queam."

O genus! O gens! gemina natura a Trojanis animositatem, a Gallis armorum usum originaliter trahens. O genus! O gens! tam generis numerositate, quam et innata strenuitate semper suspecta. O genus! O gens! quæ ad regni cujuslibet expugnationem per se sufficeret, si non tantam invidens illis strenuitatem, semper in alta livor[2] ab alto descendisset.

A.D. 1175. Limerick being provisioned and garrisoned, Reimund returns into Leinster.

Cum[3] itaque Reimundus super urbis statu aliquamdiu disposuisset, alimentis illuc undique contractis, et de familia militibus quinquaginta, arcariis[4] quoque ducentis, et totidem sagittariis ibidem relictis, Milone quoque Menevensi, consobrino suo, eisdem præfecto, cum victoria reversus, in Lageniæ partibus se cum exercitu indemnem recepit.

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[1] Virgil ends with "vox," "digne " . . . . queam" being Giraldus's own.

[2] *livor ab alto descendisset*] L. R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; livor exardescens ab alto coegisset descendere, Camden.

[3] Hence to end of next chapter forms Cap. 22 of *Symb. Elect. III.* (vol. i. 392).

[4] *arcariis quoque*] R. B.; arcariis vero, L. Ha.; satellitibus vero equestribus, T. Cl., &c.

Sed quoniam virtutem invidia persequi non cessat, Herveius de Monte Mauricii, solita mentis malitia affinitatis gratia non mutata, continuo nunciis ad Anglorum regem transmissis, illi sinistre rerum eventum indicavit: asseverans[1] quoque Reimundum, contra regis honorem, et fidem debitam,[2] non tantum Limericum, verum etiam Hiberniam totam sibi suisque jam occupare proculdubio proposuisse. Et ut hoc figmentum delator regiis auribus tutius et probabilius præsentaret, 59.
ad votum effectui mancipandum, in Bragmannorum[3] morem conjuratas ad hoc catervas Reimundum asserit composuisse. Exercitum namque totum Reimundus sacramento constrinxerat, de lucro in publicum producendo, de facienda justa inter se divisione, et principis reservanda portione.[4]

A.D. 1175.

Hervey de Montmaurice's malicious misrepresentations to the king.

[Cap. XI.]

Descriptio Herveii.[5]

Erat autem Herveius vir procerus et pulcher, oculis glaucis et prominentibus, aspectu amabili, vultuque venusto, verbis ornatis, collo[6] tereti et longo, in fidam capitis columnam erecto, demissis humeris, et tam manibus quam brachiis decenter in longum protensis, pectore mediocriter quadrato; medio vero, quod plerisque sine lege turgescere solet, naturaliter et modeste substricto; demum in amplitudinem pectori propor-

Description of Hervey de Montmaurice.

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[1] *asseverans*] L. B. Ha.; asserens, R. T. Cl., &c.

[2] *debitam*] Not in L. B. In R. T. Ha. Cl., &c.

[3] *Bragmanni*] A word used several times by Giraldus, and by no one else, so far as I have seen; equivalent to the "Brabantini," "Brabantiones," or "Rutarii," of other writers of the time.

[4] In Hooker's translation, the end of the next chapter, "Rex vero," &c., is placed here.

[5] *Descriptio Herveii*] L. B. Ha.; Herveii descriptio, R. Ra.; Herveii descriptio, et Reimundi ab eodem facta delatio, Cl. Hb. Rb., Camden.

[6] *collo . . modum excedente*] Not in Ha.

tionalem[1] versus ilia descendente; denique, tam coxis quam tibiis et pedibus per omnia militaribus, partique corporis superiori non ineleganter respondentibus. Statura quoque vir erat non immodice mediocritatis modum excedente.

Sed quantum exteriorem hominem multiplici natura dote beaverat, tantum et interiorem variis vitiorum maculis deformaverat. Erat quippe vir a pueritia veneri datus; et quicquid in omni libidine vel aliis in ipsum, vel ipsi in alios collibuerat, licere putans;[2] nec incestus ullos, nec adulteria vitans. Vir invidus, delator, et duplex: vir subdolus, facetus, et fallax: cujus sub lingua mel et lac veneno confecta. Vir vagus et vanus: præter inconstantiæ solius, nullius rei constantiam habens. In summis[3] rotæ gradibus quandoque constitutus; sed irremeabili[4] descensu, et irreparabili jam casu, versus ima volubilitate dilapsus. Vir olim Gallica militia strenuus; sed hodie plus habens malitiæ quam militiæ, plus fraudis quam laudis, plus eminentiæ quam existentiæ, plus festivitatis quam fecunditatis, plus verbositatis quam veritatis.

Rex vero, sicut moris est, quia fama credibilior injuriarum nuncia quam beneficiorum fieri solet, et memoria diuturnior, forte delatori fidem habens, elapsa

A.D. 1176. hieme, quatuor in Hiberniam legatos transmisit: hos

Reimund recalled by the king.

scilicet, Robertum Poerium, et[5] Osbertum de Herlotera, Guillelmum de Bendinges, et Adam de Gernemes. Quorum duo, cum Reimundo jam revocato, in Angliam redirent; duo vero ibidem cum comite moram facerent.

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[1] *pectori proportionalem*] R. B. T. Cl., &c.; pectore proportionabilem, L.

[2] *licere putans*] L. R. B. Ha.; exercere paratus, T. Cl., &c.

[3] *In summis . . dilapsus*] Not in Ha.

[4] *irremeabili*] L. T. Cl., &c.; irremediabili, R. B.

[5] *et*] Not in L. In R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.

[CAP. XII.]

Relictæ apud Limericum familiæ subventio. A.D. 1176.

Præparato itaque Reimundo, et nihil præter zephyri beneficium jam præstolante, ecce de familia Limericensi nuncii venerunt, indicantes Duvenaldum, Tuhetmoniæ[1] principem, eos[2] cum infinita multitudine jam obsidione cinxisse; et quoniam omnia alimenta,[3] tam ibi inventa quam attracta, brumali tempore consumpserant, eis quantocius subveniendum. Comes autem, ad eis succurrendum anxius existens, interpellatam super hoc familiam adeo ex Reimundi abscessu exanimatam[4] offendit et contristatam, ut se illuc ituros absque Reimundo omnes unanimiter contradicerent.

When ready to sail for England, Reimund has to go to the succour of the garrison of Limerick.

59 b.

Communicato igitur cum nunciis regiis inde consilio, quoniam in arcto res erat, demum ad supplicationem tam comitis quam nunciorum, Reimundus iterum versus Limericum vexilla convertit. Tendens itaque Cassiliam cum militibus octoginta, arcariis[5] ducentis, sagittariis trecentis, præter Hibernienses quos secum duxerat, Murcardum scilicet Kenceleiensem,[6] et Duvenaldum Ossiriensem, audivit Tuhetmonienses,[7] obsidione relicta,

Is met by the men of Thomond

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[1] *Tuhetmoniæ*] R. B., *i.e.*, Thomond; Guethmoniæ, L. Giraldus calls Donnell, prince of Limerick, or prince of Thomond, or of North Munster, indifferently.

[2] *eos*] L. R. (in text), B.; Limericum, R. (in margin), Ha. Cl., &c.

[3] *alimenta*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; elementa, L.

[4] *exanimatam*] R. B. Ha. Cl., Camden; examinatam, Hb. Ra. Rb.; exinanitam, L.

[5] *arcariis*] L. R. B. Ha.; satellitibus equestribus, Cl., &c.

[6] *Kenceleiensem*] Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.; Kericeliensem, R. B.; Kenceleirensem, L. This "Murcardus Kenceleiensis" is called "Murchardus "princeps Kenceleiæ," *infra*, p. 337. Regan calls him "Murierdath," (l. 1743), and "Murtherdath" (l. 2183). He is the prince of Hy-Kinselagh, I suppose, whose death is recorded by the *Four Masters* in 1193, where he is called "Muirceartach Mac Mur-"chadha Mec Murchadha," *i.e.*, Murtough son of Murrough Mac Murrough. He was a nephew of Dermot Mac Murrough: note (*f*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1193.

[7] *Tuhetmonienses*] R. B.; Tuehtmonienses, L. And so in other cases.

A.D. 1176. in a pass near Cashel.

ei in passu Cassiliensi obviam venisse; et locum, natura difficilem, confragis arborum et fossatis plurimum exasperasse; sepem quoque fortissimam ex transverso locasse.

[Cap. XIII.][1]

Oratio Duvenaldi.

Oration of Donnell of Ossory.

Separato itaque in tres turmas exercitu, et armato, cum jam prope fuissent, Duvenaldus Ossiriensium princeps, quoniam et ipse Tuhetmoniensibus inimicissimus extiterat, videns Anglorum cohortes, quanquam perpaucas, armis[2] tamen decenter ornatas, eas in hunc modum affatur:

"Viri, quorum victoriis cessit insula, hostes hodie "viriliter aggrediamini: quoniam si solita strenuitate "victores effecti fueritis, nostræ secures cum gladiis "vestris hostes acriter a tergo persequentur. Sin autem "victas, quod absit, acies vestras variata sorte viderimus, in vos cum hostibus proculdubio convertentur. "Cavete, viri, cavete; procul hinc urbes, procul hinc "castra; fuga longissima. Et nos, victoribus semper "adhærentes, solum persequimur fugientes. De nobis "itaque confidite, sed victores."

Meiler leading the way, the pass forced, on Easter Eve (April 3). The next Tuesday they enter Limerick.

His dictis, Meilerius, qui primæ turmæ præerat, tanquam turbo validus, cum suis ad passum se proripiens,[3] sepe destructa penitus et deleta, non absque resistentium clade, viam gladiis aperuit et ampliavit. Passu itaque Paschæ vigilia transpenetrato, tertio Paschali die, die videlicet Martis, sicut primo, sic et secundo, Limericum exercitus victoriosus intravit.

[1] The first part of this chapter, down to "victoriosus intravit," with the addition of the last section of Cap. VII. *supra*, "Hic quoque . . . "sint completa," forms Cap. 15 of *Symb. Elect. III.* (vol. i. 392).

[2] *armis tamen decenter ornatas*] L. R. B.; animosas tamen et armis decenter ornatas, ut amplius etiam ipsas animaret, T. Ha. Cl., &c.

[3] *proripiens*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; præripiens, L.

Reparatis igitur illis et reformatis, quæ hostili obsidione turbata videbantur, non multo post aggressus est colloquium cum Connactensi et Tuhetmoniensi principibus; uno die, sed non loco. Rothericus vero navigio venit in lacu magno,[1] qui nobilem illum Sinnenensem fluvium ex se pariens, duo brachia per oppositas insulæ partes in oceanum longe transfundit; Duvenaldus vero ex altera parte, sed non procul in silvæ cujusdam limbo; Reimundus vero in medio ultra Killeleoniam,[2] stadiis[3] a Limerico quasi sedecim. Eo usque productum est colloquium, ut princeps uterque, datis ibidem obsidibus, fidelitatem Anglorum regi et suis de cetero inviolabiliter exhibendam sacramentis corporaliter præstitis renovaverit.

A.D. 1176. Reimund's colloquy with the princes of Connaught and Thomond.

Who solemnly renew their fealty to the king of England.

His autem peractis, Reimundo Limericum cum obsidibus reverso, ecce Desmoniæ princeps Dermitius Macarthi[4] per nuntios Reimundo supplicat, ut ei contra filium suum primævum, Kormacum scilicet Olethan, qui ipsum jam fere a regno expulerat, tanquam homini et fideli domini Anglorum regis, restitutionis auxilium misericorditer impendat: larga quoque tam Reimundo donaria, quam militibus stipendia compromittens. Reimundus vero, nec lucri nec laudis contemptor, præhabito cum suis consilio, statim victoriosa versus Corcagiam vexilla direxit. Multis itaque tam prædis in brevi quam stipendiis familia in partibus illis abunde refecta, et alimentorum copia Limericum abinde persæpe

Reimund goes to the aid of Dermot Mac Carthy, prince of Desmond, against his son.

60.

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[1] *lacu magno*] Lough Derg. Hooker translates, "The great lough "of Dirigid." On Giraldus's idea of the course of the Shannon, compare *Top. Hib.*, i. 7, *supra*, p. 31.

[2] *Killeleoniam*] R. B. Cl.; Killeloeniam, L.

[3] *stadiis*] L. R. B.; miliaribus, Ha. Cl., &c.

[4] *Macarthi*] L. Cl.; Macharthi, B.; Murchardi, R. The *Four Masters* say, under A.D. 1176, "Dermot, son of Cormac Macarthy, "king of Desmond, was taken "prisoner by his own son, Cormac "Liathanach. But Cormac was "treacherously slain by his own "people, and Dermot then reassumed his lordship."

A.D. 1176. transmissa,[1] Dermitius Macarthi,[2] Reimundi beneficio jam regnum integre recuperaverat, quando filius ejus Kormacus ipsum sub pacis obtentu dolose tenuit et incarceravit. Cui pater non longe post talionem reddens, et dolum dolo compensans, ab ipso carcere mortem machinari non formidavit.

[Cap. XIV.]

De comitis morte Reimundo nunciata.[3]

Letter from his wife to Reimund, announcing the death of earl Richard, about the end of May.

Interim[4] autem, dum hæc in Desmoniæ partibus agerentur, adest nuncius Reimundo, a Dubliniæ partibus cum festinatione transmissus, literas ei ex parte Basiliæ sponsæ suæ deferens, sed earundem continentiam ignorans. Lectæ sunt igitur, a familiari quodam clerico Reimundi, in secreto literæ: quarum tenor hic erat;

" Amantissimo domino et sponso suo Reimundo, sua " Basilia eam quam sibi salutem exoptat. Noverit, " mi carissime, vestræ dilectionis sinceritas, quod dens " ille molaris et magnus, qui tantum mihi doluerat, " jam cecidit. Quapropter si qua vobis vel mei, vel " etiam vestri de cetero cura fuerit, reditum maturare " non differatis."

Quibus auditis, statim Reimundus per dentis casum comitis mortem prudenter significatam perpendit. Qui, ante ipsius discessum, Dubliniæ gravi morbo decubuerat. Sed eo jam circa kalendas Junii humanitus[5] extincto,

[1] "demum" added after "trans- " missa" in L. only.

[2] *Macarthi*] L.; Marcharthi. R. B.

[3] The new chapter in L. begins, not here, but at the third clause, " Quibus auditis," &c., with the heading, " Comitis decessio, et Li- " merici desertio." B. has no heading; but new chapter here is indicated by initial letter.

[4] *Interim*] L. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; Interea, R.

[5] *humanitus*] L. Ha. Cl., &c.; humatus, R. B. The *Four Masters* say, under A.D. 1176, " The Eng-

Comitis decessio, et Limerici desertio.

A.D. 1176.

necem ipsius, præ Hiberniensium timore, usque ad Reimundi familiæque reditum, ex industria celare modis omnibus satagebant. Reimundus autem,[1] Limericum illico reversus, et interiorem mentis angustiam exteriore vultus hilaritate valde dissimulans, paucissimis tantæ familiæ viris casum aperiens, tantæ novitatis et tam inopinati eventus consilium cum discretioribus communicavit.

It is determined to evacuate Limerick:

Communiter itaque deliberatum est[2] et decretum, tum[3] propter comitis mortem, tum etiam propter imminentem Reimundi in Angliam abscessum, urbem tam remotam, tam infinitis hostibus undique vallatam, inpræsentiarum relinquendam; totamque familiam integre, ad urbes maritimas Lageniæque castra tuenda, reducendam.

and to commit the custody of it to Donnell of Thomond.

Acquiescens autem Reimundus, quanquam invitus; nullo prorsus majorum invento, qui post ejus discessum urbi præsidere voluerit; Duvenaldo Tuhetmoniæ principi, tanquam baroni domini Anglorum regis, urbis custodiam sponte commisit; de urbis indemnitate, de urbe ad regis mandatum restituenda, et pace servanda, novis iterum obsidibus datis, et sacramentis multipliciter renovatis.

Who burns it, directly the English are gone.

Exeuntes igitur, et vix ulteriore pontis capite transmeato, ecce ex altera statim parte, ponte confracto, continenter urbem fortiter muratam, ædificiis decenter ornatam, alimentis undique congestis plene refertam,

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"lish earl died in Dublin, of an "ulcer which had broken out in his "foot through the miracles of St. "Bridget and Columbkille, and of "all the other saints whose churches "had been destroyed by him. He "saw, as he thought, St. Bridget "in the act of killing him." Hoveden (316 b), and Diceto (590), mention his death under 1176. Diceto says that he died on the Nones of April, but it can hardly have been so early in the year; Giraldus's later date seems far more likely to be correct.

[1] *autem*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; itaque, L.

[2] *est*] Not in R. B. Ha. In L. Cl., &c.

[3] *tum*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; tam, L.

A.D. 1176. quatuor ex partibus incendio datam non absque dolore conspiciunt: proditore Duvenaldo qualiter gentis suæ fidei de cetero sit fides habenda, tam[1] impudenti tam-
60 b. que recenti perjurio, tanto tam opprobrioso infidelitatis indicio, fidem præstante.[2]

King Henry on these events.

Anglorum autem rex, subventionis hujus ausum audiens, respondisse memoratur; "Magnus fuit ausus "in aggrediendo, major in subveniendo, sed sapientia "solum in destituendo."

Burial of the earl.

Dubliniam igitur familia reversa, corpus comitis, quod ex ejus præcepto usque ad Reimundi adventum fuerat reservatum, Dubliniæ, in ecclesia Sanctæ Trinitatis, in ipso reverendæ crucis prospectu, procurante Laurentio sedis ejusdem archipræsule, celebratis solemniter exequiis, est tumulatum.

[Cap. XV.]

De Aldelini filio in Hiberniam custode transmisso.

William Fitz-Audeline sent into Ireland as procurator; with others, his coadjutors.

His ita gestis, regii legati, novis super casibus novo fungentes consilio, relicto in Hibernia procuratore Reimundo, ad Anglorum regem, primo flante circio, in Angliam cum festinatione contendunt; novas eidem rerum mutationes ex comitis morte nuntiantes. Quibus auditis, rex illico Guillelmum Aldelini filium, cum decem militibus de privata familia, in Hiberniam procuratorem transmisit; adjungens ei Johannem de Curci, cum aliis decem; Stephaniden quoque, et Milonem Coganensem, qui in biennali illo et plusquam civili bello, regi tam in Angliæ quam Galliæ partibus egregie militaverant, cum viginti.[3]

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[1] *tam . . destituendo*] Not in Ha.

[2] The Irish version is very differen : "The English were driven "from Limerick by Donnell O'Bri- "en, by laying siege to them." *Four Masters*, A° 1176.

[3] Hoveden (316 b) speaks of William Fitz-Audeline only, as appointed by the king to succeed earl Richard of Striguil as justiciary of Ireland.

Audiens autem Reimundus eos applicuisse, statim cum militum agmine pulcherrimo, in ipsis Weisefordiæ finibus illis ovanter occurrens, et in osculo pacis cunctos suscipiens, tam urbes omnes et municipia, quam obsides quoque totius Hiberniæ, Guillelmo tanquam senescallo in regnum a rege transmisso incontinenti commisit. Videns itaque Guillelmus, et invidens, Reimundum tam pulchra juventute stipatum; intuens quoque Meilerium, et alios Reimundi nepotes, in equis pulcherrimis, clipeis assumptis unius armaturæ, circiter triginta juveniliter ut moris est per campana ludentes, ad suos se vertens, demissa voce, "Superbiam hanc," inquit, "in brevi comprimam, et clipeos istos dis- "pergam."

A.D. 1176. Reimund meets them on their arrival at Wexford.

William Fitz-Audeline's ill-will to Reimund and his whole race.

Ab hac igitur hora semper tam iste, quam alii procuratores Hiberniæ cuncti, Reimundo, Meilerio, tam Mauricii filiis quam Stephanidæ, generique toti, desuper forte lata sententia, tanquam conjuratione quadam ex invidia nocere non cessarunt. Hoc etenim[1] gentis hujus omen, et hæc conditio. Semper in armata militia cari, semper primi; semper, rebus in martiis, ausu nobili famosissimi. Cessante vero necessitatis articulo, statim exosi, statim ultimi, statim ad ima livore depressi. Verumtamen tantæ generositatis silvam livor ad plenum extirpare non potuit. Unde et usque in hodiernum[2] gens hæc, novis plantularum succrementis, vires in insula non modicas habent.

Same with other procurators.

Qui sunt, qui penetrant hostis penetralia? Giraldidæ.
Qui sunt, qui patriam conservant? Giraldidæ.
Qui sunt, quos[3] hostes formidant? Giraldidæ.
Qui sunt, quos livor detrectat? Giraldidæ.

O si principem tantæ strenuitatis merita digne pen-

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[1] *Hoc etenim, &c.*] Hence, down to "Topographia nostra describit," *infra*, forms the latter part of Cap. 21 of *Symb. Elect. III.* See *supra*, note 3, p. 324.

[2] *hodiernum*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; hodiernum diem, L., Camden.

[3] *quos*] L. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; qui, R. B.

A.D. 1176. santem reperissent, quam tranquillum, quam pacificum
61. olim Hiberniæ statum reddidissent. Sed horum sine causa semper suspecta strenuitas. At quibus ex fide cura committitur absque strenuitate securitas.

Viri igitur viribus insignes, et vitæ, strenuitatis amore, contemptores, solita virtutis[1] incedere via ne cessetis;

Virg. Æn. ix. 446.

"Felices facti, si quid mea carmina possunt."

Virtus enim vacare non potest: suum semper vel in præsenti, vel in futuro, consequetur effectum. Quanquam igitur, seu per ignaviam principum[2] seu per invidiam, vestra[3] sit hactenus animositas[4] irremunerata, stili tamen nostri diligentia, non transibit illaudata. Gaudeat ergo juventus, et ampliori desiderio de die in diem virtutis amore desudet. Cujus quippe memoria nec præterire permittitur, nec perire; quinimmo, terris et thesauris pretiosiore, perpetuo floret laudis honore celebrata.

The half-ox man.

Circa hæc tempora, et parum ante, visus est apud Wikingelo vir prodigiosus; in vacca quippe, vitio gentis illius, a viro progenitus; bovinas in humano corpore præferens extremitates. Sicut *Topographia* [nostra][5] describit.

Supra, p. 108.

Fitz-Audeline's indolence and avarice.

Igitur[6] Aldelini filio maritimas urbes lustrante, interiora vero montana, et penitimas terræ partes a longe respiciente; aurum vero, quo abundat insula, sitibunda libidine congregante; Mauricius Giraldi filius, vir modestus, vir prudens ac strenuus, apud Weisefordiam, non sine magno suorum mœrore, circa kalen-

Death of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, circa Sept. 1.

[1] *virtutis incedere via*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; strenuitatis via incedere, L.

[2] *principum*] Not in L. B. In R. T. Ha. Cl., &c.

[3] *vestra*] Not in L. In R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; vestram, T.

[4] *animositas*] L. R. B. Ha.; strenuitas, T. Cl., &c.

[5] *nostra*] Not in L. R. B. Ha. In T. Cl., &c.

[6] *Igitur, &c.*] Rest of this chapter, and the next chapter, form Cap. 23 of *Symb. Elect. III.* (vol. i. 392).

das Septembris occubuit; alium in Hibernia post se, constantia et fide firmiorem, [vel strenuitate præstantiorem],[1] non relinquens. Guillelmus vero super castello Wikingelonensi Mauricii filios illico conveniens, et circumveniens, non cessavit donec illud a manibus ipsorum[2] fraudulenter eripuit. Quibus tamen, non longe post, Fernas quoque quasi in excambium dedit. Ubi et castrum continuo, quanquam inter hostes medios, ab animosa juventute constructum, Gualterus, Alemannus nuncupatione, non natione, non natura, non statura, Guillelmi nepos, et sub eodem Weisefordiæ custos, ab avunculi moribus non degenerans; et quoniam A.D. 1176.

His sons defrauded by Fitz-Audeline, &c.

"Asperius nihil est humili, cum surgit in altum;
"Cuncta premit,[3] dum cuncta timet; desævit in
"omnes,
"Ut se posse putent; nec bellua tetrior ulla est,
"Quam servi rabies in libera colla furentis;"

Claud. Eutrop. i. 181.

Murchardi Kenceleiæ principis auro corruptus, dolose destrui procuravit et deleri. Reimundo vero terras, quas in valle Dubliniæ et secus Weisefordiam habuerat, statim Guillelmus subtraxit. Mandatum quoque domini Anglorum regis, super Ophelaniæ cantaredo Stephanidæ restituendo, auro delinitus, effectui non mancipavit. Denique viris egregiis aspera solum ac remota, hostique[4] vicina tantum et periculosa reliquit.

[Cap. XVI.]

Descriptio Aldelini filii.

Erat autem Aldelini filius vir corpulentus, tam staturæ quam facturæ inter parum mediocribus ma-

Descrip. of Fitz-Audeline.

[1] *vel strenuitate præstantiorem*] Not in L. R. B. Ha. In T. Cl., &c.

[2] *ipsorum*] R. B. T., &c.; eorum, L.

[3] "ferit" in Claudian.

[4] *hostique*] L. R. B.; hostibusque, T. Ha. Cl., &c.

jores satis idoneæ: vir dapsilis et curialis. Sed quicquid honoris cuiquam impendit, semper in insidiis, semper in dolo, semper propinans sub melle venenum, semper latens anguis in herba. Vir in facie liberalis et lenis; intus vero,

Juv. vi. 181. "Plus aloes quam mellis habens;"

semper

Pers. v. 116. "Pelliculam veterem retinens; vir fronte polita,[1]
61 b. "Astutam vapido portans sub pectore vulpem;"

semper

Ovid, 1 Amor. viii. 105. "Impia sub dulci melle venena ferens."[2]

Ps. liv. 22. "Molliti sermones ejus super oleum; sed ipsi sunt "jacula." Cujus hodie venerator, cras ejusdem vel[3] spoliator vel delator. Imbellium debellator; rebellium blanditor. Indomitis domitus; domitis indomitus. Hosti suavissimus; subdito gravissimus: nec illi formidabilis, nec isti fidelis. Vir dolosus, blandus, meticulosus: vir vino Venerique datus. Et quanquam auri cupidus, et curialiter ambitiosus, non minus tamen curiam diligens quam curiam.[4]

[Cap. XVII.][5]

Ultoniæ invasio.

A.D. 1177. Videns autem Johannes de Curci ab Aldelini filio cuncta cupide, cuncta timide, cuncta dolose tractari; nec ipsum vel subditis fidelem, vel hostibus formida-

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[1] *polita*] L. R. B.; politus, T. Cl., &c. The lines in Persius are:
"Pelliculam veterem retines, et "fronte politus,
"Astutam vapido servas sub pec-"tore vulpem."

[2] "latent" in Ovid, instead of "ferens."

[3] *vel*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl. Not in L. Hb. Ra. Rb.

[4] *curiam*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl. Ra.; curam, L. Hb. Rb., Camden.

[5] This chapter, and the next, form Cap. 24 of *Symb. Elect. III.* (vol. i. 392).

A.D. 1177.

bilem considerans; de Dublinensi familia, stipendiorum defectu graviter exinanita, et ducis ignavia prædis hostilibus ut assolet minime refecta, paucos sibi alliciens, sed probos, sed strenuos, sed electos, cum militibus viginti duobus, et aliis quasi trecentis, Ultoniam, armis Anglorum hactenus incognitam, miles animosus audacter aggreditur.

Invasion of Ulster by John de Courci.

Merlinus Celidonius

Tunc impletum est illud Celidonii;[1] "Miles "albus, albo residens equo, aves in clipeo "gerens, Ultoniam hostili invasione primus intrabit." Erat enim Johannes plusquam flavus, et in albedinem plurimum vergens, album forte tunc equum equitans, et pictas in clipeo aquilas[2] præferens. Trium itaque dierum per Mediam et terram Urielensem emenso itinere, quarto die mane Dunensem civitatem, citra defensionis obstaculum, circa kalendas Februarii, hospes et hostis inopinatus intravit: rege Dunlevo tam subiti casus eventu statim in fugam converso.[3]

Prophecy of Merlin of Celidon.

De Courci enters the city of Down: about the end of January.

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[1] *Celidonii*] R. B.; Celidonii Silvestris vaticinium, L.; Merlini Celidonii, T.; Merlini, Ha. In Cl., &c., and Camden, the clause stands thus: "Tunc impletum esse videtur "illud Merlini Celidonii dictum, ut "dici solet, quia nihil de Merli-"norum dictis asserimus." And with this agrees Hooker's translation.

[2] *aquilas*] L. R. B. Ha. Cl. Ra.; aviculas, T. Hb. Rb., Camden. De Courci bore, "Argent, three griphs "Gules, crowned Or:" Hooker's note.

[3] Giraldus's date is fully confirmed by Hoveden (320 b), who relates the capture of Down, "Dun" he calls it, shortly before the Purification of S. Mary (Feb. 2) A.D. 1177. He calls Down the capital of Ulster ("caput Ulvestre"): this is not quite correct: it was the capital only of Uladh, or Ulidia, the district of Ulster comprising the present counties of Down and Antrim, of which the Mac Donlevys, "Dunlevus" of our author, were kings. The reigning king at this time is called by the *Four Masters* Cooley Mac Donlevy. Hoveden calls him Roderick. A Rory Mac Donlevy does occur soon afterwards in the *Four Masters*, for first time in 1181, as king of Uladh. And in the Dublin copy of the *Innisfallen Annals*, the chieftain who contended with De Courci at Down on this occasion is called Rory Mac Donslevy. Perhaps it was Rory the son and heir, and not Cooley the father and reigning king, who was the actual leader of the Ulidian army in their attack on John de Courci. Giraldus mentions only the surname.

A.D. 1177.

Vivian, the papal legate, endeavours to make peace.

Itaque familia, inops et famelica, alimentorum copia, prædis quoque ac[1] spoliis, affatim jam refecta, Vivianus,[2] Romanæ sedis legatus, a Scotiæ partibus in Hiberniam tunc forte navigio transvectus, et eadem in urbe repertus, de pace inter regem et Johannem formanda, de tributo quoque Anglis annuatim solvendo, dum tamen a finibus illis exire et ad sua reverti voluerint, multa quidem verba suasoria nec persuasoria proponebat.

Mac Donlevy, with 10,000 warriors, appears before Down.

Videns autem Dunlevus se verbis minime profecturum, corrogatis undique viribus, cum decem bellatorum milibus infra octo dies hostes in urbe viriliter invadit. In hac etenim insula, sicut et in omni natione, gens borealis semper bellicosa[3] magis et truculenta reperitur. Nam, ut ait poeta,

Lucan, Phars. viii. 363.

"Omnis in arctois sanguis[4] quicunque pruinis
"Nascitur, indomitus bellis, et mortis amator."

De Courci goes out to meet him.

Prospiciens itaque Johannes hostiles acies acriter ad urbem accedere, quanquam manu modica, tamen pervalida, potius obviam exire, et viribus dimicando belli fata tentare, quam exili municipio, quod in urbis angulo[5] tenuiter erexerat, diutius ab hoste claudi et fame confici longe præelegit.

A dreadful battle.

Igitur atroci bello conserto, in primis eminus sagittarum jaculorumque grandine perfuso, demum[6] cominus

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[1] *ac*] L. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; et, R. T.

[2] According to Hoveden (320 b), Vivian, cardinal and papal legate, was at Christmas (1176) in the isle of Man, with king Guthred; and after the Epiphany (1177) sailed into Ireland, and landed at Down. Thence proceeding to Dublin, along the sea-coast, he met the army of John de Courci, and was taken prisoner, but set free by De Courci. There is no absolute contradiction between this and Giraldus's account, supposing that Vivian returned with De Courci to Down. Compare Newburgh, iii. 9, who agrees with Giraldus in saying that De Courci found Vivian at Down.

[3] *bellicosa*] L. R. B. Ha.; bellica, T. Cl., &c.

[4] "populus" in Lucan.

[5] *angulo*] R. B. T. Ha., &c.; angula, L.

[6] *demum*] L. R. B. Ha. Cl. Ra.; deinde, T. Hb. Rb.

lanceæ lanceis, securibus enses confligentes, ad tartara multos utrinque transmittunt. Dum igitur acerrimo martis conflictu, A.D. 1177. 62.

"Jam clipeo clipeus,[1] umbone repellitur umbo,
"Ense minax ensis, pede pes, et cuspide cuspis,"

Stat. Theb. viii. 398.

qui gladii Johannis ictus hic cerneret, qualiter nunc caput ab humeris, nunc armos a corpore, nunc brachia separabat, viri bellatoris vires digne posset commendare.

De Courci's feats.

Multis[2] igitur in hoc conflictu se strenue gerentibus, Rogerus tamen Poerius, adolescens imberbis et flavus, pulcher et procerus, qui postmodum in Lechliniæ et Ossiriæ partibus emicuit, secundam non immerito laudem obtinuit.

Roger le Poer's gallantry.

Prima Ultoniensium apud Dunam[3] confectio.

Post graves itaque diuque ambiguos nimis impari certamine, belli congressus, tandem Johannis virtuti cessit victoria: hostium multitudine magna per marinam glisim, quo transfugerant, interempta.

De Courci's victory.

Hibernicus Kolumba.

Tunc impletum est[4] illud Hibernici Kolumbæ[5] vaticinium, qui bellum istud longe præcinens,

Prophecy of St. Columba.

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[1] "clipeus clipeis" in Statius.

[2] A new chapter begins here in Hooker.

[3] *Dunam*] L. B., &c.; Dunham, R.

[4] After *est* is "ut dicitur" in Cl., &c. Not in L. R. B. T. Ha.

[5] *Kolumba*] This generally the spelling of the early MSS; Columba, of the later ones, Cl., &c. As to the prophecies here cited by our author, Professor O'Curry assures us, and we need no further assurance, that they are unknown in the so-called Irish prophecies ascribed to St. Columba. When he further says that there can be no doubt whatever but that they are fabrications, either by Giraldus himself or John de Courci, he is perhaps saying rather too much. They were probably in circulation years before Giraldus wrote this history; and there is no reason for supposing that Giraldus does not cite them in perfect good faith. De Courci probably was politic and unscrupulous enough to take advantage of what he knew to be forgeries; but it is highly improbable that he was himself the forger. No doubt, however, these prophecies were fabrications of somebody in the English interest, at the time of De Courci's invasion of Ulster. See O'Curry's *Lectures on the Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 433.

A.D. 1177. tantam in eo futuram inquit civium stragem, ut hostes ad genua eorundem fuso cruore vadarent. Præ glisis namque mollitie, dum ad ima penetraret humana ponderositas, terræ lubricæ sanguis profluus[1] superficiem tenens, genua cruraque de facili pertingebat.

Other prophecies of St. Columba, about John de Courci.

Scribit etiam idem vates, quendam pauperem et mendicum, et quasi de aliis terris fugacem, cum parva manu Dunam venturum; et citra majoris auctoritatem urbem obtenturum; bella quoque plurima, variosque rerum eventus; quæ omnia de Johanne de Curci manifeste sunt completa. Ipse vero Johannes librum hunc propheticum, Hibernice scriptum, tanquam operum suorum speculum præ manibus habet.[2] Legitur quoque in eodem libro, juvenem quendam cum armata manu Waterfordiæ muros violenter irrupturum, et[3] cum magna civium strage urbem obtenturum: eundem quoque per Weisefordiam transiturum, et demum absque difficultate Dubliniam intraturum. Quæ omnia de comite Ricardo constat esse completa. Urbem quoque Limericensem ab Anglorum gente bis deserendam, et tertio retinendam, sanctus ille testatur. Sed deserta quidem jam bis videtur: primo, ut dictum est, a Reimundo; secundo a Philippo de Breusa; qui cum ad urbem sibi datam, aqua tantum[4] interlabente, veniret, citra conatus omnes et insultus eandem revertendo deseruit; sicut plenius suo[5] loco dicetur. Unde, juxta idem vaticinium, urbs tertio petita erit retinenda: [vel[6] potius, longe post, sub Hamone de Valoingnes justitiario fraudulenter destructa, et per Meilerium recuperata.]

About earl Richard.

About the city of Limerick.

[1] *profluus*] R. B. T., &c.; profluis, L.

[2] *habet*] L. R. B. T. Ha.; dicitur habuisse, Cl., &c.

[3] *et . . . obtenturum*] Not in L. In R. B. T., &c.

[4] *tantum*] L. R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; tamen, T., Camden.

[5] *suo*] L. R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; suo in, T.

[6] *vel potius . . recuperata*] Not in L. R. B. T. Ha. In Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb., Hooker, and Camden. "Hamo "de Valois, a gentleman of Suffolk, "lord justiciary in 1197." Harris's *Ware, Ant.*, i. 102.

In duobus itaque magnis præliis, Johannes apud Dunam[1] victor enituit. In primo post Purificationem: in secundo circa kalendas Julii, in nativitate scilicet sancti Johannis, ubi de quindecim virorum milibus victoriam obtinuit cum paucissimis, hostium extincta multitudine. Tertium[3] erat apud Ferli, in prædæ captione; ubi ob arctum viæ transitum, post graves demum congressus et anxios, sic pars Johannis victa succubuit, aliis interemptis, aliis per nemorosa dispersis, ut vix Johanni undecim milites superstites adhæsissent. Ipse vero, vir[4] virtutis invictæ, cum tantilla suorum paucitate, per triginta stadia[5] se ab hostili multitudine continue defendendo, equis amissis omnibus, usque ad castrum suum, duobus diebus et[6] noctibus jejuni, armati, pedites, miro conatu, memoriaque dignissimo, evaserunt. Quartum apud Uriel; ubi multi quoque suorum interempti, et alii in fugam conversi.[7] Quintum apud pontem Ivori, in reditu ab Anglia; unde tamen ad sua victor evasit.[8]

Secunda[2] apud Dunam confectio.

A.D. 1177.

A second victory of De Courci, June 24.

A third battle at Firlee: where John de Courci defeated.

62 b.

Fourth at Uriel.

Fifth at Newry bridge.

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[1] *Dunam*] L. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; Dunham, R.

[2] This rubric in L. Not in R. B. The *Four Masters* say, under A.D. 1177: "A castle was erected by "them there (at Down), out of "which they defeated the Ulidians "twice, and the Kinel-Owen and "Oriels once. Many Irish chief-"tains were slain. During the same "expedition, John proceeded with "his forces to Hy-Tuirtre and Fir-"lee. They burned Coleraine and "many other churches."

[3] O'Donovan considers this third battle at Firlee to be the one described by the *Four Masters* under A.D. 1178. They say: "John de "Courci proceeded to plunder Da-"laradia and Hy-Tuirtre. The lord "of Hy-Tuirtre and Firlee gave "battle to him and his foreigners, "and defeated them with great "slaughter, through the miracles of "Patrick, Columbkille, and Bren-"dan: and John himself escaped "with difficulty, severely wounded."

[4] *vir*] L. R. B. Not in T. Ha. Cl., &c.

[5] *stadia*] L. R. B. Ha.; miliaria, T. Cl., &c.

[6] *et*] R. B. T. Ha. Ra. Rb.; ac, L. Hb.; "et noctibus" not in Cl.

[7] *conversi*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; sunt conversi, L.

[8] This battle, according to O'Donovan, is described by the *Four Masters* under A.D. 1178. They say that, in one of the excursions after plunder, "John de Courci and

A.D. 1177. In tribus itaque victoriam adeptus; in duobus martii certaminis vices expertus, et aleam fortunæ; longe tamen hosti plus damni quidem læsus intulit, quam sustinuit.

[Cap. XVIII.]

Descriptio Johannis de Curci.

Description of John de Courci. Erat itaque Johannes vir albus et procerus, membris nervosis et ossosis, staturæ grandis, et corpore pervalido; viribus immensis,[1] audaciæ singularis; vir fortis et bellator ab adolescentia; semper in acie primus, semper gravioris periculi pondus arripiens. Adeo belli cupidus et ardens, ut militi dux præfectus, ducali plerumque deserta constantia, ducem exuens et militem induens, inter primos impetuosus et præceps, turma vacillante suorum, nimia vincendi cupidine[2] victoriam amisisse videretur. Et quanquam in armis immoderatus, et plus militis quam ducis habens, inermis tamen modestus ac[3] sobrius, et ecclesiæ Christi debitam reverentiam præstans; divino cultui per omnia deditus, gratiæque supernæ, quoties [ei][4] successerat, cum gratiarum actione totum ascribens, Deoque dans gloriam quoties[5] aliquid fecerat gloriosum. Sed quoniam, ut ait Tullius, "Nihil simplici in genere omni

Cic. de Invent. Rhetor. ii. 3.

"his foreigners encamped for a "night in Glenree (*i.e.* the vale of "the river Righe, or the river of "Newry), where Murrough O'Carroll, lord of Oriel, and Cooley "Mac Donslevy, king of Uladh, "attacked them, and drowned or "otherwise killed 450 of them." "Pons Ivori" of Giraldus is Newry bridge, "Ivorus" being his Latin rendering of Iubhar, the Irish name of Newry. The *Four Masters* place this battle of Glenree before De Courci's defeat by the lord of Firlee, Giraldus's third battle *supra.* O'Donovan says that it is plain that Giraldus has transposed the order of De Courci's battles. See his note (*b*) to the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1178.

1 "et" after "immensis" in L. only.

2 *cupidine*] R. B. Ha. Ra.; cupiditate, L. T. Cl. Hb. Rb.

3 *ac*] R. B. T., &c.; et, L.

4 *ei*] Not in L. R. B. Ha. In T. Cl., &c.

5 *quoties . . denigraverant*] Not in Ha.

"ex parte perfectum natura expolivit," nimiæ parcitatis et inconstantiæ nævi tantæ laudis niveum nitorem denigraverant.

Regis itaque Maniæ Gottredi[1] filia sibi legitime copulata, post varia belli diuturni prælia, et graves utrinque conflictus, tandem in arce victoriæ plene constitutus, Ultoniam undique locis idoneis incastellavit; et non absque labore plurimo et inedia, multisque periculis, pace firmissima stabilivit.

Married to a daughter of Guthred king of Man.

Hoc autem mihi notabile videtur, quod quatuor hi grandes expugnationis Hibernicæ postes, Stephanides, Herveius, Reimundus, et Johannes de Curci, occulto quidem Dei judicio sed nunquam injusto, legitimam ex sponsis prolem suscipere nondum[2] meruere.[3] [Quintum etiam his Meilerium adjunxerim, qui legitimam usque hodie de sponsa prolem non suscepit.][4]

But childless; like other leaders in the conquest of Ireland.

Sed hæc de Johanne summatim, et quasi sub epilogo commemorantes, grandiaque ejusdem gesta suis explicanda scriptoribus relinquentes, Dubliniam de cetero revertamur.

[Cap. XIX.]

Dublinense concilium, Viviano præsidente.

A.D. 1177.

Interea Vivianus, legationis vice per Hiberniam fungens, convocata Dubliniæ episcoporum synodo,[5] jus Anglorum regis in Hiberniam, et summi pontificis confirmationem, viva voce publice protestatur; tam clero quam populo, sub anathematis interminatione,

Vivian holds a synod at Dublin [Mar. 13]. Commands submission

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[1] *Gottredi*] R. B.; Gotredi, L. T. Cl., &c.; Godefridi, Ha.

[2] *nondum*] L. R. B. T. Ha; non, Cl. Hb., &c.

[3] *meruere*] L. R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; meruerunt, T., Camden.

[4] *Quintum . . suscepit*] Not in L. R. B. T. Ha. In Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb., Hooker, Camden.

[5] The *Four Masters*, A.D. 1177, say: "Cardinal Vivianus arrived in "Ireland. A synod of the clergy of "Ireland, both bishops and abbots, "was convened by this cardinal on "the first Sunday in Lent, and they "enacted many ordinances not now "observed." The first Sunday in Lent, in 1177, fell on March 13.

A.D. 1177. to the king of England.

districte præcipiens et injungens, ne ab ejus aliquatenus fidelitate, ausu temerario, resilire præsumant. Et quoniam consuetudinis erat, ut ab Hibernicis ad ecclesiarum refugia victualia transferrentur, Anglicanæ
63. familiæ licentiam dedit, ut quoties in expeditionem profectis aliunde alimenta non obvenerint,[1] in ecclesiis reperta, justæ taxationis ecclesiarum custodibus soluto pretio, extrahantur.

Invasion of Connaught by Miles de Cogan.

Connactiæ invasio.

His ita gestis, Milo Coganensis, sub Aldelini filio Dublinensis familiæ constabularius, et urbis iterum custos effectus, cum militibus quadraginta, quorum viginti juvenis egregius, Radulfus scilicet Stephanidæ filius, præfectus fuerat, cum arcariis[2] quoque ducentis, et sagittariis trecentis, aquam Sinnenensem transeuntes, Connactiam, ab Anglis hactenus non petitam, viriliter invadunt.[3] Connactenses vero, urbibus undique et villis igne proprio combustis; alimentis quoque cunctis, quæ hypogeis subterraneis abscondere non poterant, simul cum ecclesiis igne consumptis; in nostræ gentis injuriam, et divinæ vindictæ provocationem, cruces et imagines sanctorum ad terram deponentes, in hostium prospectum per campestria projecerunt. Anglicana vero familia, cum Thuemiam metropolim jam pervenisset, et octo dierum moram in hostili terra fecisset, terram alimentis vacuam inveniens, ad aquam Sinnenensem reversa est. Rothericum vero, Connacciæ principem, cum tribus exercitibus magnis in silva quadam prope Sinnenum obvium habens, inito

The men of Connaught burn their towns, churches, &c.

The English penetrate as far as Tuam.

On their return attacked by king Rode-

[1] *obvenerint*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; provenerint, L.

[2] *arcariis*] L. R. B. Ha.; satellitibus equestribus, Cl. Hb., &c.

[3] This invasion is thus described by the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1177: "Murrough, the son of Roderic "O'Conor, brought Milo de Cogan "and his knights to Roscommon, "to ravage Connaught, to annoy "Roderic his father. The Connac"cians immediately burned Tuam "and other churches, to prevent "the English from quartering in "them. They afterwards defeated "the English, and forcibly drove "them out of the country. And "Roderic put out the eyes of his "son, in revenge for this expedi"tion."

gravi conflictu, demum, tribus tantum arcariis[1] amissis, et interemptis hostium multis, Dubliniam indemnis evasit.

A.D. 1177. ric near the Shannon.

[Cap. XX.]

De Aldelini[2] *filii revocatione, et Hugone de Laci eidem subrogato.*

Revocatis interim in Angliam Aldelini filio; qui nihil egregium in Hibernia gessit, præter hoc solum quod baculum virtuosissimum, quem baculum Jesu vocant, ab Archmacia Dubliniam transferri procuravit; et tam Milone quoque Coganensi, quam Stephanida; rex Henricus Hugonem de Laci generalem Hiberniæ procuratorem constituit; Robertum Poerium illi, Waterfordiæ simul et Weisefordiæ custodem, adjungens.[3] Stephanidæ vero et Miloni Momoniam tunc australem, Corcagiæ videlicet regnum, ab occidentali Lismoriæ parte, inter ipsos ex æquo dividendum, præter urbem Corcagiensem cum cantaredo ei adjacente, in feodum donavit.[4] Philippo quoque de Breusa[5] Momoniam borealem, Limericense videlicet regnum, integre, cum urbe ipsa,[6] regia contulit munificentia.

Recall of Fitz-Audeline, Miles de Cogan, and Fitz-Stephen.

Hugh de Laci made procurator.

South Munster granted to Fitz-Stephen and Cogan.

And North Munster to Philip de Breuse.

[1] *arcariis*] L. R. B.; satellitibus equestribus, Ha. Cl., &c.

[2] This the heading in R. No heading in L. B., but new chapter indicated.

[3] According to Hoveden (323 b), Henry II., in 1177, gave all Meath to Hugh de Laci, the custody of Wexford to William Fitz-Audeline his "dapifer," of Waterford to Robert le Poer his "marescallus," and of Dublin to Hugh de Laci.

[4] And so Hoveden (*ibid.*) recounts this grant, with just the same reservation. He calls Cogan *Cogham*, and Cork *Corch.*

[5] *Breusa*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; Braosa, L. And so again afterwards.

[6] *cum urbe ipsa*] L. B.; "præter "urbem ipsam," in text of R., but by alteration, with "cum suo can-"taredo" in margin, with mark of insertion after "integre" in text; præter urbem ipsam cum suo cantaredo, Ha. Cl., &c. The grants to Hugh de Laci, &c., Fitz-Stephen, &c., as *supra*, were made by Henry, Hoveden says, in a general council at Oxford, when also he gave to Herbert Fitz-Herbert, and two others, the kingdom of Limerick, excepting the city of Limerick and one cantred. These grantees, however,

A.D. 1177. They pass into Ireland in November; Fitz-Stephen and Cogan at once taking possession.

Regni Desmoniensis invasio.

Transeuntes igitur in Hiberniam mense Novembri, cum triplici familia, tres viri confeodati simul et confœderati, per maritimam australis Hiberniæ viam, primo Waterfordiam, deinde [1] Lismoriam, demum vero Corcagiam, a civibus et milite quodam, Ricardo scilicet Londoniensi, tunc ibi sub Adelini filio custodiam agente, cum honore recepti, indemnes perveniunt.

Pacificatis itaque continuo tam Dermitio Desmoniæ principe, quam aliis quoque partis illius viris præpotentibus,[2] Stephanides et Milo septem cantaredos urbi propinquiores, quosque majori in pace tunc possidebant, inter se diviserunt. Stephanidæ tribus ab oriente, Miloni vero quatuor ab occidente sorte obvenientibus; hinc paucioribus quia[3] potioribus, illinc pluribus quia
63 b. deterioribus, in divisione constitutis; urbis existente custodia communi; et aliorum cantaredorum viginti quatuor qui restabant tributo, cum obvenerit, inter ipsos æqualiter dividendo. Dicitur autem cantaredus, tam Hibernica quam Britannica lingua, sicut *Topographia* describit, tanta terræ portio, quanta centum villas continere solet.

Supra, p. 145.

Who then accompany Philip de Breuse to Limerick.

His itaque[4] gestis, Philippum de Breusa Limericum conducunt. Habebat autem Stephanides milites secum triginta, et arcarios[5] quadraginta; Milo[6] vero milites viginti, et arcarios[5] quinquaginta; Philippus milites viginti, et arcarios[5] sexaginta; præter sagittarios pedestres multos, trium agminum cuilibet associatos.

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would not have a kingdom not yet subdued. Afterwards, in the same year 1177, at Marlborough, Henry gave to Philip de Breusa "*totum* "regnum de Limeric," without any exception: Hoveden, 324. This fully corroborates the reading of the early MSS.

[1] *deinde*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; postea, L.

[2] *præpotentibus*] Cl. Hb., &c.; præpetentibus, Ha.; præponentibus, R. B.; præpotentissimis, L.

[3] *quia*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; quoniam, L.

[4] *itaque*] R. B. Ha.; ita, L. Cl., &c.

[5] *arcarios*] L. R. B.; satellites equestres, Ha. Cl., &c.

[6] *Milo*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; Miles, L.

Venientibus igitur illis ad urbem, solum Sinnenensi interlabente fluvio, quasi quadraginta stadiis[1] a Corcagia distantem, et offerentibus statim Stephanide et Milone se aquam transire et urbem aggredi velle, quanquam spontaneo civium igne præ oculis jam combustam conspexissent; vel si mallet, ex opposita parte super eundem amnem Philippo castrum metando construere; Philippus, quanquam in se miles animosus et audax, pusillanimi tamen suorum consilio, potius indemnis ad sua reverti, quam in terra tam hostili tamque remota fortunæ tentare pericula præelegit. Nec mirum quoque, si in hac illi expeditione sinistre contigerit, qui tot australis Kambriæ, finiumque illorum marchiæ, sibi viros homicidas, seditiosos ac flagitiosos, eosque præ aliis electos, associaverat.

A.D. 1177.

On their arrival, the citizens set fire to Limerick.

And De Breuse thinks it wiser to return, without attempting to take possession.

Nec longe post Mereducius[2] Stephanidæ filius, adolescens indolis egregiæ, et strenuitatis eximiæ, Corcagiensi in urbe, cum magno suorum mœrore, mense Martio, Martis alumnus occubuit.

Death of Meredith, Fitz-Stephen's son.

Circa[3] id ipsum temporis, apud Waterfordiam, rana reperta fuit, cum multa gentis illius admiratione; sicut *Topographia* testatur.

Supra, p. 65.

Concilium Lateranense; præsidente Alexandro tertio.[4]

Interea sedit Romæ famosum illud Lateranense concilium, præsidente Alexandro tertio: Alemannorum ecclesia ad unitatem reversa, vicennali schismate jam cessante, et tribus antipapis divinitus extinctis.

A.D. 1179, March. The Lateran Council.

Circa triennium quoque temporis ejusdem, tres solis eclipses contigerunt: non generales tamen, sed partiales.

Eclipses.

Cum itaque Stephanides et Milo Desmoniæ regnum

A.D. 1182.

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[1] *stadiis*] L. R. B.; miliaribus, Ha. Cl., &c.

[2] He must have been an illegitimate son, if Giraldus is right in saying (*supra*, p. 345) that Fitz-Stephen had no legitimate issue. The Irish Annals record the deaths of two sons of Fitz-Stephen, under A.D. 1182. *Four Masters*, note (*e*). A second son, Ralph, is mentioned by our author, *supra*, 346, *infra*, 350.

[3] *Circa . . testatur*] Not in Ha.

[4] This the rubric in L. B. *Lateranense Concilium* only, in R. Cl.

A.D. 1182.

Miles de Cogan, his son-in-law, &c., treacherously killed by Mac Tire.

Interfectio Milonis, et Radulfi.

quinquennali jam spacio simul pacifice gubernassent; ducum ipsorum [1] modestia juveniles impetus utrinque cohibente; Milo, Milonisque gener nuper effectus, Radulfus [scilicet] [2] Stephanidæ filius, [juvenis egregius,] [2] versus Lismoriæ [3] partes profecti, cum in campis sedentes colloquium cum Waterfordensibus expectassent, a proditore Machtiro,[4] qui eos ea nocte hospitari debuerat, cum aliis quinque militibus, improvisis a tergo securium ictibus sunt interempti.[5]

Whereupon a general insurrection of the Irish against Fitz-Stephen.

Cujus occasione casus, sic illico patria tota perturbari cœpit, ut Dermitius Macharthi, et omnes fere totius terræ illius Hibernici, una cum Machtiro, se ab Anglorum fidelitate retrahentes, contra Stephaniden, fortunæ vices toties expertum, insurrexissent. Nec unquam postea, donec Reimundus, in hereditatem patruo Stephanidæ succedens, urbis custodiam solus obtinuit, [nec tunc plene,] [6] pristinam pacem recuperavit.

The North Irish warlike, the South treacherous.

64.

Sicut ergo borealis Hiberniæ bellica, sic semper australis gens subdola. Illa laudis, hæc fraudis cupida: illa Martis, hæc artis ope confisa: illa viribus nititur, hæc versutiis: illa præliis, hæc proditionibus. Juxta [7] illud poetæ;

Lucan, Phars., viii. 363.

> "Omnis in arctois sanguis quicunque pruinis
> "Nascitur, indomitus bellis, et mortis [8] amator;"

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[1] *ipsorum*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; istorum, L.

[2] *scilicet* and *juvenis egregius* not in L. R. B. Ha. In Cl., &c.

[3] *Lismoriæ*] L. Ha. Cl., &c.; Lesmoniæ, R.; Lismoniæ, B.

[4] *Machtiro*] R. B. Cl., &c.; Marchtiro, L.; Macthiro, Ha.

[5] Cogan's death is not mentioned by the *Four Masters*. But the Annals of Kilronan, Clonmacnoise, and Ulster, record it under the year 1182: also the death of Reimund le Gros (in which statement they are wrong), of Cenn Cuillinn (Kantitunensis?), and of two sons of Fitz-Stephen. The two former Annals also say that Cogan was killed by Mac Tire, prince of Ui-Mac Caille (now the barony of Imokilly in the county of Cork). Note (*e*) to *Four Masters*, 1182.

[6] *nec tunc plene*] Not in L. R. B. Ha. In Cl., &c.

[7] *Juxta illud . . clementia cœli*] Not in Ha.

[8] *mortis*] L. B. Cl., &c.; martis, R., Camden. See *supra*, p. 71, note 5, and p. 340.

ut supra; et subsequenter; A.D. 1182.

"Quicquid ad eoos tractus, cœlique[1] teporem
"Vergitur, emollit animos clementia cœli." Ibid. 365.

Audiens autem Reimundus Stephaniden, aversa fortunæ facie, desperanter afflictum, et in urbe Corcagiensi hostium cuneis undique circumseptum, cum militibus viginti, et arcariis[2] simul et sagittariis centum, in Waterfordiæ[3] portu se mari committens, et terram a dextris lateraliter ambiens, Corcagiam ocius, suis solatium, hostibus exitium,[4] navigando pervenit. Reimund goes to Fitz-Stephen's aid.

Variis itaque conflictibus, pars hostium interempta, pars a finibus expulsa, pars vero potior ad pacem revocata, tam tempestuosa sortis adversæ procella in brevi sedata conquievit.

Nec mora: ecce Ricardus Coganensis, Milonis frater, et a fraterna strenuitate non degenerans, cum electa cohorte, in fratris locum ab Anglorum rege transmissus advenit. Richard de Cogan succeeds his brother.

Elapsa[5] vero hiemis parte majore, vir probus ac prudens, Philippus Barrensis, Stephanidæ nepos, tam ad avunculi subventionem, quam terræ suæ, scilicet Olethan, sibi a Stephanida collatæ, et a Stephanidæ filio Radulfo postmodum injuriose sublatæ tuitionem, cum valida virorum manu, in fine Februarii transfretavit. A.D. 1183. Arrival of Philip de Barri, at the end of February;

Venit eodem navigio et alius Stephanidæ nepos, Philippique frater, tam avunculum quam fratrem plurimum consilio juvans; et tam insulæ situm et naturam, quam primævam gentis originem diligenter explorans. and with him a brother, whose counsel very valuable; a studious

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[1] Lucan has *mundique* instead; and in the next line, *labitur* instead of *vergitur*, and *mores* instead of *animos*.

[2] *arcariis*] L. R. B.; satellitibus equestribus, Ha. Cl., &c.

[3] *Waterfordiæ*] L. R. B. Ha.; Weisefordiæ, Cl. Hb., &c.

[4] *exitium*] R., &c.; exicicium, L.

[5] *Elapsa, &c.*] Rest of this chapter, and the two next chapters, form Cap. 25 of *Symb. Elect. III.* (vol. i. 393).

A.D. 1183. man, the author of this book. Hervey de Montmaurice becomes a monk at Canterbury.

Literato quippe vir præditus studio: cujus quoque nomen præsentis libelli titulus tenet.

Circa tempus istud Herveius de Monte Mauricii,[1] nobili[2] Cantuariensi Sanctæ Trinitatis cœnobio se reddens, cui et ecclesias terræ suæ maritimæ, Waterfordiam scilicet et Weisefordiam interjacentis, in elemosinam ante donaverat, monasticam vitam elegit. Qui utinam sicut habitum, sic et animum, sicut militiam sic et malitiam deposuisset.

[Cap. XXI.]

A.D. 1177, &c.

De Hiberniæ[3] regno sub Hugone de Laci pacificato.

Castles built by Hugh de Laci in Leinster and Meath.

Interim[4] autem, dum hæc in Desmoniæ partibus geruntur, Hugo de Laci, puta vir probitate pollens et prudentia, tam Lageniam quam Mediam castellis egregie communivit. Inter quæ super nobilem Beruæ[5] fluvium,[6] a latere Ossiriæ trans Odronam, in loco natura munito, Lechliniæ castrum erexit. A quo Robertus Poerius, cui regio mandato injunctum id fuerat, ante defecerat.

Unfitness of Robert le Poer and Fitz-Aldeline for lords-marchers. Juv. iii. 39.

O quales quantique marchiones Robertus hic Poerius et Aldelini filius, in terram transmissi viris indigentem!

"Quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
"Extollit, quoties voluit fortuna jocari."

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[1] *Mauricii*] L. B. Ha. Cl.; Maurisco, R. T. Hb., &c.

[2] *nobili . . cœnobio*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; Cantuariensi cœnobio, only, in L.

[3] *De Hiberniæ, &c.*] This the heading in R. No heading in L. B., but new chapter indicated by initial letter. *Hiberniæ sub Hugone de Laci incastellatio* is the heading in Cl., &c.

[4] In the last chapter Giraldus has carried down the history of Fitz-Stephen, Cogan, &c., and the occupation of Desmond, from 1177 to the beginning of 1183. He now returns to the former date, and describes the doings of Hugh de Laci, &c., and the affairs of Leinster and Meath.

[5] *Beruæ*] B. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; Bernæ, L. R. The river Barrow.

[6] *fluvium*] L. R. B., &c.; flumen, T.

Erant quippe milites, quibus jocundius A.D. 1177, &c.

"Jacuisse toro, tenuisse puellam, Ovid, Her. iii. 117.
"Threiciam digitis increpuisse[1] lyram,
"Quam clipeos humeris,[2] et acutæ cuspidis hastam,
"Et galeam pressa sustinuisse coma."

Mirum itaque tam nobilem, tam strenuum principem, tam ignobiles, tam strenuitate carentes, longinquis marchiis ex consuetudine præfecisse.

Hugo vero de Laci summa solicitudine victos ab 64 b. aliis, et violenter a finibus ejectos, ad pacem revocans, eisdem[3] olim deserta tam armentis pascua, quam ruricolis rura restituit.

Hugh de Laci's good government, and favour to the Irish.

Allectos igitur tam mansuetudine quam stabili conventione deliniens, demum municipiis inclusos, et paulatim edomitos, legibus obtemperare et servire[4] coegit. Sic autem effectum est, ut destructa a prioribus et deformata in formam reduxerit; et unde alii laborem, hic primo fructum efficaciter elicuerit.[5] Denique tanta terram in brevi pace stabilivit, tam ampla manu alios opprimendo suos ubique ditavit, tanta liberalitate populum Hibernicum alliciens, et familiaritate nimia[6] demulcens, sibi majores in populo confœderavit, ut qui regni dominium, coronam simul et sceptrum, fidelitate postposita, sibi usurpare voluerit, valde suspectus haberetur..

Suspected of intending to usurp the monarchy of Ireland.

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[1] *increpuisse*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c., with Ovid; implicuisse, L.
[2] *clipeos humeris*] So the MSS.; manibus clipeos, Ovid.
[3] *eisdem*] R. T. Cl., &c. Not in L. B. Ha.
[4] *servire*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; serviri, L.
[5] *elicuerit*] L. B. Ha. Cl. Ra.; elicuit, R. T. Hb. Rb., Camden.
[6] *nimia*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[Cap. XXII.]

Descriptio Hugonis de Laci.

Description of Hugh de Laci.

Si viri colorem, si vultum quæris, niger, nigris ocellis et confossis, naribus simis, facie a dextris igne casuali mento tenus turpiter adusta, collo contracto, corpore piloso pariter et nervoso. Si staturam quæris, exiguus: si facturam, deformis: si mores, firmus ac stabilis, et Gallica sobrietate temperatus. Negotiis familiaribus plurimum intentus: commisso quoque regimini, rebusque gerendis in commune vigilantissimus. Et quanquam militaribus negotiis plurimum[1] instructus, crebris tamen expeditionum jacturis ducis officio non fortunatus. Post uxoris obitum vir uxorius; et non unius tantum, sed plurimarum libidini datus. Vir auri cupidus et avarus; propriique honoris et excellentiæ trans modestiam ambitiosus.

Circa 1180. Men who distinguished themselves about this time.

Floruit hoc tempore strenuitatis opera, in Lageniæ partibus, Robertus Henrici filius, et Meilerii frater: floruit quidem, et floris more intempestivæ bruma mortis emarcuit. Floruit Giraldus Mauricii filius;[2] vir quanquam statura pusillus, prudentia tamen et probitate non modicus. Floruit et Rogerus Poerius, Lechlinensi familiæ sub Hugone præfectus. Floruit Guillelmus Poerius apud Waterfordiam. Floruit Robertus Barrensis junior, Philippi filius, tam Lageniæ finibus quam Desmoniæ. Floruit quoque Reimundus uterque, tam Kantitunensis[3] scilicet quam Hugonides.

Supra, p. 134.

Temporibus istis duo illa miracula magna, quæ *Topographia* [nostra][4] depromit, in Media apud Fove-

[1] *plurimum*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[2] *Floruit Gir. Maur. filius*] L. R. B.; Floruit et Maur. filius uterque, tam Alexander quam Giraldus, T. Ha. Cl., &c.

[3] *Kantitunensis*] L. B. T., &c.; Katitunensis, R.

[4] *nostra*] Not in L. R. B. T. Ha In Cl., &c.

ram[1] contigerunt: de muliere videlicet a sagittario in molendino sancti Phechini rapta, et avena surrepta.

[Cap XXIII.]

Adventus Johannis[2] constabularii, et Ricardi de Pec. A.D. 1181.

His ita se habentibus, et prænotatæ[3] suspicionis fama crebrescente, advenerunt in insulam, circa kalendas Maii,[4] collegæ duo; Johannes scilicet constabularius Cestrensis, et Ricardus de Pec, ad curam regiminis, Hugone revocato, suscipiendam, ab Anglorum rege transmissi. Sed antequam Hugo discederet, communi consilio castra per Lageniam plurima construxerunt. Hactenus enim Media plurimum, Lagenia parum fuerat incastellata.

John, constable of Chester, and Richard de Pec, sent as governors; de Laci being recalled.

Erectum est igitur apud Fotheret[5] Onolan[6] primo castrum Reimundo, et aliud fratri ejusdem Griffino: tertium in Omurethi,[7] Gualtero de Ridenesfordia, apud Tristerdermoth: quartum Johanni de Clahulla super aquam Beruæ, non procul a Lechlinia: quintum Johanni Herefordensi apud Collacht. Meilerio vero Kildariam, sibi a comite datam, cum adjacente territorio subtrahentes, provinciam de Leis, ex parte regis, tanquam

Castles built in Leinster. 65.

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[1] *Foveram*] R. B. T., &c.; Foverham, L.

[2] *Johannis*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[3] *prænotatæ*] See end of Cap. XXI. *supra*.

[4] A.D. 1181, Hoveden, 348 b. Hoveden says they were sent "ad "custodiendam civitatem Diveli- "niæ, quam Hugo de Laci custo- "dierat." He has nothing about the suspicion that De Laci was aiming at the sovereignty. The reason of his recall, he says, was this, that De Laci had married a daughter of the king of Connaught, without Henry's license, and "se- "cundum morem patriæ illius." What was this offensive Irish mode of marriage?

[5] *Fotheret*] R. B. Cl., &c.; Fotherech, L.

[6] *Onolan*] L. B. Cl., &c.; Ovolan, R. "Fotheret Onolan" is the barony of Fotharta, of which the O'Nolans were lords; now the barony of Forth, in present county of Carlow.

[7] *Omurethi*] R. B.; Omuredhi, L. (and afterwards); Omorthi, Ha.

A.D. 1181. in excambium contulerunt; terram quidem hostilem, asperam,[1] et silvestrem; remotam ex industria viro marchioni et martis alumno marchiam assignantes.

The next winter Hugh de Laci sent back again.

His igitur in insula æstate patratis,[2] hieme sequente, Johanne et Ricardo in Angliam revocatis, resumpta securitate, iterum Hugoni cura committitur: adjuncto eidem clerico quodam, Roberto videlicet Salopesburiensi, qui regis ex parte coadjutor ei et consiliarius, operumque suorum testis existeret. Hugo vero de Laci in

A.D. 1182. More castles built.

hoc adventu plurima castra construxit. Inter quæ, Meilerio castellum in provincia de Leis erexit, apud Tahmeho:[3] cui et neptem suam tunc dedit uxorem. Castellum quoque Roberto de Bigarz[4] ibi prope, scilicet apud Obowi:[5] castellum Thomæ Flandrensi non procul ab hoc, in ulteriore videlicet Omurethi parte, Beruensis fluminis interlabentibus undis: castellum Roberto filio Ricardi, apud Norrach. In Media vero castellum de Clunarech,[6] castellum de Kilair,[7] castellum Adæ de Futepoi,[8] castellum Gileberto de Nungent, et alia multa quæ singula per ordinem enumerare longum esset.

The wolf and the priest. *Supra*, p. 101.

Sacerdotis et lupi confabulatio.

Circa dies istos accidit in silva Medensi, tam stupenda lupi cum sacerdote confaoulatio: sicut in *Topographia* luculenta narratione depromitur.

Multa nimirum, ut ait Ieronimus, in scripturis incredibilia reperies, et non verisimilia; quæ nihilominus tamen vera sunt. Nihil enim contra naturæ Dominum prævalet natura: nec detestari debet sed admirari, sed venerari, Creatoris opera quævis creatura.

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[1] *asperam*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; et asperam, L.

[2] *patratis*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; paratis, L.

[3] *Tahmeho*] R. B.; Tachmeho, L.

[4] *Bigarz*] L. B. Cl. Ra., Camden; Bigalz, R.; Bigaret, Hb., Hooker.

[5] *Obowi*] R. B.; Oboui, L.

[6] *Clunarech*] R. B.; Clunaret, L.; Clunareth, Cl. Clonard, in Meath.

[7] The *Four Masters*, A.D. 1184, say that "A castle was erected by "the English at Killare."

[8] *Futepoi*] R. B. Cl.; Futepou, L. Called "Adam de Feipo" in Regan (l. 3157).

Secunda filiorum a patre discessio. Et Henrici tertii dolenda decessio.[1]

A.D. 1183. The second rebellion of his sons against Henry II.

Nec longe post,[2] Anglorum rex junior, Henricus Henrici regis filius, pravorum consiliis, proh dolor ! in patrem iterum cœpit insurgere ; præpotentes[3] Pictaviæ proceres, cum electa Gallicæ militiæ juventute, necnon et fratrem suum, Armoricæ Britanniæ comitem Gaufridum,[4] mali totius incentorem, complices habens et fautores. Nec mora : divina, ut creditur, tantæ ingratitudinis ultione, apud Martellum,[5] circa kalendas Junii, non sine magno exercitus utriusque dolore, vir invicta virtute cetera vincens, tandem præmatura victus morte succubuit.

Death of Henry the young king.

Paucis vero post annis elapsis, comes quoque Gaufridus, miles egregius et eloquens, tam Ulixis heres quam Achillis, a patre et in patrem jam tertio recedens, desuper ultrice lata sententia, Parisius circa kalendas Augusti rebus humanis exemptus est.

Death of Geoffrey earl of Britanny [A.D. 1186; Aug. 19].

[Cap. XXIV.]

Laurencii Dublinensis archiepiscopi apud Augun decessio : et Johannis Cimini[6] successio.

Interea Laurencius Dublinensis archiepiscopus, vir bonus et justus, ob privilegia in Lateranensi concilio, cui intererat, contra regiæ dignitatis honorem, zelo suæ gentis, ut ferebatur, impetrata, Anglorum regi suspectus, et ob hoc tam in Anglicanis quam transmarinis Galliæ partibus diu detentus, tandem apud Augun, Normanniæ castrum, decimo octavo kalend'

Death of St. Laurence, abp. of Dublin, at Eu in Normandy (Friday, Nov. 14, 65 b. 1180).

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[1] *decessio*] L. ; discessio, R. B.

[2] A.D. 1183. Hoveden, 352 b, &c.

[3] *præpotentes*] L. Ha. Cl., &c. ; præponentes, R. B.

[4] *Gaufridum*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c. ; Gaufredum, L. (and afterwards).

[5] *Martellum*] L. ; Marchellum, R. B. ; Marthellum, Ha. Cl., &c. He died at Martel, near Limoges, June 11, 1183.

[6] *Cimini*] L. Ha. Cl. Hb. See *infra*, p. 358, n. 6 ; and *supra*, p. 220, Cap. XXIV. Cumini, R. B.

A.D. 1180. Decembris,[1] laboriosum viæ et vitæ istius cursum felici fine complevit. De quo, inter varia miracula, quibus in hoc suo sancto[2] se mirabilem usque in hodiernum Deus ostendit, et hoc in partibus illis primum emicuit, quod in Abbatis Villa vir[3] sanctus letali morbo correptus, contra suorum monita quiescere recusaverat, dicens locum suum ibi non esse: et transiens inde versus Augense castrum, quam cito in ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ oculos injecit, audiens beatæ virginis basilicam esse, versum hunc propheticum prophetice depromens, ait; "Hæc requies mea in seculum seculi: hic habitabo, quoniam elegi eam." Qui[4] eodem in castro infra paucos dies rebus humanis exemptus, et in majori ecclesia debitis exequiis est tumulatus; et a Domino quoque, qui lucernam suam abscondi non sinit, multis illico signis et virtutibus est declaratus.

Miracles, &c.

Ps. cxxxi. 14.

A.D. 1181. Successit eidem Johannes, cognomine[5] Ciminum,[6] vir Anglicus natione, et in Anglia apud Evesham a clero Dublinensi,[7] regia procurante industria, consone satis et concorditer electus; et a Romano pontifice Lucio, apud Velletrium, presbyter cardinalis ordinatus, et consecratus; literatæ vir eloquentiæ, qui justitiæ zelo,

John Ciminum succeeds.

Consecrated by pope Lucius, A.D. 1182.

[1] Hoveden says that archbishop Laurence arrived in Normandy after the Purification, 1181, and died at Eu shortly afterwards. But it seems perfectly clear that this is wrong, and that he died on Friday, Nov. 14, 1180. See Ussher's *Sylloge, Epist.* 48, note; and note (*e*) to *Four Masters*, 1180.

[2] *hoc suo sancto*] R. B. Cl., &c.; hoc facto, L.; hoc sancto, Ha.

[3] *vir*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; ubi, L.

[4] *Qui . . est declaratus*] Not in L. B. In margin of R. In text of Ha., Cl., &c.

[5] *cognomine*] L. R. B.; agnomine, Ha. Cl., &c.

[6] *Ciminum*] L. B. Ha. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.; Cuminum, R.; Cyminus, Camden.

[7] Hoveden says that at Evesham, Sept. 6, 1181, Henry gave to John Cumin, his clerk, the archbishoprick of Dublin: 350 b. He has no mention of any election by the clergy of Dublin. Cumin was ordained priest by pope Lucius III., at Veletri, March 13, 1182, and consecrated on March 21, Palm Sunday. Hoveden, 351 b. The "priest cardinal" of Giraldus is a blunder; at least there is no other authority for it.

debitoque adeptæ[1] dignitatis officio, ecclesiæ Hibernicæ statum egregie sublimasset, nisi semper gladius gladio, sacerdotium regno, virtus invidia reprimeretur. Sicut enim caro adversus spiritum, sic carnales adversus spirituales: sic Cæsaris ministri adversus Christi milites indesinente malitia militare contendunt. A.D. 1182.

[Cap. XXV.]

Johannis[2] *Dublinensis episcopi in Hiberniam transmissio.* A.D. 1184.

Anglorum itaque rex, quod olim mente conceperat, totum Hiberniæ dominium in juniorem filium, Johannem nomine, cum effectu transferre procurans; qui cuncta quoque terræ illius homagia, patris assensu, dudum susceperat;[3] Johannem Dublinensem archiepiscopum, circa kalendas Augusti, tanquam adventus filii sui præcursorem, in Hiberniam transmisit. Archbp. Cumin sent by the king into Ireland, as precursor of his son.

Nec mora: revocato Hugone de Laci,[4] Philippus Wigorniensis, vir militaris, dapsilis, et liberalis, circa kalendas Septembris, cum militibus quadraginta, procurator in insulam est transmissus. Hugh de Laci again recalled. Philip of Worcester sent in his place.

Inter ipsa igitur operum suorum initialia, terras

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[1] *adeptæ*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; adepto, L.

[2] *Johannis, &c.*] This the heading in Cl. There is no heading in L. B. In R. it is, *De Hugone de Laci iterum custode transmisso*, which is certainly wrong. In Hb. it is, *Johannis Dublinensis archiepiscopi in Hiberniam adventus.*

[3] Viz., in the council at Oxford, A.D. 1177, when he made the grants to Hugh de Laci, &c., as related in Cap. XX. *supra.* Hoveden says (323 b): "Rex . . . constituit "Johannem filium suum regem in "Hibernia, concessione et confirmatione Alexandri, summi pontificis;" and (324) that he caused all to whom he had made the grants, "homines suos et Johannis "filii sui devenire, et jurare eis "ligantias et fidelitates de terris "Hiberniæ."

[4] Newburgh states (i. 238) that Hugh de Laci, shortly before his death, treated a mandate of recall from Henry with contempt; and that he was aiming at the sovereignty of Ireland in his own person, having even prepared for his brows a regal diadem.

A.D. 1184. quas Hugo de Laci alienaverat, terram videlicet Ocadhesi,[1] et alias quam plures, ad regiam mensam cum omni solicitudine revocavit.

A.D. 1185. Philip's expedition to Armagh. Elapsa vero hieme, convocato exercitu magno, circa kalendas Martii Archmatiam profectus, sacro quadragesimali tempore,[2] a clero sacro auri tributum execrabile tam exigens quam extorquens, cum suis, per urbem Lugdunensem,[3] Dubliniam indemnis est reversus.

Miracles. In hac expeditione duo miracula contigerunt: primum apud Archmatiam, de passione quam urbem egressus[4] Philippus sustinuit; secundum apud Lugdunum,[3] super incendio, et cacabo Archmatiensi clero ab Hugone Tyrello[5] sublato; sicut in *Topographia* declaratur. *Supra*, pp. 132 & 133.

[Cap. XXVI.]

Eraclii patriarchæ in Angliam adventus.

Arrival of Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem. Dum[6] hæc in Hibernia geruntur, advenit in Angliam circa kalendas Februarii,[7] menso itinere longo, ab oriente in occidentem vergens, vir venerabilis patriarcha Ierosolimitanus, cui nomen Eraclius. Qui claves urbis sacræ,

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[1] *Ocadhesi*] R.B.Cl.Ra.; Ocadhsi, L.; Ocathesi, Ha. Hb. Rb.

[2] The *Four Masters* simply say, A.D. 1185: "Philip Unserra (as "they strangely express Worcester "in Irish) remained at Armagh "with his Englishmen, during "six days and nights in the middle "of Lent;" without any mention of exactions, &c. A fuller account of this foray in *Top. Hib.*, *supra*, p. 132, &c.

[3] *Lugdunensem . . . Lugdunum*] L. R. B. Ha. Cl. Ra. This is Giraldus's Latin rendering of Lughmadh, or Lughbhadh, &c., the Irish name of Louth: see *supra*, p. 133. Luvedensem . . Luvedum, in Camden; Dunensem . . Dunum, in Hb. Rb., and Camden in margin.

[4] *egressus*] L. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; ingressus, R.

[5] *Tyrello*] R. B. Ha. Ra.; Tirello, L. Cl. Hb. Rb.

[6] *Dum*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; Cum, L. This chapter is repeated, in nearly the same words, in *De Instr. Princ. II.*; the first part, down to "devolvendum," in middle of Cap. 24; the remainder at end of Cap. 25 (pp. 59, &c., and 62, &c.)

[7] He was at Canterbury, "orandi "gratia," no doubt just after his landing in England, Jan. 29, 1185. Gervase (1474).

sacrique sepulchri Dominici, cum regio vexillo, martioque signo, ex parte primorum terræ Palestinæ, tam fratrum scilicet militiæ Templi quam Hospitalis; necnon et totius tam cleri quam populi unanimi voto et acclamatione, Anglorum regi Henrico secundo regni dominium obtulit et subjectionem; supplicans in lacrimis, et ad regia genua provolutus humiliter deplorans, quatinus ad Terræ Sanctæ, ab hostibus fidei jam[1] desperanter afflictæ, specialisque patrimonii Christi Jesu subventionem, misericorditer moveatur.[2] Alioquin asserens, quod infra biennium post evenit, et mente plerumque præsaga malorum firmiter asseverans, regnum universum in Saracenorum et Saladini, tam Egiptiorum quam Damascenorum tunc principis, manus sacrilegas in brevi devolvendum.

A.D. 1185.

66.

And offer of the kingdom of Jerusalem to Henry II.

O quanta tam regis quam regni gloria, quod prætermissis et præteritis tam imperatoribus, quam terrarum regibus et principibus cunctis, tanquam in mundi medio non fuerit locus huic remedio, in hunc finalem orbis angulum, et quasi secretis quibusdam oceani secessibus orbem alterum, ad tantæ subventionis auxilia[3] requirenda pervenitur!

O quanta, et quam[4] incomparabilis in terris regi gloria, nec terrena solum sed perpetua, si, statim omissis negotiis cunctis, regnisque relictis et rebus universis, ad tantam Christi vocationem, Christi discipulus, tollens crucem suam, Christum fuisset omni posthabita dilatione secutus; a quo regni sceptrum, et, quod majus est regno, tam gloriosam regni[5] regendi gratiam suscepit in terris, illi regni sui terreni in hac

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[1] *jam*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[2] *moveatur*] R. B. Ha. Hb., &c.; moveretur, L. Cl., *De Instr. Princ.*

[3] *auxilia requirenda*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; auxilium requirendum, L.

[4] *quam*] L., Camden. Not in R. B. Ha. Cl., &c., *De Instr. Princ.*

[5] *regni*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in L.

A.D. 1185. necessitatis umbra jura conservans, regnum ob hoc cœleste suscepturus!

O qui [1] tanti regis patrimonium, in hac necessitatis umbra, in hac devotionis experientia, tueri pro posse curaret in terris, de suo quam tutus incommoditatis urgentis articulo fieri posset, tanto patrono tantoque tutore digne munitus.

[Cap. XXVII.] [2]

[Regis patriarchæ facta responsio : et quasi prophetica patriarchæ secuta comminatio.

Die vero responsionis [3] Londoniæ tandem a rege præfixo; multis quidem tam militaris ordinis quam plebeii, per patriarchæ monita, publicosque tam ejus, quam viri venerabilis et sancti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Baldewini, sermones ad populum suasorie factos, ad Christi obsequia consignatis; tandem responsum a rege patriarcha suscepit, quod regnum suum absque tutela et regimine destituere, terrasque suas transmarinas Francorum rapacitati, quibus exosus extiterat, ei inpræsentiarum exponere tutum non erat. Porro de pecunia, tam illa quam olim ad partes illas sibi reservandam præmiserat,[4] quam et alia statim ei tradenda, ad terræ sacræ tuitionem copiose conferret.

The king declines the offer.

Cui patriarcha; "Nil agis, O rex, huic stare consilio " si perstiteris; quoniam in hunc modum nec te salva- " bis, nec Christi patrimonium conservabis. Principem

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[1] *qui*] L. B. Ha.; si, R. Cl., &c., *De Instr. Princ.*

[2] This chapter not in L. R. B. Ha. Cl. In Hb. Ra. Rb., Camden. With large additions, in Caps. 27 and 28 of *De Instr. Princ. II.* (p. 64, &c.)

[3] A.D. 1185, first Sunday in Lent (March 10), at London: Hoveden. 15th kal. April (March 18), at Clerkenwell: Diceto.

[4] *præmiserat*] Hb. Ra. Rb.; promiserat, in MS. of *De Instr. Princ.*; transmiserat, Camden.

"enim quærere venimus, non pecuniam: quælibet "fere mundi pars nobis pecuniam mittit, sed principem "nulla: virum igitur appetimus qui[1] pecunia indigeat, "non pecuniam quæ viro." A.D. 1185.

Sed quoniam nullum aliud a rege responsum patriarcha elicere potuit, ad aliud se denique convertit; rogans ut vel unum filiorum suorum, et si non alium, saltem natu minorem Johannem, eis in subsidium principem daret; ut regium semen de Andegavensium stirpe descendens possit eis, vel ex hoc surculo, redivivo germine suscitari. Ipse vero Johannes, quanquam in Hiberniam, ei a patre datam, jam tunc cum grandi expeditione mittendus foret, patrios ad pedes se provolvens, et ut Ierosolimam potius mitteretur, laudabiliter, ut fertur, efflagitans, non impetravit.

The patriarch then asks for one of his sons.

John urgent to be sent: but in vain.

Videns itaque patriarcha quia nihil proficeret, videns quia neque mel de petra, nec oleum de saxo durissimo elicere prævaleret, hæc in regem, multis audientibus, comminatorio pariter et prophetico spiritu, verba deprompsit: "Hactenus inter mundi principes incomparabili gratia, rex, gloriose regnasti, et tuus usque "nunc honor ad regiæ celsitudinis apicem magis ac "magis accrevit. Sed tibi proculdubio, ad hanc ex-"perientiam in qua deficis reservato, et ob hoc a "Domino quem deseris derelicto, gratiaque penitus "destituto, de cetero gloria in ærumnam, et usque ad "finalem halitum honor in ignominiam convertetur."

The patriarch's prophetic threats.

Hanc itaque propheticam comminationem, quam utinam exemplo regis Ninive per pœnitentiam evacuasset, sententiamque mutari fecisset, vir sanctus regi,[2] nihil ex contingentibus omittendo, ter emisit: primo Londoniis, ut diximus; deinde Dovoriæ; tertio vero apud Chinonense castrum, in transmarinis. Sed utinam patriarcha vir fuisset non habens spiritum, et

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[1] *qui*] *De Instr. Princ.*, Camden; quo, Hb. Ra. Rb. Compare Cic. *De Off.*, ii. 20.

[2] *regi*] In Hb. Ra., *De Instr. Princ.* Not in Rb.

mendacium potius locutus esset;[1] vel magis sententiam comminationis fuisset pœnitentia secuta quam dispositionis.[2]

Fulfilment of these.

Ut autem, ad evidentiam majorem, paucis summatim anticipemus quæ per ordinem postea contigerunt, sicut a præcone veritatis est propositum, sic vidimus in brevi postmodum divina[3] dispositione completum. Cum etenim septem fere lustra regnando compleverit, sex data sunt ei mundanam ad gloriam, ad conversionis tolerantiam, ad devotionis experientiam: septimum vero, tanquam servo ingrato, tanquam abjecto prorsus et reprobato, cessit ad vindictam, cessit ad ærumnam, cessit ad ignominiam.

Prov. xvi. 18.

Secundo namque septimi lustri anno, statim in ipso tanti præconis adventu, quoniam "ante ruinam exal-"tabitur cor," primus ejusdem, quem tanta diligentia procuraverat, de filio scilicet Johanne in Hiberniam mittendo, pereuntibus opera pariter et impensa, conatus evanuit et ad plenum non profecit.

Tertio, qui terras nunquam antea perdiderat, sed semper suæ ditioni potenter adjecerat, Philippo Francorum rege, quanquam annis adhuc tenello, viriliter in ipsum arma sumente, et damna paterna resarciente, Alverniam fere totam amisit. Quarto, castellum Radulfi, et Berri fere totam.

Ps. ci. 11. Ps. lxxii. 18. In Evang. Hom. xiii. § 5.

Quinto vero septimi lustri anno, et ab adventu patriarchæ quarto, non solum Francorum rege Philippo, sed et Pictaviensium comite Ricardo simul cum ipso in patrem insurgente, urbes Cenomannensem et Turonensem, cum castellis multis, et demum seipsum: juxta illud psalmistæ, "A facie iræ et[4] indignationis tuæ, quia "elevans allisisti me;" et illud, "Dejecisti eos dum "allevarentur;" et illud Gregorii, "Quos diu Deus ut "convertantur tolerat, non conversos durius damnat."]

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[1] *esset*] Hb. Ra., *De Instr. Princ.*; fuisset, Rb.

[2] *dispositionis*] Hb. Ra. Rb., Camden; desperationis, *De Instr. Princ.*

[3] *divina*] Hb. Ra., *De Instr. Princ.* Not in Rb.

[4] *et*] Ra., *De Instr. Princ.*, with Vulgate. Not in Hb. Rb., Camden.

[Cap. XXVIII.]

De regno[1] *Palestino in Saracenorum manus devoluto.*

Verumtamen ad majoris meriti[2] palmam divina forte dispositione rex reservatur: quanto majus est diruta penitus reparare, quam ruinosa fulcire; lapsa suscitare, quam labentia sustinere; præcisa redintegrare, quam saucia sanare; destructa reformare, quam debilitata firmare.

Et quoniam,

"Hectora quis nosset, felix si Troja fuisset?
"Ardua per præceps gloria stravit[3] iter," Ovid. Trist. iv. 3; 75 and 74.

quanto gravior et instantior urget adversitas, quanto nebulosæ tenebrositatis et turbationis densior incumbit obscuritas, tanto luce clariore strenuitatis gloria præfulgebit.

A.D. 1187. Palestine subdued by the Parthians.

Terræ Palestinæ a Parthis subactio.

Occulto namque Dei judicio, sed nunquam injusto, vix elapso post biennio,[4] vel ad ulciscendam minus ferventem orientalis ecclesiæ devotionem, vel ad exercendam et experiendam fidei fervore devotam occidentalium obedientiam, paganis et Parthis de gente Christiana permissa est victoria.

Earl Richard of Poitou

Unde[5] et illustri Pictaviensium comite Ricardo, in auris auditu primo, necdum certo fama volante tam

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[1] There is no new chapter in L., this being a continuation of Cap. 26 *supra*. *De regno*, *&c.*, is the heading in R. Initial letter only, to indicate new chapter, in B. *In crucis obsequia principum signatio* is the heading of Cl. Hb. Rb., Camden.

[2] *majoris meriti*] L. R. B. Ha. Cl. Ra.; amoris meriti, Hb. Rb.; amoris majoris meritique, Camden.

[3] *vadat* instead of *stravit* in Ovid.

[4] It was more than two years. The decisive battle of Hittin, where the Holy Cross was captured, was fought July 4, 1187, and Jerusalem was surrendered Oct. 3.

[5] This section, in nearly the same words, is repeated in *De Instr. Princ.* *III.*, 5; where it is added that the disastrous news from Palestine arrived "ad occiduas partes, circa "kalendas Novembris." Giraldus's "about the kalends of November" may mean any day almost, either in October or November; and it was

A.D. 1188. takes the cross.

Ricardi Pictaviæ comitis crucesignatio.

miserabilis casus nuncio, statim in urbe Turonensi strenua devotione crucesignato, et Cisalpinis principibus tam nobilis ausus exemplo donato, prædictus Anglorum rex, comitis pater, et Philippus rex Francorum, laudabili æmulatione, quanquam discordes ad invicem antea fuerint, eodem in loco, et eadem hora, apud colloquium Gisortii, persuadente qui ad hoc venerat Tyrensi archipræsule, immo gratia desuper inspirante favorem, cum multis et magnis tam cleri quam populi[1] viris, unanimi concordia[2] crucis signaculo sunt insigniti.

66 b. Also Henry II. and Philip of France.

Duorum regum signatio.

And the Roman emperor.

Romani imperatoris signatio.

Sicut[3] autem ad comitis exemplum reges, sic ad regum exemplar Romanus imperator Fretheričus, necnon et ad monita venerabilis Albanensis[4] episcopi et Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalis, illo cooperante a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia, et justa sunt opera, ad *Lætare Ierusalem*,[5] in curia illa magna quam curiam Dei vocant, in nobili urbe Maguntina, cum majoribus regni Teutonici ordinis utriusque viris, crucem magnifice suscepit.

Igitur ad tanti lapsus reparationem, præ aliis cunctis Anglorum, ut creditur, rege reservato, si victoriosum vitæ labentis cursum cum hac quoque tanta victoria felici fine compleverit, de ipso[6] proculdubio famosum illud Merlini Ambrosii vaticinium constat esse complendum: "Principium," inquit, "ejus vago affectui succumbet; et finis ad su- "peros convolabit."

Merlinus Ambrosius.

probably the tidings of the fall of Ierusalem, which may well have reached the West by the middle of November, that determined Richard at once to take the cross. But see Mr. Stubbs, in Introduction to *Itinerarium, &c., regis Ricardi*, p. cxv., and note 3.

[1] After *populi* is added *utrinque* in L.; but it is in no other MS.

[2] *circa kalend. Februarii* is added after *concordia* in *De Instr. Princ.* It was on 12th kal. Feb. (Jan. 21), 1188. Hoveden, 365 b.

[3] This section in *De Instr. Princ. III.*, 5.

[4] *Albanensis*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; Albaniensis, L.

[5] Fourth Sunday in Lent, March 27, 1188.

[6] After *ipso* is added *quoque* in L.; but it is in no other MS.

[CAP. XXIX.]

Subita regum discordia. A.D. 1188.

Inter reges tamen, et, longe sorte pejore, inter patrem et comitem, hostis antiqui machinatione, summique Rectoris, peccatis exigentibus, permissione, post tantam concordiam, ad detrimentum et dilatorium laudabilis ausus impedimentum, subita suborta est et inopinata discordia;[1] tanquam ipsis indignis, aliis, divinæ dispositionis intuitu, tantæ restaurationis honor debeat exhiberi.

Discord between Henry II. and his son Richard, and the king of France.

Aut forte, juxta Gregorii sententiam, "Adversitas, "quæ bonis votis objicitur, probatio virtutis est, non "indicium[2] reprobationis. Quis enim nesciat quam "prosperum fuit quod Paulus ad Italias vergebatur?[3] "Et tamen vehemens[4] naufragium pertulit: sed navis "cordis in maris[5] fluctibus integra stetit." Sic igitur, quoniam virtus in infirmitate perficitur, et aurum igne probatur, fidei constantia, tribulationibus frangi nescia, more sinapis plus excrescet; et contra casus adversos, contraque graves fortunæ insultus, fortior animi magnitudo resurget.

S. Greg. Mag. Epist. ix. 122. (Migne, iii. 1053.)

Utinam[6] igitur cum favore plebeio, popularique plausu, cum viæ substantia juste quæsita non extorta, larga liberalique manu et non contracta, pura et elimata per pœnitentiam conscientia, prorsus[7] invidia carente

[1] In July 1188 they were at fierce war again: Hoveden, 367 b. Richard had commenced hostilities some time before.

[2] "judicium," Greg., and *Itin. Kamb.* of our author, ii. 13 (end), where this again quoted.

[3] *vergebatur*] R. B. Ha. Hb. Rb.; vergebat, L. Cl. Ra., and *Itin. Kamb.* In Greg. the passage is, "beatus "Paulus apostolus prædicaturus ad "Italiam veniebat."

[4] "veniens," Greg.

[5] "marinis," Greg.

[6] Hence, down to end of next chapter, forms Cap. 27 of *Symb. Elect. III.* (vol. i. 393). Also in *De Instr. Princ. III.*, 15 and 16.

[7] *prorsus . . arrogantia*] Not in R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c. In L., *De Instr. Princ.*

A.D. 1188. et arrogantia, principes nostri in hujus expeditionis aggressum proficisci meruissent.

O quam mallem his comitatos, cum paucioribus sed potioribus,[1] Deoque placentibus viris, laboriosum hoc iter sed gloriosum arripuisse, quam his sine, de multis et immensis pecuniæ thesauris, sed undecunque congestis, de multitudine gentium infinita, sed non unanimi, non concordi, hoc in agone superbire.

Veteris namque testamenti percurre seriem, citeriora
67. quoque respice tempora, et præcipue partium illarum exempla: semper invenies non virorum seu virium, sed potius virtutum copia, divinaque magis gratia quam humana potentia triumphatum. Nam, ut ait [Cassiodorus,[2] "Populus armatus sine Deo inermis est." Unde] Seneca; "Non populorum numerus, sed pauco-"rum virtus pugnam conficit."

A.D. 1189. The emperor the first to set out on the crusade.

Imperatoris maturatio.

Prædictis itaque quatuor, ut creditur,[3] imperator Frethericus, quanquam Cisalpinorum[4] principum in signaculi susceptione postremus, in operis tamen executione, laudabili maturatione se primum exhibuit.[5] Quem tanto cumulatiore tam in cœlis palma, quam in terris gloria, dignum dixerim,[6] quanto regnis amplioribus rebusque relictis, tantique imperii cura posthabita, terminum primo statutum animosa constantia non præteriit.

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[1] *sed potioribus*] L. R. B. T. Ha. Cl. Ra. Not in Hb. Rb., *De Instr. Princ.*, or Camden.

[2] *Cassiodorus . . . unde*] T. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in L. R. B. In *De Instr. Princ.* the Cassiodorus quotation comes after Seneca's, and is attributed to some sacred writer: "Et alibi quoque, Scriptura tes-"tante, Populus," &c. I have not succeeded in verifying either quotation.

[3] *ut creditur*] R. B. T. Ha. Cl., &c.; comitatus, ut credebatur, L., *De Instr. Princ.*

[4] scis alpinorum, R. B.

[5] According to Diceto (645), he set out on St. George's day, April 23, 1189. See *Itin., &c., regis Ricardi*, pp. 42 and 43, and Mr. Stubbs' note.

[6] *Quem . . . dignum dixerim*] R. B. Ha. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb.; Quem . . dignum duxerim, T., Camden; Qui . . se proculdubio reddidit dignum, L. and *De Instr. Princ.*

[Cap. XXX.][1]

Visio, et visionis expositio. A.D. 1189.

Vision vouchsafed to Giraldus.

Unde et visionem, quam super hac temporis nostri miseria, et crucis Christi contumelia, mihi miserrimo, mihi minimo, et quanquam crucesignato, a crucis tamen obsequiis longe alieno,[2] Ille[3] revelavit, qui interdum quæ abscondit a sapientibus revelat parvulis, hic evidenter evolvere præter rem non putavi.

At Chinon; May 10, 1189.

In illa igitur intestina et detestabili nimis Anglorum regis et comitis Pictavensis [circa id idem tempus emersa][4] discordia, apud Chinonense[5] castrum cum rege constitutus, sexto idus Maii, nocte in somnis, et noctis hora quasi circa primum gallicantum, visus sum mihi videre turbam hominum multam, in cœlum intuentem, et tanquam novum aliquid admirantem. Elevans igitur oculos, et suspiciens quidnam esset, vidi intra nubium quarundam densitatem clarissimæ lucis splendorem erumpere; et statim, separatis ab invicem nubibus, tanquam inferiore hoc cœlo ibidem ex parte reserato, oculorum acie per fenestram illam ad empireum usque transpenetrante, in multitudine multa curia illa cœlestis apparuit, intentatis ei[6] undique armorum omnium generibus, in direptionem data, et tanquam hostibus ad mactandum exposita. Videas huic gladio caput, illi brachium amputari; illos sagittis eminus peti, illos lanceis[7] cominus, illos sicis transpenetrari. Et cum intuentium multi, vel propter ful-

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[1] This chapter not in Ha.

[2] *et quanquam . . alieno*] R. B.; et tamen a Domino in hac visione visitato, L. Cl., &c.

[3] *Ille*] R. B. T. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[4] *circa . . emersa*] Not in L. R. B., *De Instr. Princ.* In T. Cl., &c.

[5] *Chinonense*] R. B. Cl., &c., *De Instr. Princ.*; Cinnonense, L.; Chinnonense, T. Camden.

[6] *ei*] L. Cl. Hb. Rb., *De Instr. Princ.*, Camden. Not in R. B.; illis, Ra.

[7] After *lanceis* is added "et gla- "diis" in *De Instr. Princ.*

A.D. 1189. Giraldus's vision.

gorem nimium, vel propter rerum visarum seu terrorem, seu pietatem, proni in facies suas cecidissent, ad exitum rei videndum visus sum mihi singula longe diutius aliis et diligentius intueri. Completa igitur in brevi quasi de aliis cunctis victoria, principem ipsum militiæ cœlestis, tanquam in medio suorum et majestate sedentem, sicut depingi solet, carnifices cruenti communiter invadunt; et umbilico tenus a dextris illum a throno extrahentes nudato pectore, dextrum ei latus lancea confodiunt. Et statim vox terribilis valde secuta est, in hunc modum; "Woch, Woch, "Pater et Filius! Woch, Woch, Spiritus Sanctus!" Sed utrum desuper demissa, an a[1] circumstanti populo prolata fuerit, hoc mihi datum est ignorare. Et sic mihi[2] demum tam vocis hujus quam visionis terror experrecto somnum excussit.

67 b. Illum itaque testem invoco, cui nuda et aperta sunt omnia, quoniam me statim in strato residentem, et hæc mecum anxie recolentem, tantus per dimidiam vel amplius horam, et tam vehemens carnis et spiritus horror invasit, quod fere extra me factus, a mente transire et dementire timebam. Verumtamen ad unicum illud salutis humanæ refugium promptissima devotione recurrens, et signo crucis creberrimo tam frontem signans quam pectus muniens, sequentem noctis illius partem usque ad auroram duxi insomnem. Et sic, divina opitulante gratia, tandem ad me reversus, mihique[3] demum plena securitate sum restitutus. Nunquam tamen ad animum, nec etiam hodierno die, absque horrore magno visionem potui revocare. Quid enim terribilius, quam a creatura conspici ferro confodi Creatorem? Quis cœlorum cives, Deique domes-

[1] *a*] L. Cl., &c. Not in R.; "circum a stanti," written as one word, in B.

[2] *mihi*] R. B. T. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[3] *mihique*] L. R. B. T. Cl., &c.; mihi. *De Instr. Princ.* and Camden.

ticos, hominumque patronos, in cædem trahi videat et turbari non turbatus? Quis, inquam, ipsum naturæ Dominum, et universitatis Figulum, pati conspiciat et non compatitur? A.D. 1189. Giraldus's vision.

Quid autem hæc sibi visio velit, et quid portendere valeat, absque præjudicio paucis absolvam. Qui olim in propria persona passus est pro suis, nunc iterum se pati significat, sed in suis. Et qui per crucis triumphum ad dexteram Patris ascendens, regnum suum victoriosus intravit, illi jam hostes facti in capite regnum auferre, majestatem minuere, ecclesiam subvertere nituntur, quam ipse sibi fuso sanguine comparavit. Ideoque, ut arbitror, non in cruce, sed in majestate apparuit hæc passio; tanquam, cruce jam perdita et de medio sublata, illam, quam in cruce sibi acquisierat, hostes ei majestatis gloriam auferre contendant.[1] Vel potius, sicut[2] in terra illa sacra, quam post tot et tanta corporalis præsentiæ suæ sacramenta, demum proprio cruore consecravit, fideles sui, non in cruce nunc, sed armis et bellico certamine passi sunt, sic suam ipse passionem istam, quam in suis quodammodo nunc sustinet, ubi in majestate Patri conregnat, non in cruce voluit, sed in armis et bellico tumultu declarari. Sicut et eodem supplicii genere, quo Romæ passurus erat Petrus, se quoque passurum in Petro testatus est ipse,[3] dicens, "Venio Romam iterum "crucifigi."

Totam itaque cœlestem curiam cædi per compassionem simili strage designavit; suos volens ad vindictam vel tanti doloris ostensione provocari.

De voce autem illa, a barbaris incipiente, et in Latina verba descendente, quod[4] mihi videtur edis-

[1] *contendant*] L. R. B. Cl. Hb. Ra.; contendunt, Rb., *De Instr. Princ.*, Camden; contendent, T.

[2] *sicut*] Not in R. B. T. Cl., &c. In L., *De Instr. Princ.*

[3] *ipse*] R. B. T. Cl., &c.; et ipse, *De Instr. Princ.* Not in L.

[4] *quod*] L. R. B. Cl., &c.; quid, T., *De Instr. Princ.*, Camden.

A.D. 1189. Giraldus's vision. seram. *Woch, Woch,* Teutonica[1] lingua, quasi geminata dolentis interjectio est. Idem ergo sonat ac si diceretur, "Heu, heu, Pater et Filius! Heu, heu, Spiritus "Sanctus!" seu, "Væ, Væ."[2] De juncturæ namque ratione non discutio, cum modo[3] sententia pateat. Quod ergo, inter tot linguarum genera, luguber ille planctus a Teutonica lingua cœpit, et terminatus est in Latinam, significare potest quod præ variis mundi nationibus, Teutonicæ tantum et Latinæ linguæ populis, eorumque principi, Salvatoris injuria, sicut vindictæ declarat maturatio, molesta videtur.

68. Absit enim ut de futura fidelium strage, et præcipue populorum eorundem in hujus expeditionis aggressu, passio vel planctus intelligi queat.[4]

[Cap. XXXI.][5]

Notabiles in Anglia nostri temporis eventus.

Notable advents, and events, in Notabiles igitur nostri temporis in Angliam adventus, et memoria dignos eventus, occasionaliter inter-

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[1] *Teutonica*] L. B. T; Theutonica, R. (and afterwards).

[2] *seu Væ, Væ*] R. B. T. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[3] *cum modo*] L. B.; dummodo, R. T. Cl., &c.

[4] In T., and in the *De Instr. Princ.*, is here added: "Videat itaque lector quemadmodum quod "ex visionis natura evenire posse "verebar, quoniam id, quod minime "volebam, minus expressi; sed "tamen intactum ex industria non "reliqui. Porro ex post facto claruit, et nimia evidentia palam "fuit, lugubrem illam duarum linguarum lamentationem, non præteritam, ut primum exposui, sed "futuram potius duorum eorundem "cum suo duce populorum stragem "lamentabilem designasse."

Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of the Romans, when on his way to Jerusalem, was drowned in the river Saphet, somewhere between Iconium and Antioch, July 25, 1190: Diceto, 655, 64. But see Mr. Stubbs' *Itinerarium, &c., regis Ricardi*, p. 54, &c. A mere remnant of his army succeeded in reaching the Holy Land.

[5] This chapter forms Cap. 29 of *Symb. Elect. III.* (vol. i. 393). It is repeated also in *De Instr. Princ.* ii. 30. It is omitted in Ha.

serere, et quasi sub epilogo in medium deducere non indignum reputavi. England, in Giraldus's time.

In primis itaque detentorum Anglicani regni, contra legitimum heredem Henricum, Henrici regis ex filia Matillide nepotem, inopinatus accidit occasus: et primo tam militis insignis Eustachii,[1] Stephani regis filii, et generi[2] Francorum regis Lodovici, quam matris ejusdem, reginæ Matillidis, et comitissæ Boloniensis, subita in fata concessio.

Deinde Stephani regis Angliæ et Henrici ducis Normanniæ concors ad invicem facta est adoptio.

Et subsequenter Stephani regis rebus humanis exemptio. [Reginæ[3] Alienor desponsatio, et de corona in coronam translatio.]

Gloriosa statim ducis in regem sublimatio; et Henrici secundi coronatio.

Nobilis castri Brugensis supra Sabrinum fluvium obsidio; et militis egregii Hugonis de Mortuo-mari, terribili cunctis exemplo, ad deditionem compulsio. A.D. 1155.

Quid plura? Ad aspera complananda, et fortia confundenda, prosperis ubique casibus, sicut regni detentorum, sic subita pacis ejusdem turbatorum omnium, et tam fratrum primo, quam postea quoque filiorum eversio.

Apud Venedotiam, bellica semper in incertum ludente fortuna, non absque militum multorum in arcto silvestri juxta Koleshulle,[4] id est *Carbonis collem,* dispendio, principis Oenei subactio. A.D. 1157.

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[1] *Eustachii*] L. R. B. Ra.; Eustacii, T. Cl., &c.

[2] *generi*] L. R. B. Cl., &c., Camden; sororii, T. Ra.; generi sive sororii, *De Instr. Princ.* Eustace, in Feb. 1140 (Gervase, 1350), married Constance, daughter of Louis VI., and sister of the then reigning king Louis VII.

[3] *Reginæ . . . translatio*] Not in L. R. B. In T. Cl., &c., Camden. Not in *De Instr. Princ.*, nor the preceding clause about Stephen's death.

[4] *Koleshullc*] R. B. T. Cl.; Coleshulle, L.

A.D. 1159. Notable events. Quanquam inutilis, sumptuosa tamen et nobilis apud Tolosam expeditio.

Inter Lodovicum Francorum regem, et Henricum Anglorum principem, varia utriusque partis deliratione,[1] frequens bellici certaminis altercatio.

A.D. 1163. In australis Kambriæ finibus Anglorum rege tonante, interventu Oenei avunculi sui, apud Pencader, id est *Cathedræ caput*, principis Resi deditio.

A.D. 1164. Apud Clarendunam, Cantuariorum archipræsulis Thomæ, et suffraganeorum antistitum, consuetudinum, quas avitas vocant, verbo tenus,[2] non spontanea sed extorta concessio.

Merlinus Ambrosius. Tunc impletum est[3] illud Merlini Ambrosii[4] vaticinium: "Et linguæ taurorum "abscidentur."

A.D. 1164. Apud Norhamptonam, in patrem crucis bajulum, et crucifixi jura tuentem, injuriosa curiæ totius conclamatio. Et eadem nocte, clandestina ejusdem in exilium discessio.

Merlinus Celidonius. Tunc[5] impletum est illud Celidonii; "Oves "insurgent in pastorem; et procul a caulis "expulso rectore, longe a regimine balatus earum."

A.D. 1165. Reginaldi Coloniensis[6] archiepiscopi, et imperatoris cancellarii, ab imperatore Fretherico ad Anglorum regem transmissio. Qui inter nepotem imperatoris, Henricum scilicet, tam Saxoniæ ducem quam Baioariæ,[7] et primævam regis filiam Matillidem, matrimonii con-

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[1] *deliratione*] L. R. B. T. Cl., &c.; delicatione, Ra.; deliberatione, *De Instr. Princ.*, Camden.

[2] After *verbo tenus* is added "et "scripto quoque, ut fertur, videtur," in Hb. Rb., Camden. It is also in Cl. Ra., but without the "videtur." "Et scripto" only is in *De Instr. Princ.*

[3] *est*] L. R. B. T., *De Instr. Princ.*; esse videtur, Cl. Hb., &c.

[4] *Ambrosii*] L. R., &c.; Silvestris, *De Instr. Princ.*

[5] This prophecy in L. R. B. T. Not in Cl. Hb., &c.

[6] *Coloniensis*] R. B. T. Cl., &c.; Colosiensis, L.

[7] *Baioariæ*] L. B. Cl.; Bavariæ, R. T. Hb., &c.

trahendi suasor efficax factus[1] et persuasor: schismatis quoque, quo tunc Alemannica exorbitabat ecclesia, factus incentor, nec obtentor. Notable events.

Contra Petri tamen cathedram, Cantuariæque præsulem, non longe post, regio edicto, publica per regnum pejeratio.

Nec mora: nuncii ducis,[2] tam comes scilicet Guncelinus, quam alii præpotentes Saxoniæ viri, propter filiam regis in Angliam venerunt.

Henrici tertii, filii Henrici,[3] in Cantuariensis ecclesiæ præjudicium, celebrata Londoniis ab Eboracensi coronatio. 68 b. A.D. 1170.

Nuncii de Hispania, filiam regis Alienor Aufulso, regi Toletani et Castellæ, legitime copulandam obnixe postulantes, et impetrantes, advenere. A.D. 1169. (Diceto, 550.)

Dermitii, in exilium depulsi, ad Anglorum regem accessio.[4] Et tam Stephanidæ primo,[5] quam postea quoque[5] Ricardi comitis in Hiberniam transfretatio. A.D. 1166–1170.

Apud Powisensem provinciam, nobilis Albi monasterii expeditio. Et ejusdem, non absque damnosa obsidum demembratione, et hostium quamplurium interemptione, exuberante pluvialium aquarum inundatione, indemnis reversio. A.D. 1165.

Martyrium Thomæ. A.D. 1170.

Crebra miraculorum coruscatio.

Nobilissimi viri, et utraque simul tam genii quam ingenii, tam animi[6] quam atavi nobilitate prædITI, et regia stirpe præclari, Henrici Guintoniensis episcopi, apud Guintoniam felici fine[7] decessio. A.D. 1171.

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1 *factus*] R. B.; factus est, T. Cl., &c. Not in L. at all.

2 *ducis*] L. Cl., &c.; regis, R. B.

3 After *Henrici* is added "regis," in L. only.

4 *accessio*] L. R. B., *De Instr. Princ.* Not in T. Cl., &c.

5 *primo* and *postea quoque*] Not in L. In all the other MSS.

6 *animi*] L. R. B. Cl., &c.; avi, T. (but by alteration from "animi"). It is also a various reading in margin of Camden.

7 *felici fine*] L. R. B. Cl., &c.; felix, T. Hb., Camden; felici, by itself, Rb.

A.D. 1171. Regis in Hiberniam excursus.

Notable events. Conspiratio tam procerum in principem, quam filiorum in parentem.

Duorum cardinalium in Normanniam adventus, ut de martyris morte scrutinium facerent.

A.D. 1172. Regis reversio, et tam subita ab Hibernia in Kambriam, a Kambria in Loegriam, a Loegria in Normanniam transvolatio. Et repentina tam cardinalium quam Francorum regis complacatio.

A.D. 1173. Prima regis junioris, cum duobus fratribus suis, in Franciam a patre discessio.

Belli biennalis et plusquam civilis inaudita regis et inopinata tam de hostibus victoria, quam de victis misericordia. Sicut in fine prioris libri, ante regis descriptionem, de captis tam Cestriæ comite quam Leicestriæ,[1] necnon[2] et Albaniæ rege, dilucida brevitate declaravimus.

Supra, p. 300.

Huguntionis Petri Leonis, tituli sancti Angeli cardi-
A.D. 1176. nalis, in Angliam transmissi legatio. Sub quo concilium totius Angliæ cleri Londoniis convocatum, propter contentionem inter archiepiscopos ibidem obortam, Ricardum scilicet Cantuariensem et[3] Rogerium Eboracensem, de primatiæ dignitate, et prima cathedrarum sede, allegatis demum hinc inde tam pugnis quam baculis et virgis, aborsum fecit.

A.D. 1176. Nuncii Guillelmi regis Siculi, tam episcopus scilicet Capuanus, quam Daiferus electus Troianus, necnon et comes Florius, propter Johannam regis filiam juniorem suo principi copulandam, advenere.

A.D. 1177. Nuncii regum Hispaniæ, Castellæ scilicet et Navariæ, qui super terris quibusdam et castellis, unde inter ipsos magna fuerat[1] orta contentio, se Anglorum regis arbitrio standos firmiter compromiserant, in Angliam vene-

[1] *Leicestriæ*] R. B. Cl., &c.; Leirecestriæ, L.

[2] *necnon*] R. B. T. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[3] *et*] R. B. T. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[1] *fuerat*] L. R. B. Cl., &c.; fuit, T., Camden.

runt. Unde et rex, convocatis in urbe Londoniensi jurisperitis et sapientibus regni totius ordinis utriusque viris, quoniam causarum merita partium assertione panduntur, auditis hinc inde utriusque partis allegationibus, ab advocatis et causarum patronis utrinque peroptimis; quorum unus tamen inter alios famosissimus, Petrus scilicet Kardonensis, qui ex parte Navariæ principis venerat, mira eloquentia longe præpolluit; rex sapienti fretus consilio, media statuens incedere via, litem dirimere transactione curavit, ut aliquo dato, aliquove retento, jactura neuter læderetur enormi; sed 69. sicut ab utroque fuerat judex electus, sic de utriusque, si fieri posset, factus indemnitate solicitus. Igitur, transactione formata, et in scriptum redacta, ad cautelam princeps judiciale quoque scripsit examen: ut si forte pars alterutra transactioni stare recusaret, demum diffinitiva lis sententia dirimeretur.

A.D. 1177. Notable events.

Adventus Lodovici Francorum regis in Angliam. A.D. 1179. Qui Cantuariam peregre profectus, martyris egregii, quem in vita suffragiis, exilii tempore, tanta diligentia sustentaverat, ejusdem in morte suffragia devote postulaturus accessit. Et scypho aureo, tam artis quam materiæ majestate non infimo, in loco ubi sacrum corpus reconditum fuerat, decenter oblato, cum ad martyris tumbam prostratus aliquamdiu[1] declinasset, et in dextro lateralis marmoreique lapidis foramine aptum coronæ caput diutius apposuisset, demum ab oratione resurgens, ut peregrinationis suæ memoriam perpetua largitione muniret, astantibus Anglorum rege et Flandrensium comite, necnon et loci ejusdem tam archipræsule, quam conventus priore, cum aliis viris magnis, Cantuariensi cœnobio centum vini modios annuatim impendit.

Merlinus Celidonius.

Tunc[2] impletum est illud Merlini Celidonii vaticinium; "Venient oratores ab

[1] *aliquamdiu*] L. R. B., *De Instr. Princ.*; aliquantulum, T. Cl., &c.

[2] This prophecy in L. R. B. T. Not in Cl., &c.

A.D. 1179. Notable events. "oriente, et terrarum tam principes quam primates "in occiduis oceani finibus novi vestigia martyris "adorabunt."

A.D. 1183. Secunda discessio regis Henrici tertii, et comitis Gaufridi. Et mors inopinata regis junioris apud Marthellum.[1]

A.D. 1184. Adventus Coloniensis archiepiscopi Godefridi, cum Philippo Flandrensium comite, Cantuariam peregre profecti.

A.D. 1186. Mors comitis Gaufridi.

A.D. 1185. Adventus Eraclii patriarchæ. Et prima Johannis filii regis in Hiberniam transfretatio.

Hæc igitur fere omnia, sicut per ordinem sunt hic disposita, sic non longis ab invicem temporum interstitiis, nostris diebus acciderunt, et annorum spatio quasi triginta trium.[2]

Giraldus's reflections thereon. O quam feliciter successisse probaverim, si ille, cujus ad gloriam hæc propemodum cuncta contigerant, quem adeo quasi blandiendo in singulis fortuna, si quid tamen fortuna est, in tot articulis tam fortunate provexit, vitæ temporalis comœdiam felici fine compleverit; et duplicata, immo multiplicata favoris gratia, a tanta terrestri gloria transire valuerit ad æternam.

Hoc autem facile[3] fieri potuisse crediderim, si ad nobilem illam Christi citationem,[4] qui quasi pro tantis gratiæ suæ muneribus in terra collatis[5] remunerari petiit [et][6] in terris, citra lapsus omnes [et dilationes][6] statim obtemperando, se promptum ac devotum ostendisset.

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[1] *Marthellum*] R. T. Cl., &c.; Marchellum, B.; Martellum, L.

[2] *triginta trium*] L. R. (by alteration), T., &c.; triginta, B., and R. originally. After this is added, in T., but in no MS. of the *Expugnatio*, "Quibus expletis, per quatuor an- "nos et dimidium subsequentes, nec "plures, rex Henricus secundus "vitam produxit."

[3] *facile*] R. B. T. Cl., &c.; perfacile, L., *De Instr. Princ.*

[4] *citationem*] L. R. B. (R. having "vel voca" interlined over "cita"); vocationem, T. Cl., &c.

[5] *in terra collatis*] Not in L. B. In margin of R. In text of T. Cl., &c.

[6] *et* and *et dilationes*] Not in L. R. B. In T. Cl., &c.

Et qui [1] per sex lustra mundo tam gloriose regnaverat, septimum saltem id videlicet tantillum temporis, vel si amplius forte indultum fuerit residuum totum Deo dicando Christo regnasset; totique Christianitati, in laudem et gloriam utramque, tam terrenam quam æternam, feliciter militasset. Res etenim regiæ semper hactenus, ad gloriæ cumulum, continuo in [2] incremento stetere: [3] abhinc autem, variata sorte, paulatim retro sublapsæ, multa præter solitum detrimenti damna sensere. Notable events.

Spectandum quippe est viro prudenti, quia fortunæ favor instabilis, et rota volubilis. Cujus experientiam [4] virentis ætatis viri perpauci, longævi vero temporis vix ullus evadit. Quid enim magni [5] gloriam extinxit, qui tot in orbe triumphis excelluerat, tantam in urbe præcellentiam [6] obtinuerat, nisi, quod annorum accidit antiquitate, ut ipsum qui summos olim dignitatis gradus 69 b. ascenderat, quos nec ultra sublimari, nec in illis [7] diutius stare permissum fuerat, ab alto necesse fuit [8] ad ima corruere? Unde post tantam dictatoris et optimi civis eminentiam, post multas et crebras varia de gente victorias, tanquam fastidiente jam desertus a fortuna, tam occidentali tandem quam orientali depulsus [9] imperio, vir olim victoriosus postmodum ignominiose victus occubuit.

Et e diverso. [Unde Lucanus poeta;

"O faciles dare summa Deos, eademque tueri Pharsal. i. 511.
"Difficiles."] [10]

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[1] *Et qui . . militasset*] Not in L. B. In margin of R. In text of T. Cl., &c.

[2] *in*] Not in R. B. Cl. In L. Hb., &c.

[3] *stetere*] R. B. T. Cl., &c.; steterunt, L.

[4] *experientiam* is at the end of the sentence, after *evadit*, in L. only.

[5] Camden has "Pompeii" before *magni*. It is in no MS., and not in *De Instr. Princ.*

[6] *præcellentiam*] L. R. B., *De Instr. Princ.*; excellentiam, T. Cl., &c.

[7] *illis*] L. R. B., *De Instr. Princ.*; ipsis, T. Cl., &c.

[8] *fuit*] R. B. T. Cl., &c.; fuerat, L., *De Instr. Princ.*, Camden.

[9] *depulsus*] L. R. B. Cl., *De Instr. Princ.*; demum pulsus, T. Hb., &c.

[10] This quotation not in L. R. B. T., *De Instr. Princ.* In Cl. Hb., &c.

Quid Julio, quid Macedoni Alexandro, tam amplis laudum titulis gloriam in ævum accumulavit, nisi quod in axis culmine, nisi quod in arce victoriæ jam constitutus, fortunæ malitiam, volubilemque descensum, maturata morte prævenit uterque?

Spectandum quoque est, et semper in animo principi fixum habendum, quoniam clemens ille Plasmator omnium et Gubernator, quanquam longanimis sit expectator, puta peccantium plus conversionem appetens quam eversionem, tamen sicut conversis et correctis pius indultor, sic perversis et pertinacibus, in terris plerumque pœnam inchoans, gravis est ultor et punitor.

His autem occasionaliter hic interpositis, ad historiæ seriem revertamur.

[Cap. XXXII.]

A.D. 1185.

Johannis filii regis in Hiberniam excursus.[1]

John's expedition into Ireland.

Præparatis igitur et expeditis ad tantam expeditionem, patris opera, necessariis, Johannes, Anglorum regis filius natu junior, translato in ipsum Hibernici regni dominio, sequente quadragesimali tempore, per maritimam australis Kambriæ viam ad Meneviæ partes tendens, et Penbrochiam veniens; virum quoque magnificum Ranulphum Glanvillensem, principalem et præcipuum regis ac regni tunc consiliarium, [et Angliæ totius justitiarium,][2] usque in navem ipsam conviatorem habens; quarto Paschali die, euro ad vota spirante, pulcherrimam in Milverdico portu constitutam classem ingreditur; ob præmaturum[3] auræ favorem, venerabili Menevensi ecclesia, omine sinistro, prætermissa.

He sails from Milford Haven, Wednesday, April 24, 1185.

Lands the next day at Waterford.

Vespere vero se freto committens, circa meridiem mane, transmenso[4] maris spatio, cum militibus quasi

[1] *excursus*] R. B. Cl. Hb. Rb.; transcursus, L. Ra.

[2] *et Angl. totius justitiarium*] Not in L. R. B. Ha. In Cl., &c.

[3] *præmaturam*, L.

[4] After *transmenso* is added "ab "insula in insulam," in L. It is in no other MS.

trecentis, arcariis[1] quoque et sagittariis multis, apud Waterfordiam applicuit. A.D. 1185.

Tunc[2] impleta sunt illa Merlini Silvestris vaticinia. Præmissis[3] namque de patre; "Igneus ab "euro globus ascendet, qui Herimoniam in "circuitu devorabit;" "Ad ejus lucernam aves insulæ "convolabunt, &c.," ut supra; subsequenter de filio subjungit; "Ex hoc igne scintilla nascetur, cujus insulani "formidine contremiscent;" "Major præsente videbitur "absens. Potiorque fiet primo secundus excursus."

Merlinus Celidonius.

Prophecies of Merlin of Celidon.

Supra, pp. 276, 279.

Applicuit ergo[4] anno ætatis suæ duo de vicesimo,[5] ab adventu patris in insulam decimo tertio, ab adventu comitis decimo quarto, ab adventu Stephanidæ decimo quinto, ab incarnatione vero Domini M°C°LXXX°V°:[6] præsidente Romæ Lucio, Alexandri tertii successore, imperante Fretherico, regnante jam[7] in Francia Philippo Lodovici filio.

Dates of John's advent in Ireland.

Transmissi sunt cum ipso, et eodem navigio, clerici plures: quorum unus, specialius a patre cum filio directus, naturalis historiæ diligens perscrutator, per biennium in insula tunc et ante[8] moram faciens, tanquam pretium laboris et præmium, tam *Libri Vaticinalis* quam *Topographiæ* secum materiam reportavit. Quam et in Britannia postmodum, inter ipsas tamen curiæ curas, quinquennali[9] studio digerens et disponens, *Topo-*

Many clerks with him. One, specially sent by his father, a diligent student of natural history, the author of this book, &c. 70.

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[1] *arcariis*] L. R. B.; satellitibus, Cl.; satellitibus equestribus, Ha. Hb., &c.

[2] These prophecies in L. R. B. Ha., and Hooker. Not in Cl., &c. Ra. has the commencement, *præmisso . . patre.*

[3] *Præmissis*] L. B. Ha.; præmisso, R. Ra.

[4] This section in L. R. B. Ha. and Hooker. Not in Cl., &c.

[5] *duo de vicesimo*] Hooker has, "of the age of 12 years." Probably "duodecimo" was the reading of the MS. from which he translated. John was born in December 1166. Therefore, in April 1185, he was in 19th year of his age. The succeeding numbers, 13th, 14th, 15th, are all in like manner one short.

[6] *lxxx°v°.*] R. B. Ha.; lxxx°iiii°., L.

[7] *jam*] R. B. Not in L.

[8] This former visit in the spring of 1183, *supra*, p. 351.

[9] *quinquennali*] Giraldus left Ireland, he says, between Easter and Whitsuntide 1186. *De Rebus, &c.*, *II.*, 16 (vol. i. p. 72). Easter 1186 fell on April 13. The dedication of

graphiam triennio, *Vaticinalem historiam* biennii labore complevit: posteris lectionem, præsentibus livorem, illis delectationem, istis detractionem, illis beneficium, istis odium præstans.

[Cap. XXXIII.]

Tam Stephanidæ quam comitis, necnon et regis, tam commendatio quam excusatio.

Fitz-Stephen.

Stephanides itaque comiti, comes regi, rex filio[1] Johanni dux et prævius, viam præbuit et ducatum.

Multum ergo contulit, qui ausu nobili principium dedit.

Earl Richard.

Multum, qui quasi medium nectens, laudabili principio augmentum dedit.

Henry II.

Longe plus aliis, qui toti negotio consummationem simul et auctoritatem adhibuit.

Fitz-Stephen and the earl no robbers as to Leinster.

Hic autem mihi notandum videtur, quod Stephanides et comes Dermitium, ille fidelitatis, iste filiæ ratione, juste restituentes, ejusdem jure suffulti, a prædonum injuria, quoad Lageniam, longe distare noscuntur.

As to Waterford, Desmond, and Meath, the earl not unblameable.

Quoad Waterfordiam vero,[2] et tam Desmoniæ, quam etiam Mediæ[3] partes, insolenter occupatas, comitem non excuso.

King Henry's right

Comes autem quintæ portionis insulæ, quæ ipsum conjugis ex parte contingebat, in Anglorum regem jus et dominium plene transfudit. Residui vero principes ejusdem[4] se statim sponte subdentes, eidem

the *Expugnatio* to Richard earl of Poitou, proves that it was published before Henry II.'s death, July 6, 1189. So these five years of Giraldus can have been, at the very outside, little more than three years. In *De Rebus, &c., II.*, 16, however, he says that he had begun writing the *Topographia* before he left Ireland. But even then his five years cannot well be a full four years.

[1] *filio*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; filio suo, L.

[2] *vero*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; enim, L.

[3] *etiam Mediæ*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; et Thuethmoniæ necnon et Mediæ, L.

[4] *ejusdem*] L. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; eidem, R., Camden.

jus irrefragabile contulerunt. Unde et prætermissis prius assignatis, tam novis quibusdam quam antiquis, ex his etiam liquido pateat Anglorum[1] gentem non tanta injuria insulam intrasse, quantam somniant imperiti.

to Ireland irrefragable.

[Cap. XXXIV.]

De mora et impedimentis plenæ perfectæque conquisitionis.

Felix igitur hæc insula, et de fine in finem fortiter olim ac feliciter subacta, castrorumque municipiis, a mari usque in[2] mare locis idoneis undique constructis, in formam simul et normam absque difficultate redacta, si non primis præcursorum adventibus regio fuisset edicto præcisa sequela; vel potius, animosum regis ipsius excursum si ab ausu nobili tam præmature intestina conspiratio non revocasset.

The island would have been happily subdued, if the first invaders had not been checked. Or if Henry had not been recalled.

Felix quoque, si vel digne pensatis virtutum meritis, viris ab initio virtuosis et validis cura regiminis, et rerum tradita summa fuisset.

Gens etenim, quæ in primis nostrorum adventibus, tantæ novitatis eventu stupida fuerat et consternata, subitaque sagittarum vulnera, et armatæ militiæ robur vehementer exhorrens, per moram, quæ periculum ad se trahere solet, per longam et languidam expugnationis dilationem, per procuratorum et præsidum, de quibus securitas et nulla strenuitas, tam ignorantiam quam ignaviam, usu pariter et exercitio sagittis et armis paulatim edocta et assueta, necnon et martiis tam insidiis quam cautelis, per mutuos et crebros cum nostris belli conflictus, et successus plurimos instructa,

The Irish, having recovered from their first consternation, were become more capable of resisting the English.

[1] After *Anglorum* Camden adds "regem et." It is in no MS.

[2] *usque in*] R. B. Ha. Hb. Rb.: usque ad, Cl. Ra.; in (alone), L.

quæ de facili primo[1] confundi poterat, fortior[2] ad resistendum est effecta.

Quippe lege libros Regum, lege Prophetas, totam percurre Veteris Testamenti seriem; familiaria quoque respice nostri temporis, nostrorumque finium exempla; nunquam invenies gentem aliquam nisi peccatis exigentibus expugnatam.

Aut igitur gens Hibernica, quæ, delictis urgentibus
70 b. et spurcitiis, advenarum incursibus meruit expugnatione turbari, nondum tamen implacabiliter[3] offenso Judice supremo,[4] vel omnino subjici meruit vel deleri. Aut Anglorum populus gentis ex parte subactæ, et servire paratæ, nondum plenæ subjectionis imperium, et tranquillæ servitutis[5] obsequium, potuit ex meritis obtinere.

Igitur[6] in bellici certaminis exercitio, divina forte vindicta, populo diutius utroque statuto,[7] adeo neuter ex toto vel meruisse gratiam vel demeruisse videtur, ut nec ille ad plenum victor in Palladis hactenus arcem victoriosus ascenderit, nec iste victus omnino plenæ servitutis jugo colla submiserit.

The four prophets of Ireland.

Cum enim quatuor Hibernici prophetas habeant,[8]

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[1] *primo*] L. R. B. Ha.; in primis, Cl. Hb., &c.

[2] *fortior*] R. B. Ha.; resumptis animis et viribus jam fortior, L.; processu temporis fortior, Cl. Hb. Rb. The passage in Ra. is corrupt.

[3] *implacabiliter*] L. R. B. Ha. Not in Cl., &c.

[4] *supremo*] L. R. B. Ha. Cl. Ra.; summo, Hb. Rb.

[5] *servitutis*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; securitatis, L.

[6] After *Igitur* is added, "quoniam "vexatio dabit intellectum," in L. only.

[7] *statuto*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; constituto, L.

[8] *habeant*] L. R. B. Ha.; habere dicantur, Cl., &c. Of these four prophets, Melingus, St. Moling, has been already mentioned. *Supra*, p. 254, n. 4. By Braccanus is no doubt meant St. Berchan, of Cluain-Sosta, now Clonsost in King's County. In the *Martyrology of Donegal*, under Dec. 4, he is commemorated as "Bearchan, bishop and "apostle of God, of Cluain-Sosta in "Ui-Failghe." He flourished, it is supposed, about A.D. 690. As to his reputed prophecies, see Professor Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History*, p. 412, &c.

Melingum, Braccanum, Patricium, et Kolumkillum,[1] quorum etiam apud illos libri adhuc exstant Hibernice scripti, de hac expugnatione loquentes, omnes testantur eam crebris conflictibus, longoque certamine, multa in posterum tempora multis cædibus fœdaturam. Sed vix parum ante diem judicii plenam Anglorum populo victoriam compromittunt; insula Hibernica, de mari usque ad mare, ex toto subacta et incastellata. Et quanquam Anglorum populum antea pluries bellici discriminis in insula vices experiendo turbari contingat et debilitari; sicut Braccani testimonio, per quemdam regem, de desertis Patricii montibus venturum, et nocte Dominica castrum quoddam in nemorosis Ophelaniæ partibus irrupturum, omnes fere Anglici ab Hibernia turbabuntur; eorundem tamen assertione, orientalia insulæ maritima continue semper obtinebit.

According to whom, scarcely before the Day of Judgment is Ireland to be wholly subdued by the English.

St. Patrick's prophecies seem to be unknown in Irish traditions. At least there is no mention of any in O'Curry's *Lectures*, who describes, at considerable length, all the known early prophecies. Mr. Hardy, however, in the *Descriptive Catalogue, &c.*, i. 70, cites a "Prophetia S. pa- "tris Patricii de Dublinia," in a 14th century MS. at Lambeth. In the *Martyrology of Donegal*, under St. Berchan, Dec. 4, is preserved a quatrain commemorating the four Irish prophets, which agrees with Giraldus as to the three others, but has St. Breannain of Biorra (Birr, in King's County) instead of St. Patrick:

"The four prophets of the fine
"Gaels,
"Better of it the country whence
"they came,
"Colum Cille, Moling the perfect,
"Brenainn of Biorr, and Ber-
"chan."

Kolumkillus is Colum Cille of Irish writers; St. Columba of Bede, and generally of all writers since not Irish. Giraldus calls him Columba in the next chapter, and in ii. 17 *supra*, p. 341. As to the prophecies ascribed to him, see O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 399, &c.

O'Curry denounces the prophecies attributed in Irish tradition to these and other early Irish saints, as indubitable forgeries after the events pretended to be predicted. He further denounces the prophecies here cited by Giraldus, with those of St. Columba in ii. 17 *supra*, as not to be found in the reputed Irish prophecies, and no doubt mere forgeries of the Englsh invaders: p. 433.

[1] *Kolumkillum*] R. B. Ha., &c.; Kolokillum, L.

[Cap. XXXV.]

Brevis gestorum[1] *recapitulatio.*

Brief recapitulation of events. A.D. 1185. Castles built.

De trium itaque castrorum in primo statim Johannis adventu constructione; primi videlicet apud Tibracciam, secundi apud Archphinan,[2] tertii apud Lismoriam:

De trium quoque nobilium adolescentium, fatis adversis et aversis, interemptione; Roberti Barrensis apud Lismoriam, Reimundi Hugonidæ apud Olethan,[3] Reimundi Kantitunensis[4] apud Ossiriam:[5]

De parte quadam Archphinensis familiæ, in silva Archphinensi, a Limericensium principe, natali Baptistæ die confecta; et quatuor militibus non citra tutelam militarem interemptis:

De Limericensibus quoque eodem die coram Tibraccia confectis; et nobilis Hibernici viri, scilicet Oggravi,[6] cum aliis multis, interemptione:

De Archphinensibus iterum in prædæ captione versus Limericum confectis, et xix.[7] militibus interfectis:

A.D. 1185. Death of Dermot, king of Desmond.

De principe[8] Desmoniæ Dermitio Macarthi, cum aliis non paucis, in colloquio prope Corcagiam, a Corcagiensibus et Theobaldi Gualteri familia ferro peremptis:

De Keneleonensibus,[9] cum eorum principe, in Mediæ

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[1] The events related in this chapter probably all occurred in 1185, or in the early part of 1186. But I am able to fix the dates of only three or four of them.

[2] The castles at Tibraghny and Ardfinan are mentioned by the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1185, as built by John. They have no mention of the third castle at Lismore.

[3] *Olethan*] R. B. Ha., &c.; Othelan, L.

[4] *Kantitunensis*] B. Cl.; Cantitunensis, R.; Katitunensis, L.

[5] *Ossiriam*] L. R. B. Ha.; Ossory, Hooker; Odronam, Cl. Hb., &c.

[6] *Oggravi*] R. B. Cl. Hb.; Ogravi, L.; Oggracii, Ha.

[7] *xix.*] R. B. Ha. Cl. Hb.; xxx. L. Ra.

[8] The *Four Masters* say, under A.D. 1185, "Dermot Mac Carthy, "lord of Desmond, was slain by "the English of Cork."

[9] *Keneleonensibus*] R. B. Ha. Cl.; Keneleolensibus, L.

finibus, quos nimis insolenter invaserant, a Medensium viris, præsidente Guillelmo Modico, gladio sublatis; et centum capitibus Dubliniam transmissis:

De nobilis thesauri, trium videlicet corporum Patricii, Brigidæ, Columbæ,[1] apud urbem Dunensem inventione; et eorundem, procurante Johanne de Curci, translatione: A.D. 1185. *Supra*, p. 163.

De Hugonis de Laci,[2] a securibus male securi, dolo Hiberniensium suorum apud Deruach[3] decapitatione: A.D. 1186. Death of Hugh de Laci.

De tredecim nobilium militum, in reditu a Connaccia, sub Johanne de Curci interemptione: 71

De juvenis egregii Rogeri Poerii dolosa plurimum et dolenda, cum suorum multis, apud Ossiriam interemptione; et ejusdem casus occasione, clandestina quoque totius Hibernici populi in Anglos conjuratione; destructis castris[4] pluribus, gravi insulæ universæ per-

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[1] *Columbæ*] R. B. Cl., &c.; Kolumbæ, L. IIa.

[2] Hugh de Laci's death is thus related by the *Four Masters*, under A.D. 1186: "Hugh de Laci, the "profaner and destroyer of many "churches, lord of the English of "Meath, Breifny, and Oriel, he to "whom the tribute of Connaught "was paid, he who had conquered "the greater part of Ireland for the "English, and of whose English "castles all Meath, from the Shan- "non to the sea, was full, after "having finished the castle of "Durrow, set out with three Eng- "lishmen to view it. One of the "men of Teffia, a youth named "Giolla-gan-ionathar o Miadhaigh, "approached him, and drawing "out an axe, which he had kept "concealed, he with one blow "severed his head from his body; "and both head and trunk fell into "the ditch of the castle. This was "in revenge of Columbkille."

De Laci's death is mentioned by Hoveden under 1186 (360). Diceto (626) says it took place on the 25th of July; but he wrongly places it under A.D. 1185. He says: "In "Hibernia Hugo de Laci, dominus "provinciæ quæ Media vocatur, "interfectus est a Malua Miadaich, "infimæ manus homine, 8 kal. "Augusti." See Note (*a*) to *Four Masters*, A°. 1186.

[3] *Deruach*] So certainly in L. R. B. In some of the later manuscripts it may perhaps be *Dernach*, as in Camden. Ussher says that in the manuscripts he consulted it was never *Dernach*, but *Dervach*, or *Dermach*: Note (*z*) to *Four Masters*, A°. 1186.

[4] After *castris* is added "etiam," in L. only.

turbatione:—non indigna memoratu singula, translato in filium regis jam regni dominio, sua suorumque gesta suis assignando scriptoribus, ad ulteriora simul et utiliora festinamus.

Qualiter autem, et quibus ex causis, primus hic filii regis[1] labor ad vota non[2] profecerit, tantoque conatui fortuna condigne non responderit, paucis absolvere non inutile reputavi. Ut finalis hæc adjectio, quanquam de præterito non medela, fiat tamen vel de futuro cautela.

[Cap. XXXVI.]

Sinistri casus occasiones.[3]

A.D. 1185. Causes of John's failure. 1st, That he was sent against the

Primam itaque causarum omnium dixerim et præcipuam, quod cum rex pater, ad tantam vocationem, per patriarcham ut dictum est jam[4] factam, in propria statim persona profectus fuisse, vel saltem aliquem filiorum pro se in Christi obsequium[5] prompta devotione

[1] *filii regis*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[2] *non*] L. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in R. B. John's miserable doings in Ireland are thus described by the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1185: "The "son of the king of England, *i.e.*, "John, son of Henry II., came to "Ireland with a fleet of sixty ships. "He took possession of Dublin and "Leinster, and erected castles at "Tiobraid Fachtna and Ardfinan, "out of which he plundered Munster. But his people were de"feated with great slaughter by "Donnell O'Brien. The son of the "king then returned to England, to "complain of Hugh de Laci, who "had prevented the Irish kings "from sending him either tribute "or hostages."

Diceto merely mentions his crossing over into Ireland (626), and his return to England Dec. 17 (629).

Hoveden says: "Quia ipse omnia "proprio suo inclusit marsupio, "nolens solidariis suis stipendia "sua solvere, maximam exercitus "sui partem in conflictibus pluribus "contra Hibernenses factis amisit. "Et tandem, ad inopiam redactus, "constitutis tamen justitiariis et "militibus suis per loca, ad terram "illam custodiendam, rediit in An"gliam:" (359).

[3] No heading in L., but new chapter indicated by initial letter.

[4] *jam*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[5] *obsequium*] L. B. Ha. Hb., &c.; obsequiis, R. Cl.

misisse debuisset, eodem tantæ citationis tempore, et in ipsa quoque tanti legati, tantique præconis præsentia, hunc filium suum non in orientem sed in occidentem, non in Saracenos sed in Christianos, quæ sua sunt quærentem non quæ Jesu Christi, sumptuosa magis quam utili expeditione transmisit.

A.D. 1185

Christian Irish, instead of the heathen Saracens.

In ipso igitur adventu filii regis in insulam, occurrerunt ei apud Waterfordiam Hibernici de partibus illis viri non infimi, fideles hactenus Anglis et pacifici, tanquam domino congratulantes, et eum in osculo pacis suscipientes. Qui statim a novis nostris et Normannis in despectum et derisum habiti; per barbas quoque, quas more patriæ grandes habuerant[1] et prolixas, quidam ex ipsis minus decenter sunt tractati. Illi vero quamtocius, in suam recepti libertatem, cum suis omnibus se longe retrahentes, et ad regem Limericensium se transferentes, tam ipsi quam Corcagiensium principi, necnon et Rotherico Connactensi, quæ apud regis filium invenerant cuncta per ordinem propalarunt; adolescentulum ipsum, solum adolescentium agmine stipatum; juvenculum ipsum, solum juvenili consilio datum; nullam prorsus maturitatem, nullam ibi stabilitatem, nullam Hibernicis securitatem promittentes.

2nd, The insolent treatment of the Irish allies, on his first landing.

Their beards pulled.

They go over at once to the hostile princes;

Quibus auditis, tres principales tunc temporis Hiberniæ postes, Limericensis, Connactensis, et Corgagiensis, qui filium regis adire, eique subjectionem profitendo se debitæ subjectionis nodis astringere jam parati fuerant, minoribus ex malis majora futura conjectantes, et cum bonis et pacificis hæc acciderint viris, quid in superbos atque rebelles statuendum fuerit secum disputantes, ad resistendum potius, et antiquæ libertatis sub capitum discrimine jura tuendum, unanimi voto conspirant. Et ut hunc plenius affectum perducere valeant ad effectum, junctis undique fœderibus, de novo fiunt amici, qui antea fuerant inimici.

and prevent the three pillars of Ireland, the kings of Limerick, Connaught, and Cork, from coming to do fealty to John.

[1] *habuerant*] L. R. B. Ha.; habebant, Cl. Hb., &c.

A.D. 1185. Quod scimus, loquimur; quod vidimus, testamur.
71 b. Quia primos a nobis insolenter repulimus, quoniam frangit Deus omne superbum, tam illos quam majores universos eo exemplo procul absterruimus.

Gens etenim hæc, sicut et natio barbara quævis, quanquam honorem nesciant, honorari tamen supra modum affectant. Et quanquam falsitatis argui nec verecundentur nec vereantur, falsarios tamen aspernando et veridicos approbando, bonum quod in aliis diligunt minus in se reperiri non erubescunt.

Quantum[1] vero mali ex insolentia proveniat, exemplo quoque Roboam filii Salomonis sapiens intelligat; et per alieni exemplar incommodi, fugienda declinet. Qui quoniam, juvenum consilio, populo suo juveniliter respondit, dicens "Digitus meus grossior est quam "spina dorsi patris mei; et si ipse vos cecidit virgis, "ego vos cædam scorpionibus," decem tribus Hieroboam adhærentes a se repulit; et easdem, facto in populo schismate, irrevocabiliter amisit.

3 Reg. xii. 10, 11.

3rd, The taking away their lands from the Irish allies.

Ad hæc etiam terras Hiberniensium nostrorum, qui a primis tam Stephanidæ quam comitis adventibus nobiscum fideliter steterant, novis nostris contra promissa contulimus. Qui statim ad hostes se transferendo, exploratores in nos, et, vice versa, viæ duces sunt effecti; tanto quidem ad nocendum efficaciores, quanto prius fuerant familiariores.

4th, The placing the custody of the maritime cities and castles,

Urbium quoque maritimarum et castrorum custodia, cum terris adjacentibus et tributis, quæ in publica regni commoda et hostium gravamina dispensari debuerant, talibus est assignata, qui aurum assidue intra muros aucupantes, jugi crapulæ temulentiæque dati, cum civium, non hostium damno, cuncta inutiliter consumebant.

5th, and the rule of

Accessit et aliud inter incommoda; quod in ipso

[1] *Quantum . . amisit*] This section not in L. B. In margin of R. In text of Ha. Cl., &c.

filii regis adventu, statim in terra hostili et martia, terra rebelli et aspera, terra nondum servire parata, curam[1] regiminis, cum militiæ principatu, viri suscepere plus Mercurii quam Martis habentes, plus togatæ militiæ quam armatæ, plus in cives explorationis, quam in hostes expugnationis. Viri, inquam, et marchiones, Aldelini filio persimiles; sub quo, Kambria simul et Hibernia, utrique præsidente, destrui doluit et deleri; viri quippe, qui se nec subditis fideles, nec hostibus formidabiles exhibentes, illud nobilis animi proprium nec noverant, nec innatum habuerant,

A.D. 1185. the country generally, in very unfit hands.

"Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos;"

Virg. Æn. vi. 854.

sed potius, e contra,

"Hostibus illæsis, semper spoliare subactos."

Unde accidit ut nec hostilis patriæ deprædatione, nec crebra castrorum constructione, nec silvestrium semitarum, quas vulgariter malos passus vocant, confractis arboribus et distractis, ad commeantium securitatem, ampliatione, statum firmiorem insula susceperit.

Stipendiaria quippe familia, suos imitata magistros, suisque[2] majoribus morem gerens, vino venerique data, maritimis in urbibus moram assidue faciebat; terris penitimis, hostique propinquioribus, quæ marchiæ dicuntur, seu potius a Marte martiæ dici possent, omnino destitutis; et tam vicis quam castris, in medio constitutis, cædibus, incendiis, et citra tutelam omnem deprædationi datis. Antiqua vero militia, novorum ingruente malitia, tanquam vilis et reprobata, latuit interim et siluit; tantæ intemperantiæ, et tempestuosæ procellæ, finales eventus æquanimiter expectando.[3]

The men as bad as their masters.

[1] *curam*] Camden; *cura* in all the MSS. except Ra., which has *circa* instead.

[2] *suisque*] L. R. Ha., &c.; suis, B., Camden.

[3] *expectando*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c., expectans, L.

A.D. 1185.

The lost state of the country.

Interim autem insulæ status hic erat; ubique luctus ubique clamor; omnes viæ factæ sunt inviæ; a securibus nulla securitas; quotidie novi rumores, novam nostræ gentis ruinam nuntiantes. Hæc exterius agebantur: sed solum in urbibus pacis utcunque[1] servari umbra videbatur; Baccho solatium dante, et auro quicquid in extrinsecis[2] delinquebatur deliniente.

Prevalence of law-suits.

72. Præterea, quanquam hostilitatis instante procella, armatæ[3] militiæ tempus ingruerit, non togatæ, tanta tamen civilium causarum urgebat importunitas, ut miles veteranus non tam hoste foris, quam intus foro vexaretur.

Sic itaque nostris ad impugnandum jam pusillanimibus[4] effectis, hostibus autem ad rebellandum audacissimis, sub hac regiminis forma se res habuere, donec, reprobatis iterum novis, tanquam rerum ignaris, ne dicam ignavis, summus princeps antiquos et olim usitatos in insulæ istius expugnatione viros probare disponens, Johanni de Curci summam rerum gerendarum curam commisit.[5] Sub quo in primis tanto regnum ampliore cœpit pace gaudere, quanto Johannes armis et animositate præcellebat: puta qui penitimas terræ partes, tam Corcagiæ scilicet quam Connacciæ fines statim audacter transpenetrando, familiamque desidia torpescere non permittendo, cum creberrimo nunc suorum nunc hostium damno, varias fortunæ vices, et semper incertam bellici certaminis aleam tentare non formidavit. Qui utinam tantum ducis, quantum et militis habens, tam providentiæ ducalis quam audaciæ militaris excellentia prævaluisset.

John de Courci appointed chief governor.

[1] *utcunque*] L. B. Ra.; utrumque, R. Cl. Rb.; utraque, Ha.; utrinque, Hb., Camden.

[2] *in extrinsecis*] R. B.; in extrinsecus, L.; ubique, Ha. Cl., &c., Camden.

[3] *armatæ*] L. Ha. Cl., &c.; amaræ, R. B.

[4] *pusillanimibus*] L.; pusillanimis, R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.

[5] John de Courci's appointment as chief governor dates in September 1185, whilst prince John was still in Ireland. Harris's Ware, *Antiq.*, 90, 102.

Accessit[1] et incommodum omnium majus, quod ecclesiæ Christi, in novo principatu nostro, nihil de novo conferentes, non tantum principali largitione, debitoque dignam honore non judicavimus, quinimmo terris statim sublatis et possessionibus, pristinas eidem dignitates, et antiqua privilegia, vel mutilare contendimus vel abrogare.

A.D. 1185. Robbery of the Irish church.

Cum igitur super universis quæ nobis acciderant mecum non mediocriter anxius extiterim, et[2] præcipue super hac Salvatoris injuria suspiriosæ mihi multoties cogitationes in animum ascenderint, nocte quadam in somnis, ex reliquiis forte cogitationum, visionem vidi; quam et in crastino statim venerabili Dublinensium archipræsuli Johanni, non absque utriusque admiratione, propalavi. Visus sum enim mihi videre filium regis Johannem, in viridi quadam planitie, tanquam ecclesiam fundaturum; cumque metantium more, cespitem undique signando, terræ faciem lineariter aperuisset, fabricam archetypam sensili quodam modo circumponens.

Giraldus has a vision in his sleep

He sees prince John marking out the foundations of a church;

Tandem corporis ecclesiæ signatio posterior aliquantulum capax, presbyterium autem enormiter arctum apparuit et informe: tanquam laicorum in insula partem non modicam, cleri vero minimam, efficere disposuisset. Cumque satis ibidem, ut videbatur, super eidem adjicienda tam amplitudine majore quam forma digniore, frustra tamen disputaverim, ipsa tandem[3] contentionis anxietas experrecto somnum excussit.

with a large nave, and a very small chancel.

Tot igitur excessus et tanti licet utrisque plurimum, plus tamen pravis consiliis, quam puerilibus annis sunt imputandi. Terra quippe rudis adhuc, et prorsus in-

[1] *Accessit, &c.*] This, and the two succeeding sections, down to "somnum excussit," are repeated in the *De Rebus, &c.* (vol. i. p. 63, &c.).

[2] *et*] In R. B. Ha., Cl., &c. Not in L.

[3] *tandem*] R. B. Ha. Cl., &c.; tamen, L.

A.D. 1185. formis, eruditis et maturis ingeniis informanda fuisset. Si enim regio quævis, quanquam statum olim sortita laudabilem,[1] cum puero principe regitur maledicta censetur, quanto magis cum rudis et informis rudi traditur et informando.

Eccles. x. 16.

[Quod[2] autem pravis præcipue consiliariis tanti defectus essent imputandi, murmur quidem erat inter minores, et quasi certum etiam[3] apud majores et discretiores. Quidam enim, qui peramplas regni terras in primis et fertiliores olim habuerant ac fructuosiores, vel in[4] feodum minus provide datas, vel etiam magnis ex partibus occupatas, quique ad singulare forsan regni dominium, propter occupationes regis et suorum nimias, nonnunquam aspiraverant, ut res ad vota non procederet, nec fidem patri debitam, nec filio fidelitatem, fidei sacramentique necnon et hominii[5] vinculo præstitam, et quanquam triplici solvendo tamen ex facili, respicientes, procurasse videbantur.]

[CAP XXXVII.]

Tripartita familia.

The three parties amongst the invaders at this time; viz., the Normans, the

72 b.

Denique tripartita nobis in primis familia fuerat; Normanni, Angli, nostri in Hibernia reperti. In summa familiaritate primos habuimus, in minori medios, in nulla postremos. Primi vino, quo nutriti fuerant, carere non valentes, in remotis marchiis, et castris procul a mari constructis, moram facere modis omni-

[1] *laudabilem*] R. B. Cl., &c.; secundum, L.; vel secundum laudabilem, Ha.

[2] *Quod, &c.*] This section not in L. R. B. Ha. In Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb., Camden.

[3] *etiam*] Cl. Ra.; et, Hb. Rb.

[4] *in*] Cl. Ra. Not in Hb. Rb.

[5] *homini* in the MSS.; homagii, Camden.

bus recusabant: solum filii regis latera stipare, solum filio regis inseparabiliter assistere, procul ab inopia, non procul a copia poni cupientes: verbosi, jactatores, enormium juramentorum auctores, aliorum ex superbia contemptores, in stipendiis et donariis sumendis promptissimi. Denique ad honorem suscipiendum semper primi, ad onus sustinendum semper ultimi sunt reperti.

A.D. 1185. English, and the country-men of Giraldus whom the others found in Ireland.

Quoniam, igitur, antiqua terræ[1] militia, cujus aggressu via nobis in insulam data fuerat, quasi suspecta, quasi repudiata, solum novis consilia communicantes, solum novis fidem habentes, solum novos dignos honore putavimus, effectum est ut illis se retrahentibus, et invitis operas non ingerentibus, in cunctis agendis parum isti profecissent.[2]

The latter treated with suspicion and neglect.

[Cap. XXXVIII.][3]

Qualiter Hibernica gens expugnanda sit.

In qualibet nimirum expeditione, sicut artifici credendum in sua facultate, sic horum præcipue standum est arbitrio, qui, circa similia patriæ negotia conversati diutius et usitati, mores gentis et modos agnoscunt; quorumque magnopere refert, ut gens inimica, qua cum ex crebris belli diutini conflictibus hostilitatem plurimam et odium implacabile contraxerunt, eorundem opera vel debilitari possit vel deleri.

In every expedition the counsel of those ought to be followed, who are best acquainted with the country and manners of the people.

Felices quoque dixerim Kambriæ fines, quos Anglorum gens inhabitat, si rex eorundem in[4] partibus illis gubernandis, et propulsandis inimicæ gentis injuriis, hac olim usus arte fuisset.

Novi vero, quanquam in terra sua milites egregii

The great difference

[1] *terræ*] So all the MSS; insulæ, Camden.

[2] Here Ha. ends.

[3] Much of this chapter is repeated in *Kambriæ Descriptio*, ii. 8.

[4] *in*] R. B. Cl., &c. Not in L.

between French warfare and that of Ireland and Wales.

fuerint, et armis[1] instructissimi, Gallica tamen militia multum ab Hibernica, sicut et a Kambrica distare dinoscitur. Ibi namque plana petuntur, hic aspera; ibi campestria, hic silvestria; ibi arma honori, hic oneri: ibi stabilitate vincitur, hic agilitate; ibi capiuntur milites, hic decapitantur; ibi redimuntur, hic perimuntur.

In these countries light-armed troops more especially necessary.

Sicut igitur ubi militares acies de plano conveniunt, gravis illa et multiplex armatura, tam linea scilicet quam ferrea, milites egregie munit et ornat, sic ubi solum in arcto confligitur, seu loco silvestri seu palustri, ubi pedites potius quam equites locum habent, longe levis armatura præstantior. Contra inermes namque viros, quibus semper in primo fere impetu vel parta est statim vel perdita victoria, expeditiora satis arma sufficiunt; ubi fugitivam et agilem per arcta vel aspera gentem sola necesse est gravi quadam et armata mediocriter agilitate confundi.

Cum illa nimirum armatura multiplici, sellisque recurvis et altis, difficile descenditur, difficilius ascenditur, difficillime, cum opus est, pedibus itur.

In any expedition into Ireland or Wales, the troops of the Welsh Marches by far the best.

In omni igitur expeditione, sive Hibernica sive Kambrica, gens in Kambriæ marchia nutrita, gens hostilibus partium illarum conflictibus exercitata, competentissima; puta, formatis[2] a convictu moribus, audax et expedita; cum alea martis exegerit, nunc equis habilis, nunc pedibus agilis inventa; cibo potuque non delicata, tam Cerere quam Baccho, causis urgentibus, abstinere parata.
73. Talibus Hibernia viris initium habuit expugnationis; talibus quoque[3] consummabilis finem habitura conquisitionis.

[1] *armis*] R. B. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[2] *formatis*] L. R. B. Cl. Ra., *Kamb. Descr.*; fortissimis et formatis, Hb. Rb., Camden.

[3] After *quoque* is "vel nullis" in *Kamb. Descr.*

Ut igitur

"Singula quæque locum teneant sortita decenter," Hor. A. P. 92.

contra graves et armatos, solumque virium robore, et armorum ope confisos, de plano dimicare, victoriamque vi obtinere[1] contendentes, armatis quoque viris et viribus opus hic esse proculdubio protestamur. Contra leves autem et agiles, et aspera petentes, levis armaturæ viri, taliumque præsertim exercitati congressibus, adhibendi.

In Hibernicis autem conflictibus et hoc summopere curandum; ut semper arcarii[2] militaribus turmis mixtim adjiciantur. Quatinus et lapidum, quorum ictibus graves et armatos cominus oppetere solent, et indemnes agilitatis beneficio, crebris accedere vicibus et abscedere, e diverso[3] sagittis injuria propulsetur.

In Irish warfare, archers to be united with the cavalry.

Præterea pars terræ citerior, usque ad Sinneni fluvium, qui tres insulæ partes orientales a quarta et occidentali separat et secernit, crebra castrorum constructione stabiliatur et muniatur. Ulterior vero, quæ Connacciam simul et partem Momoniæ trans Sinnenum, præter urbem Limericensem, quæ modis omnibus expugnanda est iterum et approprianda, annuis auri tributis interim arceatur. Satius enim est, et longe satius, paulatim primo locis idoneis castra conserere, et quasi pedetentim in eorundem constructione procedere, quam intervallis distantia magnis, variis passim locis, multa construere, nec invicem sibi vel cohærentia, vel necessitatis articulis opitulantia.

The three parts of the island, on this side the Shannon, to be well incastellated.

The other part to be won by degrees.

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[1] *obtinere*] R. B. Cl., &c. Not in L.

[2] *arcarii*] L. R. B.; sagittarii, Cl., &c.

[3] After *e diverso* Camden has "eminus." It is in none of the MSS.

[Cap. XXXIX.][1]

Qualiter gubernanda.

The necessity of firm, severe, but moderate rulers.

Gens itaque fidei tenerrrimæ, nec levis[2] minus animo quam corpore, sic expugnanda, sic expugnata moderato regimine gubernanda. Constantis et vindicis animi viris cura committatur: qui et pacis tempore, dum legibus obtemperat, et servire non recusat, ipsam interim stabili conventione deliniat et honore præveniat. Cum autem, innatæ levitatis indicio, a pace resilire præsumpserint, dissimulata prorsus mansuetudine, continuo[3] vitium vindicta sequatur. Cum iterum ad pacem reversi fuerint, condigna delicti satisfactione secuta, quoniam

"Post inimicitias iræ[4] meminisse malorum est,"

quamdiu fideliter steterint, dissimulata prorsus injuria, pristina statim tam securitate gaudeant quam honore. Quatinus tam ad obsequendum, quam ad pacis bóna sequendum, et præmium invitet, et a temerariis ausibus secutura semper pœna deterreat.

Porro, qui ista confundunt, in delictis deferendo, in obsequiis deprimendo, in guerra blandiendo, in pace deprædando, imbelles spoliando, rebelles venerando, sicut plerosque vidimus, hi confusa sub se cuncta reddentes, demum et ipsi confunduntur.

In time of peace, castles to be built, and roads to be improved.

Præterea, quia minus ea lædere solent quæ prævidentur, pacis tempore contra imminentia martis incommoda, tam castrorum constructione, quam silvestrium viarum ampliatione, vir prudens præmuniatur et præparetur. Semper enim insidias sub pacis fuco gens hæc inimica molitur.

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[1] Much of this chapter occurs again in *Kamb. Descr. II.*, 9.

[2] *levis*] L., Camden; leves, R. B. Cl. Hb. Ra. Rb. At the beginning of Cap. 1 of *Kamb. Descr. II.* we have, "Gens igitur hæc gens fidei "tenerrimæ, nec minus animo levis "quam corpore."

[3] *continuo*] R. B. Cl., &c.; continue, L.

[4] *iræ*] R. B. Cl., &c.; iram, L. Rb.

Unde et quoniam expedit alienis in malis fugienda intueri; quippe indemnis est castigatio, quam prædocent exemplaria; insignium virorum exemplo, tam Milonis Coganensis, [et Radulphi[1] juvenis egregii,] quam Hugonis de Laci, necnon et Rogeri Poerii, nunquam a securibus sit ulla securitas. Nam, ut *Topographia* testatur, nationis subdolæ longe fortius timenda est ars quam mars, pax quam fax, mel quam fel, malitia quam militia, proditio quam expeditio, amicitia præfucata quam inimicitia despicata. 73 b. *Supra*, p. 166.

Item, ut ait Evodius, "Ruina præcedentium pos-" teros docet, et cautio est semper in reliquum lapsus " anterior."

The Irish, once fully subjected, to be forbidden the use of arms.

Quoniam igitur[2] abundans in his cautela non nocet, quinimno vix sufficit etiam exquisitissima, statim ut gens hæc plenæ subjectioni colla submiserit, ad modum nationis Siculæ, publico edicto, gravi quoque transgresssionis pœna statuta, ab armorum omnium usu procul arceatur. Interim autem illud detestabile proditionis instrumentum, quod de antiqua, immo iniqua consuetudine, semper in manu quasi pro baculo bajulant, pacis nunquam vel loco vel tempore gestare præsumant.

Meanwhile not to be allowed to bear the axe.

To pay an annual tribute in gold, or birds.

Denique, quoniam Britanniæ reges, prædicto tenore, multiplicato Hibernia jure contingit; et quoniam insulæ istius absque commodis et commerciis, illa nequaquam subsistere potest; non indecens esse videtur, in auro vel avibus, quibus abundat, huic tributariam illam constitui; ut sic in posterum cuncta gravaminis atque discordiæ submoveatur occasio: et quoniam tempora transcurrunt, et ultra gradus omnes linea sanguinis in ævum extenditur, annuo tributo, tanquam perpetuo chirographo, in Britannici perennem tam regni quam regis honorem, expugnationis hujus memoria retineatur.

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[1] *et Rad. juv. egregii*] Not in L. R. B. In Cl., &c.

[2] "Hactenus" after *igitur* in L. only.

Finem hic igitur historiæ ponentes, et tam[1] indolis egregiæ gesta digno coæquanda stilo relinquentes, ad toties promissum Vaticiniorum librum transeamus.

Explicit Liber secundus Vaticinalis[2] Historiæ.

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[1] *et tam, &c. . . transeamus*] L. R. B. Ra. Instead of this, Cl. Hb. Rb., and Camden, have : " dum ea " quæ scimus loquimur, et quæ vi- " dimus fideliter testati sumus, novis " de cetero historicis tam indolis " egregiæ gesta futura, digno co- " æquanda et explicanda stilo, nunc " relinquamus." So also Hooker's translation. In Ra. follows, after " transeamus," without any rubric, the first few lines of the Procemium to king John, *infra*, p. 405.

[2] *Vaticinalis Historiæ*] R. B. de Vaticinali Historia, L.

INCIPIT LIBER[1] TERTIUS DE VATICINIIS.

Quoniam, in prioribus libris, Merlini vaticinia, tam Celidonii quam Ambrosii, locis competentibus, prout res exigebat, inseruimus; Ambrosio vero dudum exposito, nondum Celidonius Britannicam exutus barbariem, usque ad hæc nostra tempora latuit parum agnitus; nostræ videbatur interesse diligentiæ, tam ipsum ab antiquis et occultis scrutabunda inquisitione latebris, ut pulchrius elucescat, in commune deducere, et ab ignorantiæ tenebris in lucem transferre, quam translatum quoque præsenti volumini coaptare. Non indecens enim, non incongruum videri debet, si id, unde auctoritatem et præscientiam, necnon et Vaticinale nomen sortitur historia, id ipsi[2] statim historiæ continuetur; et ut ea quæ carptim[3] et varie, prout ordo tractatus exegerat, dispersa per opus reperiuntur, ea in ejusdem operis continentia, eo quo prolata sunt ordine, loco competenti lector valeat invenire. Plurima tamen quæ vaticinalis ille spiritus, quisquis fuerit et undecunque proveniens, varie deprompsit[4] et disperse, sub certos redacta titulos, prout dicti causa vel

The prophecies of Merlin of Celidon, as yet lying hid in the barbarous garb of the British tongue, Giraldus purposes to translate and bring to light.

[1] *liber*] R. Not in L. B. The preface to the 3rd Book, which follows, is in L. R. B., but in no later MSS. It is in the *Symbolum Electorum*, iv. 8, where it is called "In Vaticinalem Historiam præ-" fatio quarta" (vol. i. 393). It is also printed in Ussher's *Sylloge, Epist.* 50.

[2] *ipsi*] R. B.T., Ussher; ipsum, L.

[3] *carptim*] R. B. T., Ussher; captim, L.

[4] *deprompsit*] R. B. T., Ussher; prompsit, L.

dicendorum materia potius conjungenda poposcerat, ad majorem evidentiam series ordinata connexit. Nec indignetur inspector, nec in calumniam[1] prorumpat
74. lector delicatus, si ab historia tanquam ad fabulas converti videar.[2] Non enim fabulosa sunt omnia, quæ falsitatis imaginem tenent; sicut nec verisimilia cuncta statim pro veris suscipienda.

These prophecies orally retained by many British bards; by very few committed to writing. Their publication much desired by Henry II.

Erat itaque Celidonii Silvestris solum hactenus fama percelebris; a Britannicis tamen bardis, quos poetas vocant, verbotenus penes plurimos, scripto vero penes paucissimos, vaticiniorum ejusdem memoria retenta fuerat. Quoniam igitur Merlini istius expositionem Anglorum regem Henricum secundum summopere requisisse multoties audieram, tanto propensius elaborandum in hoc dignum duxi, quanto id ipsum et principi placiturum, et posteritati profuturum, pro certo compereram. Nam, ut ait poeta,

Hor. 1 Ep. xvii. 35.

"Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est."

Quinimmo, diligi a principe et digne commendari, major est laus quam principari. Illud enim fortunæ, istud virtutis est.

Giraldus, after a long but vain hunt through Wales, at length finds an ancient copy of them in the remote province of Lein, in North Wales.

In hujus igitur inquisitione libelli cum penitimos Kambriæ fines frustra pluries transpenetrassem, tandem viro sancto et literatissimo, Cantuariorum archipræsuli Baldewino, in salutiferæ crucis obsequium laudabili per Kambriam legatione fungenti, regio mandato comes effectus, in remotissima quadam Venedociæ provincia, et Hibernico mari contermina, quæ Lein vocatur, in veneratione quadam ab antiquo repositum, operam adhibens et impensam, diu quæsitum desideratumque demum, non absque labore[3] libellum elicui.

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[1] *calumniam*] R. B. T., Ussher; calumniat, L.

[2] *videar*] L. R. B., Ussher; videamur, T.

[3] "plurimo" after *labore* in T. only. It was at Nevin, on the west coast of Carnarvonshire, that Giraldus found his copy of these prophecies. *Itin. Kamb.*, ii. 6.

Functus igitur interpretis officio, peritis quoque linguæ Britannicæ viris mecum adhibitis, in quantum idiomatum permisit diversitas, verbo ad verbum plurima, sententias autem in singulis fideliter expressi. Sed quoniam sicut in aliis, sic et in istis, bardorum ars invida, naturam adulterans, multa de suis tanquam prophetica veris adjecit, cunctis moderni sermonis compositionem redolentibus quasi reprobatis et abjectis, sola veritatis amica, sermonis antiqui rudis[1] et plana simplicitas, diligenter excepta mentem allexit. Seriatim itaque singula depromens, et *Vaticinali Historiæ* vaticiniorum librum non incompetenter annectens, barbaræ linguæ tenebras Latini luce sermonis illustravi; veritus quippe posterorum invidiam, si ea posteris inviderem. In publica namque commoda peccem, si vel hæc studia in tempus differam, vel negligenter omittam.

In translating them, Giraldus aided by men skilled in the British tongue. These prophecies much adulterated by modern additions of the bards: all which, however, Giraldus carefully excludes.

Quibus expletis, et in commune deductis, ad Britannicæ Topographiæ declarationem, Deo duce, vitaque comite, studiosus pedetentim animus aspirabit. Quia tunc mihi molliter ossa cubabunt, si trino saltem nostra diligentia beneficio, tanquam triplici funiculo difficile rumpendo, et longe sui memoriam in ævum extenderit, et favorabilem sibi posteritatis gratiam comparaverit.[2]

Ecclus. iv. 11.

[1] *rudis*] L. R. B., Ussher. Not in T.

[2] Here T. ends.

[CAP. I.]

Tradunt Britones, et antiquæ referunt historiæ,[1] &c.

Sed hæc hactenus. Hujus etenim[2] tertiæ Distinctionis editio, et nova vaticiniorum interpretatio, suum adhuc saniori consilio tempus expectet: quia nondum venit hora ejus.[3] Satius est enim ut veritas, quanquam perutilis et desiderabilis, aliquamdiu tamen suppressa lateat, quam in lucem cum[4] majorum offensa præpropere pariter et periculose prorumpat.

[1] *historiæ, &c.*] Here R. and B. end. What follows is in L. and Ussher only.

[2] *etenim*] L.: enim, Ussher.

[3] *quia nondum venit hora ejus*] Ussher. Not in L.

[4] *cum*] Ussher. Not in L.

[Prooemium[1] secundæ editionis et correctioris,[2] regi Anglorum Johanni factæ.

Reverendissimo domino suo, et in Christo dilecto, nobili et illustri Anglorum regi Johanni, domino Hiberniæ, duci Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comiti Andegaviæ, Giraldus opus suum, et cum corporis animæque salute, prosperos in terris ad vota successus.

Giraldus in Ireland with John. At which time he collected materials for his *Topography* and *Expugnation.*

Placuit olim excellenti et magnifico regi Henrico patri vestro me in Hiberniam a latere suo vobiscum transmittere. Ubi cum multa notarem, nova quidem et notabilia, ceterisque regnis aliena prorsus et incognita, materiam ibidem cum diligentia colligens et congerens, *Hibernicam* postmodum in Anglia *Topographiam,* de mirabilibus Hiberniæ scilicet et situ ejusdem, librum edidi, et in patris vestri laudem triennii labore digessi. Cui quoniam labor hic placuit utpote principi, quod nostris rarum est diebus, literarum eruditione conspicuo, ad ipsius postmodum in-

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[1] This Procemium not in L. R. B. Cl., nor is it amongst the prefaces in the *Symb. Elect.* It is in Hb. Rb., and Camden. The first few lines only are in Ra., which ends with "Cui quoniam," &c. It is, no doubt whatever, a genuine production of Giraldus, though I have found it in no early MS. But it has no claim to be considered a preface to the *Expugnatio:* it is merely a letter to king John, which accompanied a presentation copy of the work. It stands on exactly the same ground as the letter to bishop William of Hereford, which is added to some copies of the *Topographia* (*supra*, p. 203); or the letter to Richard I., accompanying a copy of the *Topographia*, which is amongst the epistles of Giraldus in the *Symbolum Electorum* (vol. i. 242). It is plain, from more than one passage, (for instance, John had legitimate sons now born to him, *infra*, p. 406, l. 17,) that it was not written in the early part of John's reign; perhaps about the beginning of 1210, when John's expedition into Ireland of that year was first talked of. Not at all impossibly, it may have itself suggested this expedition to John.

[2] *correctioris*] Hb.; correctoriæ. Rb., Camden.

stantiam, super expugnatione regni ejusdem hac ultima, per ipsum et suos facta, iterato quidem, immo et fere continuato labore, sed nec isto nec illo, quia

Juv. i. 74. "Probitas laudatur et alget,"

remunerato, librum emisi.

John having apparently forgotten Ireland, this dedication intended to rouse his memory.

Verum quoniam aut per incuriam, aut potius propter occupationem nimiam, terræ illius, inter occidentales insulas non ignobilis, jam diu in animo vestro visa quodammodo quasi sopita memoria fuit, ad eam excitandam, librum eundem, jam correctius quidem et plenius editum, vestræ sublimitati destinare curavi. Ubi a Lageniæ principe Dermitio per suos in exilium pulso, et ad patrem vestrum in transmarinos Neustriæ fines profugo, auxiliumque ab eo postulante obnixius et impetrante, inchoata historia, usque ad adventum vestrum in insulam primum, ubi et vobiscum fuimus, et quæ ibi tunc gesta, et a singulis ducibus et magnatibus illuc transvectis, a primis seriatim usque ad ultimos temporis illius, quid actum ibi vel boni vel mali fuerit, aperte declaratur.

To whom the credit of the conquest mainly due? Whether to the first invaders, under Fitz-Stephen, &c.; the second, under earl Richard, &c.; or the third, under Henry II.

Sic[1] itaque tanquam in speculo dilucido considerari, longeque certius et plenius veritate historica[2] perpendi poterit, quibus gloria conquestus hujus amplior et major digne attribui debet. An primis ejusdem aggressoribus, Menevensis scilicet diocesis, nostrique generis viris: an secundis, Landaffensis scilicet diocesis, viris generosis revera magis quam animosis, a primis quidem invitatis, et tanquam exemplo successuum suorum ad similia provocatis: an adventui tertio, virorum et armorum ac victualium, et totius apparatus copia referto. Multum enim contulit, qui principium dedit: multum, qui nobili principio non modicas veniendo demum vires adjecit: longe plus autem ceteris omnibus, qui totam tam primis quam secundis auctoritatem apponens, atque licentiam præbens, proprio

[1] *Sic*] Hb. Rb.; Hic, Camden.
[2] *historica*] Camden; historia, Hb. Rb.

demum adventu tota sibi regione subacta, sed propter festinam nimis ejusdem a terra reversionem, et intestinam suorum factam in ipsum conspirationem, nondum in formam stabilem plene redacta, totum strenue negotium consummavit.

John is exhorted not to neglect Ireland, the golden island, in favour of England, the silver one.

Jus[1] itaque vestrum, patrisque vestri laborem tam egregium, rex animose, ne parvi pendatis: gloriamque vestram, et honorem tantum, aliis et alienis,[2] indignis pariter et ingratis non tribuatis. Et propter insulam argenteam, cum duplex bonum sit, nec unum alterum excludat, sed appetibilius et pretiosius duplicatum existat, insulam auream non omittatis. Aurum enim Arabiæ, et argentum Achaiæ, unum et idem, diversis quanquam acervis, ærarium implere solent.

To remember that Ireland will form a kingdom for one of his many sons.

Præterea,[3] ad hoc etiam vos inducere debet,[4] quod vestræ de cetero non immemor Hiberniæ sitis. Cum enim plurimos jam filios, tam naturales quam legitimos, vobis Deus et fortuna secunda[5] contulerint, et plures his in brevi conferre queant, quatinus duos illorum duobus in regnis regia dignitate sublimare possitis, et innumeros quoque sub illis viros, præcipueque[6] sub Hibernico, cum regio rudis adhuc ea sit et informis, et a nostris majori ex parte nondum habitata vel efficaciter occupata, de novo feodare, et copiose ditare valeatis. Quod si nec propter gloriam vestram multiplicandam, aut gazam augmentandam, nec propter prolem vestram locupletandam amplius et sublimandam, Hiberniæ vestræ curam adhibere velitis, propter hoc saltem id faciatis, ut veterem militiam vestram, tam patri vestro quam vobis in fide stabili semper obnoxiam et devotam, cujus etiam aggressu terra illa primum obtenta fuit, et usque in hodiernum adhuc retenta,

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[1] *Jus*] Camden; His, Hb. Rb.

[2] *et alienis*] Rb., Camden. Not in Hb.

[3] *Præterea*] Rb., Camden; Propterea, Hb.

[4] *debet*] Hb. Rb.; potest, Camden.

[5] *secunda*] Hb. Rb.; fecunda, Camden.

[6] *præcipueque*] Rb., Camden; præcipue, Hb.

quam novi quidam et recenter advecti, fortunaque magis ibidem quam virtute provecti, quatinus in aliorum labores absque labore succedant, opprimere non cessant, sublevare possitis et reformare; illorumque superbiam dejicere potenter, et cervicosam insolentiam humiliare; quæ in tantam arrogantiam et tam præsumptuosam jam eruperit, ut ad singularem etiam regni illius principatum sibi usurpandum ausi sint, ut fama pronuntiat, aspirare.

Before he attempt to recover the foreign possessions he had lost, to be careful he leaves no danger behind him in Ireland.

Unde et ad hoc quoque facere plurimum debet, quod cum in anteriora vos extendendo, in orientem maxime versam, ut decet, faciem habeatis, et ad injuriose sublata totis, per Dei gratiam, nisibus revocandum aspiretis, nihil ab occidente verendum, nihil prorsus a tergo timendum relinquatis. Hostes namque domesticos, jugiter in insidiis excubantes, et semper insurgendi solum tempus et locum exspectantes, sedibus in vestris terrisque propriis si curetis, licet occiduis quidem, velut a tergo tamen tam propinquis, tanquam vel in sinu vestro serpentes abscondere, vel etiam ignem in gremio positum, et jam in flammam erumpere promptum ac paratum confovere, manifestum proculdubio non solum incuriæ magnæ, verum et ignaviæ, vel etiam inertis insipientiæ signum foret. Tutum etenim est principi cuilibet, nulla prorsus in terris suis hydræ capita fovere: tutum insulanis præcipue regibus, nullam in regnis suis, omni ex latere, præter mare solum marchiam habere.

Porro, si propter hæc omnia, vel horum aliqua, induci forte possitis, ut terræ vestræ toties dictæ, desolatæ dudum et quasi desertæ, misereri cum effectu velitis, eamque in statum redigere laudabilem, vobisque et vestris non inutilem affectetis, hoc a nobis, Britannicæ forte naturæ nostræ levitate, quam mutare non possumus aut exuere, regiæ majestati consilium detur:

To be careful to fulfil the pledges formerly

Quatinus ea duo, quæ pater vester Adriano papæ pepigerat olim, propter licentiam impetrandam intrandi in Hiberniam et expugnandi, prudenter et dis-

crete sibi suisque providens, cum supremam in terris tanti tamque cruenti in Christianos aggressus auctoritatem sibi comparavit; scilicet ecclesiam Dei in finibus illis exaltare, et denarium annuum de singulis domibus beato Petro, sicut in Anglia, sic et in Hibernia dare; juxta tenorem privilegii ejusdem papæ, super hoc a patre vestro prudenter et circumspecte perquisiti, et in archivis Wintoniæ fideliter repositi, quemadmodum inferius historia manifeste declarat; ad exonerandam tam patris vestri, qui hæc promiserat, animam; quoniam, ut ait Salomon in Parabolis, nihil minus principem decet quam labium mendax, præcipueque cum Deo mentiri, et creaturam suo Creatori sponte transgredi, periculosum existat et plectibile; quam ad vestram quoque et vestrorum liberandam, qui clipeum super hoc alium aut defensionem contra districtum Judicem tanti fidelium cruoris effusi, et adhuc forsan effundendi, vobis et vestris non habetis, devota complere voluntate satagatis. Quatinus si de hoc conquestu, sicut decet et debet, Deus honoratur, et prosperitas in terris vobis ac vestris augeatur, et perpetua denique felicitas, quæ superat omnia, subsequatur.

made by Henry II. to pope Adrian; viz., to exalt the church in Ireland, and pay the Peter's-pence.

Supra, p. 316.

Prov. xvii. 7.

Propter hæc etenim promissa, sed hactenus omissa, duos ibi, tanquam ultione divina, credibile est defectus accidisse; quod [scilicet][1] tam diu efficacia conquestus illius, et consummabilis utilitas est dilata; et quod primi ac præcipui terræ illius expugnatores, verbi gratia, Robertus filius Stephani, qui primus ex nostris terram illam intravit, et tanquam aliis viam aperuit et ostendit, Herveius de Monte Maurisco, et Reimundus, Johannes de Curcy, et Meilerius, legitimam de carne sua prolem suscipere non meruerunt.

The divine vengeance in consequence of these pledges having been not kept.

Nec mirum. Mendicat enim miser in insula clerus: lugent ecclesiæ cathedrales, terris suis[2] et prædiis amplis, quondam sibi fideliter et devote collatis, a præ-

Spoliation of the church.

[1] *scilicet*] Camden. Not in Hb. Rb.

[2] *suis*] Rb., Camden. Not in Hb.

dictis, et aliis vel cum ipsis, vel post ipsos advectis, spoliatæ. Et sic "Ecclesiam exaltare" versum est ibi in Ecclesias spoliare.

Hæc igitur emendet princeps bonus, ad cujus etiam spectat honorem, quamvis quoque Deus in causa minime foret, ut in terris suis clerus ubique, qui ei in consiliis suis, et conciliis magnis, cunctisque regni negotiis magis[1] arduis, et rebus agendis principalibus, fideliter assistere debet, honore debito lætetur et sublevetur; et ut in aliquo tam cruenti quæstus hujus et conquestus particeps et placatus Deus existat, promissus census ille, modicus satis atque modestus, omnes quippe liberans et neminem gravans, de cetero detur.

An annual tribute advisable; of gold, or birds, or trees, in proof of subjection.

Item eadem impatientia et hoc adjicimus, quatinus in memoriam expugnationis hujus Hibernicæ per Anglos factæ, quia crebra dominorum, per vices rerum varias, fieri mutatio solet, et ad sanguine remotos, vel etiam prorsus extraneos, transcursu temporum devolvi hereditas plerumque videtur, in annuo auri, vel avium, vel etiam arborum tributo firmiter statuto, quasi perpetuo chirographo et indissolubili vinculo, regnum Hibernicum Anglicanæ coronæ subjectum omni palam tempore fiat.

And finally, Giraldus recommends that some competent scholar be employed to translate this his book into French.

Walter Map's estimate of his own talking, and Giraldus's writing.

Verumtamen, quoniam res gesta per interpretem non adeo sapit, aut animo sedet, sicut proprio et idiomate noto prolata, alicui, si placet, lingua simul et literis erudito, ad transferendum in Gallicum ocius non otiosus liber hic noster committatur: qui forte fructum laboris sui, quoniam intelligi poterit, assequetur, quem nos quidem, minus intellecti, quia principes minus literati, hactenus obtinere non valuimus. Unde et vir ille, eloquio clarus, W. Mapus, Oxoniensis archidiaconus, cujus animæ propitietur Deus, solita verborum facetia et urbanitate præcipua dicere pluries, et nos in hunc modum convenire solebat: "Multa, magister "Giralde, scripsistis, et multum adhuc scribitis: et

[1] *magis*] Rb., Camden; magnis, Hb.

" nos multa diximus. Vos scripta dedistis, et nos " verba. Et quanquam scripta vestra longe lauda- " biliora sint, et longæviora, quam dicta nostra, quia " tamen hæc aperta, communi quippe idiomate pro- " lata, illa vero, quia Latina, paucioribus evidentia, " nos de dictis nostris fructum aliquem reportavimus, " vos autem de scriptis egregiis, principibus literatis " nimirum et largis obsoletis olim, et ab orbe sublatis, " dignam minime retributionem consequi potuistis."

Sane, quoniam dulciores anni nostri, et tempora robustiora, quoad literatos labores nostros, jam transierunt irremunerata, nunc senescentibus nobis, cum tanquam in januis assistens mors immineat, de cetero nos temporaliter remunerari nec expetimus a quoquam, nec expectamus. Solum hoc etenim amodo desideramus, et desiderare debemus, ut divinum in primis et præcipuis favorem nobis per opera bona, ejus cooperante gratia, immo totum efficiente, qui gratis omnia præstat, comparemus; et humanam per opuscula nostra gratiam, si literarum decus quandoque resurgat et in statum redeat, saltem in posterum, Giraldus, now an aged man, desires only God's favour, and the appreciation of his labours by posterity.

"Cum suus ex merito quemque tuebitur[1] honor," Ovid, 1 Amor. xv. 40.

assequamur.[2]]

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[1] "tuetur," Ovid.

[2] After this there follows, in MS. Hb., in same hand, a table of dominical years, 1167–1384, one line only to each year, with here and there a brief historical note. Amongst which are the following, relating to Ireland.

A°. 1167. "Dermitius, rex Lage- " niæ, transfretavit in Angliam, ad " deducendos Anglicos."

1168. "Hoc anno, circa Kal. " Maii, applicuerunt Anglici primo " apud Banuam."

1169.

1170. "Hoc anno martyrizatus " est beatus Thomas Cantuariensis " archiepiscopus. Eodem anno Der- " mitius Macmurchoch obiit in " Fernia."

There is no other entry about Ireland before 1207. The last entry in original hand is at 1279.

GLOSSARY.

GLOSSARY,

INCLUDING GIRALDUS'S LATIN RENDERINGS OF THE IRISH NAMES OF PLACES AND PERSONS.

[In some cases, in this Glossary, the references to the pages *supra* are omitted, especially when a name occurs frequently. These will be found in the Index *infra*, under the English names, or under the Irish name, if no English name be given in the Glossary. The Irish names are distinguished by the '**Elongated**' type.]

A.

Aceta or Cardiolus, a bird, 47 ; the Snipe. Giraldus's larger one of the woods is, no doubt, the woodcock. Du Cange does not notice either word.

Alosa, a river fish, 32 ; " *Gall.* Alose, *Lat.* Clupea," says Du Cange, *i.e.*, the Shad. But this, a poor insipid fish, can hardly be the Alosa of Giraldus, which he describes as "præpinguis," and classes with the lamprey (muræna) as a dangerous delicacy. So the Sheriff of Gloucester, by writ circa 1225, is directed to exact from Roger Fitz-Nicholas, " viginti lampredas et viginti allosas : " *Royal and Historical Letters of H. 3rd*, I. 272.

Amelavus, 187 ; **Amhlaeibh**, Anlaf ; a common name amongst the Northmen invaders of Ireland.

Anninus ; **Ainninn**, one of the sons of Nemedus, 143.

Aralus ; a tree, classed with the box as useful for making cups and handles, 152 ; the Maple, I suppose, *Fr.* Érable. Du Cange has Arabla for some tree, but this he considers not the maple.

Archelo ; Arklow in county Wicklow. The Irish name is **Inbher-mor.**

Archmacia: **Ard-Macha**, Armagh.

Archphinan; **Ard-Fionnain**, *i.e.*, St. Finnan's Hill; now Ardfinnan in Tipperary. A castle is said to have been built here on John's arrival in Ireland in 1185, 386; and the ruins of a castle are still to be seen on a rock overlooking the river Suir. Note (*q*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1185.

Aren; **Ara**, Gen. **Arann**; Arran island, in the bay of Galway, 83.

Artitus, 123; artistic, artfully arranged. *See* Du Cange.

Auca; same as Anser, a goose; *see* Du Cange. Giraldus, 56, only, however, in the later editions, speaks of "aucæ "minores albæ," called *Gantes* or *Gautes*, which come in large noisy flocks, which were rare in Ireland; and of "aucæ majores," vulgarly called *Bisiæ* or *Grisiæ* (alias *Trisiæ*), common winter visitants there in large flocks. I cannot identify these birds.

Aurifrisius, a bird, 49; the later manuscripts reading *Haliætus* instead; the Osprey or Fish-hawk. Neckam (*De Naturis Rerum*, p. 108) calls it Aurifrisius. This name of the bird is not noticed in Du Cange.

Avenlifius, 30; **Abhainn-Liffe**, the river Liffey, Dublin.

Avenmorus, 31; **Abhainn-Mhor**, the Avonmore or Blackwater river, in counties Cork and Waterford.

B.

Banna; **Banna**, the river Bann in Ulster.

Banua; according to a note to the *Four Masters*, this is the creek called **Cuan-an-bhainbh**, now Bannow; 230, note (1). Giraldus (231, l. 5) seems to call it "Insula Banuensis;" but perhaps there was the creek and island too. Regan (p. 23) calls it "la Banne."

Barbulus, a river fish, 32; the Barbel. Not mentioned in Du Cange. Neckam (in his poem *De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ*, printed at the end of the *De Naturis Rerum*, p. 410, l. 639, &c.) describes it as a fish despised in London, but valued in Paris; and as deriving its name from Barba.

Bartholanus, 140; **Partholan** of Irish writers.

Beanus, 125; probably St. **Benen**, a disciple of St. Patrick, and his successor in the primacy of Armagh; commemorated, Nov. 9.

Begeri, 271; **Beg-Eire**, *i.e.* Little Ireland; Beggery Island, near Wexford; called "Sancta," because the residence of St. Ibhar. Regan called it "Becherin," l. 1781, &c.

Berua, 30; **Bearbha**, the river Barrow.

Beveres, 59; Beavers. *See* Du Cange, under Bever.

Binomius, 183; that hath two names.

Bislæ. *See* Auca *supra*.

Bladina mons, 30; **Sliabh Bladhma**, the Slieve-Bloom mountains.

Boandus, 31; **Boinn**, the river Boyne in Meath.

Braccanus; St. **Berchan**. *See* note (8), 384.

Bragmanni, 327, n. (3). This term for the Routiers occurs also in our author's *Gemma Ecclesiastica* (vol. II. 104, l. 8); in the *Descriptio Walliæ*, II. 8 (*Anglia Sacra*, II. 452, last line); and in the Life of Archbishop Geoffrey of York (*Ibid.*, 391, l. 30 and 37).

Brendanus; **Breanainn**, St. Brendan, founder and patron saint of the Abbey of Clonfert. He died A.D. 576; commemorated May 16.

Brendanici montes, 24 ("Colles Brendani," 125), is no doubt Knock-Brandon in Kerry, though very far from being the most southern point of Ireland, as Giraldus represents it.

Brendanicum mare, 31, is the Atlantic; so called, because over it St. Brendan made his seven years voyage.

Bricii. *See* Glassani *infra*.

Brigida; **Brighit**, St. Bridget of Kildare. Died A.D. 525; commemorated Feb. 1.

C.

Cæsaræ tumulus, 140; **Carn-Ceasra**, on bank of the river Boyle in Connaught: note (*h*) to *Four Masters*, A.M. 2242.

Campanus, Adjective, same as Campester; 141, l. 19; 249, l. 22, and in several other instances. Not mentioned in Du Cange.

Capito, a small river fish, 32; where it is classed with the loach and the minnow; probably the Bull-head, or Miller's thumb. Neckam says, (*De Naturis Rerum*, 152), "Nomen

CAPITO—*cont.*
"traxit Capito a capite, tum ratione eminentiæ quantitatis "capitis, tum ratione commendabilis saporis ipsius capitis;" but he is probably speaking of the chub.

CARDIOLUS. *See* Aceta *supra.*

CASSILIA; **Caiseal,** Cashel.

CATI. *See* Glassani *infra.*

CERCELLA, a bird, 117; the Teal, *Fr.* Cercelle, or Sarcelle; Querquedula of classical Latin. *See* Du Cange.

CHAMUS, 150, l. 32; where it seems to mean the bit of a bridle. But in our author's *De Jure, &c.* (vol. III. 313), *camus* seems clearly to be the head-part of the bridle, and *frenum* the bit. It is the *Gr.* Κημός: it occurs in the Vulgate, representing Χαλινός, Κημός, and Κέντρον of the Septuagint; 4. Reg. xix. 28, Ps. xxxi. 9, Prov. xxvi. 3.

CHENACHUS, 145; **Chainnigh,** founder and patron saint of the abbey of Finglas, near Dublin, from him called **Fionnghlaise-Chainnigh.** I find no mention of him in the *Martyrology of Donegal.*

CHORUS, 154; a musical instrument; in which sense it seems certainly used in the Vulgate; for instance, Ps. cl. 4. *See* Du Cange. Our author describes it as a musical instrument of the Scotch and Welsh, but not of the Irish. Mr. Wright, in a note to Bohn's English translation of these treatises, says that is it "the crowth or crowd, which was "played upon by a sort of bow, and is supposed to have "been the origin of the violin." *See* Du Cange, under Chrotta.

CLUNARECH; **Cluain-Iraird,** Clonard in county Meath.

CNUCHURUS, 244; **Conchobhar,** Conor, a son of Dermot Mac Murrough.

COCODRILLUS, 69; the ordinary mediæval form of Crocodilus, the Crocodile.

CŒLIBES or CŒLICOLÆ, or COLIDEI, 80; the monks called Culdees. *See* Du Cange, under Colidei.

COLEMANNUS, 117; **Colman.** Ninety-four saints of this name are enumerated in the *Martyrology of Donegal.* Other writers have made even more.

COLLACHT, 355; where a castle built for John of Hereford. I cannot identify this place; Dr. Reeves suggests **Coillach,** a manor of the archbishop of Dublin in county Wicklow;

COLLACHT—*cont.*
but was this in the lands assigned to the brothers of Hereford ?

CONCIDES —IUM, 237 ; fellings of trees, to bar the advance of a hostile army. *See* Du Cange, under Concisa.

CONFRAGA —ORUM, 330 ; breakings down of trees, for the same purpose. *See* Du Cange, under Confragmentum.

CONNACCIA or CONNACTIA ; **Connacht** or **Connachta**, the province of Connaught.

CORCAGIA or URBS CORCAGIENSIS ; **Corcach**, Cork.

CORCAGLÆ REGNUM. *See* Desmonia.

CROERIA, a bird, 56 ; the Shrike or Butcher-bird, I suppose ; because Giraldus describes it as hanging beetles on thorns, a habit of the Shrike, and of no other bird that I am aware of. When he describes them as "albæ," he would seem to be speaking of the now very rare Great Shrike, rather than the common species. But the passage about the Croeria was not in the earlier editions of the Topography, and probably his account of its being white in Ireland is not the result of his own observation. The word Croeria occurs nowhere else, so far as I can find. Du Cange gives "Croerola," however, as the name of some bird.

D.

DECIPULA, 184 (last line) ; a snare or trap.

DELA, 144 ; **Deala**, son of **Loich**, father of the five chieftains of the Firbolgs, who came to Ireland, A.M. 3266.

DERMITIUS MURCHARDI FILIUS ; often called also MURCHARDIDES ; Dermot Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, the introducer of the English into Ireland. *See* Kenceleia, and 225 note (2).

DERMITIUS REX CORCAGIENSIS or DERMITIUS MACARTHI DESMONIÆ PRINCEPS ; **Diarmaid mac Corbmaic mec Carthaigh,** Dermot, son of Cormac Mac Carthy, he is called by the *Four Masters*, A° 1176, &c. ; king of Cork, or Desmond, or South Munster.

DERUACH, 387 ; **Dairmach,** now Durrow, in north of King's County ; where a famous monastery, founded by St. Columba, about A.D. 550. Adamnan calls it "Darmaig," Bede "Dear-

DERUACH—*cont.*
mach." Note (*z*) to ***Four Masters***, A° 1186. Here Hugh de Laci was assassinated in 1186, in revenge of St. Columba, the Irish account says, 387, note (2) : "In our own time a "murder, under somewhat similar circumstances, was per- "petrated at Durrow. Its proprietor, the earl of Norbury, "was assassinated by a hand still unknown, after he had "completed a castle on the site of that built by De Laci, "and, as some would think, after having insulted St. "Columba by preventing the families under his tutelage "from burying their dead in the ancient cemetery of "Durrow." Note (*a*) to ***Four Masters***, A° 1186, p. 75.

DESMONIA; **Deasmhumha**, Desmond. It is also frequently called South Munster; and again, the kingdom of Cork. All three names are used in the course of a few lines; 347, ll. 15, 16, and 348, l. 9. In like manner, Thomond is indifferently called North Munster, and also the kingdom of Limerick. *See* Tuhetmonia.

DEXTRARIUS, 134, l. 21; a war-horse, a charger; ***Fr.*** Destrier.

DIPSA, 69; a venomous Eastern snake; Dipsas of Pliny, &c., and Neckam, ***De Naturis Rerum***, p. 195.

DOMINICUS OSSIRIENSIS, the saint who brought bees into Ireland, 29. In the *Martyrology of Donegal* he is called **Modhomhnog** of **Tioprat Fachtna**, in the south-west of Ossory, *i.e.* of Tibraghny, in present county Kilkenny. He is commemorated Feb. 13.

DOMINICUS, the saint who founded a monastery at the foot of Sliabh-Slangha, 141. His Irish name is **Domhanghart**, *anglicè* Donard. In the *Martyrology of Donegal*, he is called **Domhanghort** of **Rath Muirbhuilg** in Dalriada: commemorated March 24. The mountain once called Sliabh-Slangha, is from him still called Slieve Donard; in south-east of county Down. Note (*q*) to ***Four Masters***, A.M. 2533.

DUBLINIA. The Irish name of Dublin is **Ath-cliath.** It is generally called "Diviline," "Develyn," or such like, in Regan; but "Ad Cleth" at l. 3095.

DUNA or DUNENSIS CIVITAS; **Dun-da-leathglas**, or **Dun** simply; Down, or Downpatrick.

DUNDUNNOLF, a "rupes marina," about four miles from Waterford, in the direction of Wexford, occupied by Reimund on

DUNDUNNOLF—*cont.*
his first landing in the year 1170, 248. The victory over the Irish who attacked him there is called *Dundunnensis cædes*, 255, l. 3. Regan (p. 68) calls it "Domdonuil," or "Dondonuil." I believe this place has not as yet been identified; but I think that Mr. Graves, who is well acquainted with the localities, has now succeeded in doing so. He fixes confidently upon a precipitous rock now called Drumdowny, "about five or six miles north from Waterford, on the direct "route to Wexford by a ford there over the Barrow, and "beetling over the junction of the three rivers, the united "Nore and Barrow, and the Suir." The castle-crowned rock called Dunnoill, about six or seven miles from Waterford, the old stronghold of the Le Poers, is indeed somewhat nearer in name to Dundunnolf, and still nearer to Regan's Dondonuil; but this is not a "rupes marina," not being within the tide line, though possibly it may have been so in the 12th century; and it is in the wrong direction from Waterford. Giraldus clearly describes Dundunnolf as on the Wexford side of Waterford:—"A Waterfordia miliaribus "quasi quatuor, a latere Weisefordiæ meridionali." Moreover, he says, that the citizens of Waterford crossed the river Suir on their way to attack Reimund. That there are no remains of a castle on Drumdowny, as I suppose to be the case, is rather an argument in its favour than otherwise; as Giraldus speaks of Reimund as only throwing up an entrenchment, a "tenue satis ex virgis et cespite castrum."

DUNLEVUS; **Mac Duinnsleibhe**, Mac Donlevy, king of Ulidia. *See* note (3), 339.

DUVELESCENSE CASTRUM, in Meath, 313. Perhaps Duleek.

DUVENALDUS, an illegitimate son of Dermot Mac Murrough; **Domhnall Caemhanach**, Donnell Kavanagh. Regan calls him "Kevenath," or "Kevath." He holds a conspicuous place amongst the Irish chieftains in the English interest. His death is recorded by the *Four Masters* in 1175.

DUVENALDUS REX LIMIRICENSIS; **Domhnall mac Toirdhealbhach Ua Briain**, Donnell, son of Turlough O'Brien; prince of Thomond, or North Munster, or the kingdom of Limerick. According to the *Four Masters*, he ruled from 1168 to 1194. He married a daughter of Dermot Mac Murrough.

Duvenaldus rex Ossiriensis or Ossiriæ princeps. *See* 233, and note (4). It there appears that the prince of Ossory, who blinded Dermot's son in 1168, and whom Giraldus calls Duvenaldus, or Donnell, was named **Donnchad,** *i.e.* Donough. But this Donough was banished in 1170 (*Four Masters*), and his son Donnell appears as prince of Ossory from 1171 to his death in 1185. Very probably, therefore, Giraldus may have made a mistake as to the person, when he wrote Duvenaldus in this case; but very probably also, this may have been his Latin rendering of **Donnchad** as well as **Domhnall.**

E.

Eoyrus; **Eoir,** the river Nore.

Ermina, 59; the ermine or stoat.

Exhibitus, 228, l. 12; 230, l. 7; entertained.

F.

Fedlimidius; **Feidhlimidh,** king of Munster in the first half of the ninth century. Giraldus speaks of him, but erroneously, as Monarch of Ireland; 182.

Fergusius, one of the sons of Nemedus; **Fearghus Leithdheirg;** 143.

Ferli, 343; **Feara-Li,** or **Fir-Li,** Firlee; the name of a tribe and territory on the river Bann, in the county of Antrim. Note (*a*) to *Four Masters,* A° 1176.

Fernæ; **Fearna,** or **Fearna-mor,** or **Fearna-mor-Maedhog,** Ferns in county Wexford.

Ferneginan, 120; **Fearann na gCenel,** Fernegenal. "This "territory would appear to have comprised the district "round Artramont, and to be included in the barony of "Shelmaliere East. It was divided from the town of "Wexford by the river Slaney." Note (471), p. lvi., to *Topographical Poems.* It is called "Fernegenal" by Regan (p. 146).

FINEGLAS ; **Fionnghlaise** or **Fionnghlaise-Chainnigh**, Finglas near Dublin. *See* Chenachus.

FINNUS. *See* Phinnus.

FOTHERET ONOLAN, 355 ; **Fotharta** in Leinster, of which the O'Nolans were lords ; now the barony of Forth in county Carlow: note (*h*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1175. It is called " Fotherd " by Regan (l. 954), " Fothord " (l. 3064).

FOVERA ; **Fobhar** or **Fobhar-Feichin**, Fore in Westmeath. *See* Phechinus.

G.

GAIDELI, Irish so called, 147 ; Gaels. *See* Scotia.

GALEA, a venomous snake of the East, 70. I find no notice of the word.

GANDIUS ; **Gann**, one of the five chieftains of the Firbolg colonists of Ireland ; 144.

GANTES or GAUTES. *See* Auca.

GARDIO, a river fish, 32. Du Cange gives this one instance of the word from this passage of Giraldus, and says it is the French Gard or Gardon ; *i.e.*, the Roach, according to French dictionaries. But this cannot be the fish meant by Giraldus ; Rochia, just before, must be the roach.

GENANDIUS, 144 ; **Geanann**, one of the five chieftains of the Firbolgs.

GERBANELIS, 143 ; **Iarbhainell** the prophet, one of the sons of Nemedus.

GILLEMEHOLMOCH ; **Mac Gillamocholmog.** The chieftain whom Giraldus thus designates, was the head of a family famous in the history of Leinster, and of Dublin especially, where they got complete mastery of the Danes. They were originally seated in **Ui-Dunchadha**, the district of the present county of Dublin through which the river Dodder flows; but afterwards their sway extended over the Danish territory of Fingal. Note (*l*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1044 ; and note (58), p. xiii., to *Topographical Poems*. The name is spelt Gylmeholmoch in Regan.

GLASSANI, CATI, and BRICII, 33. These are Giraldus' Latin renderings of the Irish names of three species of trout, or some nearly allied fish.

Glindelachan, 113, 256; **Gleann-da-locha,** Glendalough in county Wicklow.

Glis (marina), 264, l. 23; 341, l. 18; the mud on the shore of an estuary or river. Du Cange interprets Glis by "Humus "tenax, Terre glaise."

Grisiæ. *See* Auca.

Gruta, a bird, 47; the Grouse, I suppose; but I have no authority; I find no mention of the word.

Gubio, a river fish, 32; the Gudgeon. Some manuscripts have Gobio, which is the classical form of the word (Juvenal, &c.), and is still the specific name of naturalists for this fish.

H.

Hasculphus, a Northman king of Dublin. *See* note (1), 257.

Heberus; **Eibhear** or **Emhear**; and

Herimon, **Eremhon** or **Eiremhon**; two of the sons of Milesius.

Hobelus (æstivalis), a falcon, 37. No doubt the Hobby, a summer visitant with us; but I find no mention of the word.

I.

Ivori pons; Newry bridge. *See* note (8), 343.

K.

Karlenefordia, 93; **Cairlinn,** Carlingford in county Louth.

Karrech, 245 (*Karrectense castrum,* 266); **Carraig** (a rock), Carrick. Karrech near Wexford, the "rupes prærupta" fortified by Fitz-Stephen in 1169, is still called Carrick. It is a most picturesque abrupt rock on the river Slaney, still crowned by a castle; but this of much later date. (Rev. J. Graves.)

Keivinus; **Caeimhghin,** St. Kevin, founder and patron saint of the abbey of Glendalough. Died A.D. 617; commemorated June 3.

KENCELEIA; **Ui-Ceinnscallaigh**, Hy-Kinselagh; called "Ken-"celath" by Regan (l. 107), or "Okencelath" (l. 886); a large territory of Leinster, most of it comprised in the present county Wexford, about co-extensive with the diocese of Ferns: note (*g*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1193. It was the hereditary principality of the Mac Murroughs, of which family Dermot, king of Leinster, the introducer of the English invaders, was the then head. *Kencelienses* of our author are the men of Kinselagh.

KENELCUNILLIA, 30, or KENELCUNNIL, 169; **Cinel-Conaill**; called also **Tir-Conaill**, Tirconnel; a large territory of Ulster, about co-extensive with the present county Donegal.

KENELEONIA, 30; **Cinel-Eoghain**; a large territory of Ulster, comprising the present counties Tyrone and Londonderry: note (*r*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1172. Its people our author calls *Keneleonenses*, 386.

KILAIR, 144, 356; **Cill-air**, Killare in Westmeath.

KILDARIA; **Cill-dara**, Kildare.

KILLELEONIA or KILLELONENSIS CIVITAS, 331; **Cill-Dalua**, Killaloe, on the Shannon, in county Clare.

KOLUMKILLUS, 385; **Colum Cille**, St. Columba. In other cases where Giraldus mentions him, he calls him Columba or Kolumba.

KORMACUS OLETHAN, 331; **Corbmac Liathanach**, he is called by the *Four Masters*, A° 1176; son of Dermot Mac Carthy, king of Cork.

L.

LAEGIRIUS, 161; **Laeghaire**, monarch of Ireland, A.D. 428–458.

LAGENIA; **Laighin**, the province of Leinster. Its people are *Lagenienses*.

LAGILINI STAGNUM, 141; **Loch-Laighlinne**; said to be in **Ui Mic Uais Breagh**, a district in Eastmeath to the south-west of Tara. But this lake has not been identified: Note (*s*) to *Four Masters*, A.M. 2535.

LANERIUS, a falcon, 56; the Lanner, *Fr.* Lanier. *See* Du Cange, under Lanarii (2).

LANGUINUS, 140; **Laighlinne**, one of the sons of Partholan, Bartholanus of Giraldus.

LECHLINIA ; **Leithghlionn,** Leighlin in county Carlow ; now a mere hamlet called Old Leighlin, but formerly the "civitas" of the diocese of Leighlin, and still retaining its cathedral. Clahull's castle, near Lechlinia, on the river Barrow, 355, is probably the Black-Castle at Leighlin bridge (Rev. J. Graves).

LEIS, 355 ; **Laoighis,** Leix ; a large territory of Leinster, comprising the greater part of the present Queen's County. Note (*f*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1196.

LIMERICUM ; **Luimneach,** Limerick.

LISMORIA ; **Liosmor,** Lismore, in county Waterford. Giraldus says that a castle was built here on John's arrival in 1185, 386. There are remains of a castle as early as this date still in being : Mr. Parker, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1864, p. 540.

LOCHERINUM STAGNUM, 185 ; **Loch Uair,** now Lough Owel, in Westmeath.

LOCHIA ; a small river fish, 32 ; the Loach, I suppose. I find no mention of the word anywhere.

LUCUBRA, a light to attract birds, a lanthorn perhaps (190, l. 19). Du Cange gives instances of "Lucibrum" and "Lucubrum" in much the same sense.

LUGDUNUM or LUGDUNENSIS CIVITAS, 360 ; **Lughmadh** or **Lughbhadh,** Louth. Called also *Luvensis civitas*, 133.

LUTHERNUS, ST., abbot, 133. I cannot identify this saint.

LUVIUS, river, 30. *See* Saverennus.

M.

MACHELANUS OPHELAN (278, l. 22), or MACHELANUS alone, (269, l. 12) ; the prince of a powerful Leinster tribe, the **Ui-Faolain,** in north of present county Kildare. *See* Ophelani. The *Four Masters* (A° 1161 and 1203) call him **Faolain Mac Faolain.** Regan, who mentions him repeatedly, calls him "Mackelan." According to note (*k*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1124, Mackelan is the Anglicised form of Mac Faolain.

MACHSACHELINUS, 269. *See* Omachlachelinus.

MACHSACHELINUS OPHELAN, or OPHELANUS ; **Maelseachlainn Ua Faolain,** Melaghlin O'Phelan ; prince of **Deisi-Mumhan,** Decies, a large territory of Munster, in the present county Waterford : note (*y*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1196. He is

MACHSACHELINUS OPHELAN—*cont.*
called by the *Four Masters* Ua Faolain, lord of the Deisi-Mumhan, at least on occasions where they are clearly speaking of the same chieftain as the Machsachelinus Ophelan of Giraldus. By Regan he is called Donnell O'Phelan of the Deisi, "del Deys Dovenald Osfelan" (l. 1420). Probably he is the same person as the Donnell O'Faolain, lord of Deisi-Mumhan, whose death is recorded by the *Four Masters* in 1205.

MACHTALEWI; oneof the principal chieftains, it would seem, of Leinster; classed by Giraldus with Mackelan of Ui-Faolain, Mac Gillamocholmog, and O'Toole, of Leinster; and with O'Casey of Saithne, O'Carroll of Uriel, and O'Rourke of Breifne; (120, l. 12; 269, l. 13; 278, l. 22). I suppose him to be the chieftain called "Macdalwi" by Regan (l. 3212). I have failed, however, to identify him. No wonder in this, but my Irish friends have succeeded no better; Dr. Reeves even cannot enlighten me.

MAIDOCUS, 130; **Maedhog**, the first bishop and patron saint of Ferns. Died A.D. 624; commemorated Jan. 31.

MALIGNARE, 377, l. 2; to do wrong, to injure. *See* Du Cange.

MARCHIÆ, 349, l. 13, and frequently; the Marches, or territories adjoining an enemy's country; "Terræ penitimæ, hos-"tique propinquiores, quæ marchiæ dicuntur," 391, l. 23. It was a term especially applied to the English and Welsh borders, and therefore familiar to Giraldus.

MARCHIO, 314, l. 16, and elsewhere; a lord Marcher, one appointed to rule the Marches.

MARTINETA, a bird, 50; the Kingfisher; *Fr.* Martinet.

MARTRINA, or MARTINA, or MARTRIX, 58; the Marten-cat. I find no instance of either of these names for the Marten elsewhere.

MEDIA; **Midhe**, the province of Meath. *Medenses* are the men of Meath.

MEDIAMNA or —NIS, 32; an island in a lake or river. *See* Du Cange, under Mediamne.

MELINGUS; St. **Moling**. *See* 254, note (4).

MELOTA. *See* Taxus.

MERULUS MINUTUS, a falcon, 37; the Merlin, no doubt, about the smallest of the British Falconidæ; but I find no mention of the word.

MILESIUS, 146 ; **Milidh.**

MOADUS, 30 ; **Muaidh**, the river Moy in county Mayo.

MODARNUS, 30 ; **Modhairn**; anciently the name of the river Foyle, flowing between the counties Tyrone and Donegal, but now applied only to one of its tributaries, the Mourne in county Tyrone ; note (*d*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1030.

MOMONIA ; **Mumha**, the province of Munster. According to Giraldus, 31, it anciently comprised two provinces, North Munster or Thomond, and South Munster or Desmond; these, with Leinster, Ulster, and Connaught, having been the five provinces into which Ireland was anciently divided.

MOROSUS; slow, deliberate; "Non tarda et morosa, verum "velox et præceps," 153, l. 21.

MURÆNA, a river fish, 32 ; the Lamprey of mediæval English writers, a very different fish from the Muræna of the Romans, The latter is unknown in England, except as a very rare straggler to our coasts.

MURCHARDIDES or MURCHARDI FILIUS. *See* Dermitius.

MURCHARDUS KENCELELÆ PRINCEPS ; Murtough Mac Murrough, prince of Hy-Kinselagh. *See* 329, note (6).

MUREDUS, 162 ; **Muireadhach**, king of Ulidia ; died A.D. 479.

N.

NANNANUS, ST., 119 ; expeller of fleas. I cannot identify this saint.

NAS, and NASENSE CASTRUM, 100 ; **Nas**, now Naas in county Kildare.

NATALIS, ST., 102 ; **Natal**, founder, first abbot and patron saint of the abbey of Kilmanagh in present county Kilkenny. In *Martyrology of Donegal* called "Natal of Cill-na-manach ;" commemorated July 31.

NELLUS, 161, &c. ; **Niall** of the nine hostages, monarch of Ireland, A.D. 379–405.

NEMEDUS, 143; **Neimhidh.** The island in which Neimhidh died is called Ard-Neimhidh by the *Four Masters* (A.M. 2859) ; now Barrymore, or the Great Island, near Cork.

NORRACH, 356; Narragh, in present county Kildare. *See* note (*y*) to *Four Masters*, A.D. 1186.

O.

Obowi, 356 ; **Ui-Buidhe,** O'Boy; on west side of the river Barrow, in the barony of Ballyadams, Queen's County. (Dr. Reeves.)

Ocadhesi ; **Ua Cathasaigh,** O'Casey. The O'Caseys were lords of Saithne, a territory co-extensive with the barony of Balrothery West, in the present county of Dublin : note (20), p. v., to *Topographical Poems.*

Ocaruelis Urielensis ; **Murchadh Ua Cearbhaill,** Murrough O'Carroll ; prince of Uriel, or Orghialla, in Munster.

Odrona ; **Ui-Drona,** Odrone, or Idrone ; a territory in county Carlow, of which the O'Ryans were lords.

Offelani ; the people of **Ui-Failghe,** Offaly, or Ophaly, a large territory in Leinster. This territory comprised the present baronies of East and West Offaly in Kildare, with others in King's and Queen's counties : note (*g*) to *Four Masters,* A° 1178 ; and note (406), p. l., to *Topographical Poems.*

Olethan, 351 ; **Ui-Liathain ;** the name of a tribe, and of their territory, in south-east of the present county Cork. The territory is nearly represented by the baronies of Barrymore and Kinnatalloon : Dr. Reeves' *St. Columba,* p. 166.

Omachlachelinus, 185 ; **Maelseachlainn,** king of Meath. He was also monarch of Ireland, A.D. 844–860.

Omachlachelinus, 225 ; **Ua Maeleachlainn,** or **Ua Maelseachlainn,** O'Melaghlin ; "Malathlin" of Regan (p. 2) ; the surname of the royal family of Meath. Called *Machsachelinus,* also, it would seem, 269 (last line).

Omurethi ; **Ui-Muireadhaigh ;** "Omorethi" of Regan (p. 147) ; the name of a tribe, and of their territory, in Leinster, in southern part of present county Kildare : 269, note (4).

Onolan ; **Ua Nuallain ;** O'Nolan ; the surname of the lords of Fotharta, in Leinster. *See* Fotheret Onolan.

Ophelan ; **Ua Faolain,** O'Phelan ; the family name of the lords of Deisi-Mumhan in Munster. *See* Machsachelinus Ophelanus.

Ophelani and Ophelania ; **Ui-Faolain,** Ophelan. This was the name of a powerful Leinster tribe, and of their territory, which comprised about the northern half of the present county Kildare : note (368), p. xlvii., to *Topographical Poems.*

OROBICIUS; **Ua Ruairc,** O'Rourke; the family name of the kings of Breifne, a territory which comprised the present counties Leitrim and Cavan. For the O'Rourke of Giraldus's history, Tiernan O'Rourke, *see* 225, note (3). To what is there said of him I may here add, that Giraldus, in more than one instance, calls him *monoculus*, the one-eyed. I do not remember having seen any confirmation of this nick-name in Irish authorities. Diceto, however (p. 558), amongst the chieftains who submitted to Henry II. in 1171, has "Regulus ille qui Monoculus dicebatur," probably meaning O'Rourke.

OSSIRIA; **Osraighe,** Ossory; "Osserie" in Regan (p. 26, &c., 160, &c.); a large territory of Leinster, comprising nearly the whole of the present county Kilkenny, and the barony of Upper Ossory in Queen's County, co-extensive with the diocese of Ossory; note (482), p. lviii., to *Topographical Poems.*

OSTMANNI or OUSTMANNI; the Danish, &c. invaders of Ireland, so called from their coming from the East, 187. The invaders under Tuirgeis, in the first part of the 9th century, are called by Giraldus *Norwagienses*, 182, 185–6. He first uses *Ostmanni* for the invaders under Anlaf, &c., circa 850, though these also, he says, came "de Norwagiæ et insula-" rum borealium partibus," 186. Ostmen is not an Irish name, nor an English one; and it would seem that it must have been first given by the earlier Northmen colonists to their after kindred followers, and then have become applied to the whole race.

OTUETHELIS; **Ua Tuathail,** O'Toole; the surname of the lords of Ui-Muireadhaigh, Omurethi of Giraldus: 269, note (4).

P.

PALLIARE, 185. l. 10; to cloak, to conceal.

PARIES, 199, l. 27. Giraldus describes John's noble lineage as derived "ab utroque pariete," *i. e.*, from on both father's and mother's side. It is the equivalent, and perhaps the original genealogical form of our modern term, "on both sides of the house." In our author's *De Jure, &c.* (vol. III. 312), there is a somewhat similar use of the word, where the

PARIES—*cont.*
chapter of St. David's is described as divided into two family parties, "duos parietcs, Jonæ scilicet posteritatem et Jo- "hannis." I can find no notice anywhere of the use of the word in this sense.

PATRICII MONTES, or COLLES; **Cruach-Phadraig**, now Croagh-Patrick in county Mayo.

PAVO SILVESTRIS, 47; no doubt the Capercaillie, or Cock of the Wood, formerly existing in Ireland. The last is said to have been killed about 1760.

PERCHIUS, a river fish, 32; the Perch. Du Cange gives instances of Perchia, but none of Perchius. Neckam (p. 147), has Perca, as in Pliny, &c.

PHALANGA, 150, l. 25. This word is Giraldus's Latin rendering of the Irish **Fallaing**, *Saxon* Falding, a mantle: *Cambr. Evers.* II. 170, note (*g*); and 203, note (*c*). Giraldus describes it as used "vice palliorum," under the "caputium," the covering of the head and shoulders. Perhaps it was something like the modern Scotch plaid, wrapped round the body; the so use of which is certainly very ancient.

PHECHINUS, 134; **Feichin**; founder and patron saint of the abbey of Fore in Westmeath. Died A.D. 664; commemorated Jan. 20.

PHENIUS, 147. *See* Scotia.

PHINBARRUS, 131; called **Bairre** by the *Four Masters*, and in the *Martyrology of Donegal;* St. Barr, or Finbarr, in Harris's *Ware* (Bishops, 556); the first bishop and patron saint of Cork. Lived in the 7th century; commemorated Sept. 25.

PHINNANUS, 120; **Finnen**, St. Finan or Finian; the first abbot and patron saint of Clonard in Meath. Died A.D. 548, according to the *Four Masters;* commemorated Dec. 12. In Harris's *Ware* (Bishops, 136), he is said to have been the first bishop of Clonard.

PHINNUS, or FINNUS, 30; **Finn**; the river Finn in Donegal.

PRÆCLUIS, 235, l. 7; Famous.

PRÆPELLERE, to drive away. "Præpulit," in this sense, is the reading of all but one manuscript in 159, l. 9. It occurs in a quotation from Cassiodorus, and the one MS. has "pepulit," with Cassiodorus, probably the right reading.

PUTACIUS, 59; the Foulmart, or Polecat.

R.

Ratula, 47 ; described as a common bird with a harsh noisy note, and classed with quails and larks; probably the Landrail, or Corncrake. Du Cange mentions this one instance of the word in Giraldus, and suggests that Ranula is the right reading. But there is no MS. authority for this, and a bird seems certainly to be meant.

Ratus ; a Rat. " Mures majores, qui vulgariter *Rati* vocan- " tur," 120.

Rochia, a river fish, 32; the Roach, I suppose ; but I find no mention of the word.

Rothericus Connactensis ; **Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair,** Roderic O'Conor ; king of Connaught, and monarch of Ireland, at the time of the English invasion.

Rutheraigus, 144 ; **Rudhraighe**; one of the five chieftains of the Firbolgs.

Ruturugus, 140; **Rudhruidhe**; one of the sons of Partholan, Bartholanus of Giraldus.

Ruturugum stagnum, 141 ; **Loch Rudhruidhe**; now the inner bay of Dundrum, in county Down. O'Donovan errs in his note to the *Four Masters*, A.M. 2545 (Dr. Reeves). O'Donovan, however, corrected the error in his Addenda et Corrigenda ; where he directs that for " The mouth of the river " Erne, in county Donegal," should be read " The bay of " Dundrum in county Down."

S.

Salanus, 140 ; **Slainge,** one of the sons of Partholan.

Salar ; a name given to some species of trout, 33. The salmon is the " Salmo salar " of Linnæus, &c.

Samairus, 30 ; **Samhair,** a river of Tirconnell ; now usually called the Erne ; note (*n*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1194.

Sangandius, 144 ; **Seangann,** one of the five chieftains of the Firbolgs.

Saverennus, a river, 30. This, and the Luvius, Giraldus says, are two of the nine primary rivers of Ireland, and they run " per Corcagiam." This Corcagia must mean the terri-

SAVERENNUS—*cont.*
tory, or kingdom, of Cork. The *Four Masters* (A° 1163) record the death of the heir of the king of Meath, who "fell off the bridge of Corcach, and was drowned in the "Sabhrann." Corcach of the *Four Masters* is the city Cork, and **Sabhrann**, or Saverennus of Giraldus must be, therefore, the present river Lee, as O'Donovan says in his note (*a*). But what then is the Luvius? A note to *Cambrensis Eversus* (I. 122) says that Saverennus is the river Bandon, and Luvius the Lee.

SCOTIA, daughter of Pharaoh, 147. Giraldus makes her the wife of Gaidelus, grandson of Phenius. According to other Irish legends, it was Nel, or Niul, the son of Fenius, who married Scota; and it was from their son, Gaedhuil Glas, that the name Gael has descended. The *Four Masters* (A.M. 3500) say that Scota was the wife of Milidh.

SINNENUS, or SINNENENSIS FLUVIUS; **Sionainn**, the river Shannon.

SITARACUS; **Sitrioc** or **Sitriug**, Sihtric; a common name amongst the Northmen colonists of Ireland.

SLANA, 31; **Slaine**, the river Slaney in Wexford.

SLANIUS, 144; **Slainge**, one of the five chieftains of the Firbolgs.

SLICHEIUS, 30; **Sligeach**, the river Sligo; now the river Gitly.

SPECIES, 68; Spices. *See* Du Cange, under Species (6).

STARIUS, 143; **Sdarn**, one of the sons of Neimhidh.

SUBSOLARIS, 66; the east wind; same as Subsolanus of Pliny and others.

SUIRUS or SUIRENSIS AQUA; **Siuir**, the river Suir.

T.

TAHMEHO, 356; **Teach-Mochua**, Timahoe in Queen's County.

TAXUS or MELOTA, 58; the Badger. *See* Du Cange. Neckam uses both words (*De Nat. Rerum*, 207); and gives a similar account to that of Giraldus of this animal's mode of conveying the earth away from its burrows.

THORACH; **Toraighe**, and sometimes **Toir-inis**; Tory island, off Donegal; 24, note (3); and note (*x*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1202.

THUEMIA or TUEMIA; **Tuaim-da-Ghualann**; Tuam, the archbishop's see, in Galway. The archbishop of Tuam is called by Giraldus, in one instance, 281, l. 12, "Tuotuenensis "archiepiscopus."

THYMALLUS or UMBRA, a fish, 33; and *Itin. Kamb.*, I. 2. Umbra is the *Fr.* Ombre, the Grayling; the Thymallus of Linnæus, &c. Neckam makes them the names of distinct fishes, *De Nat. Rerum*, 149 and 157: under Thymallus he seems to be describing the Smelt.

TIBRACCIA or TRIBRACCIA; **Tiprait-Fachtna**, Tibraghny; on north side of the river Suir, in south-west of the present county Kilkenny: note (*p*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1185. Possibly Giraldus's Tibraccia may, in some instances, mean Tipperary, or the district round it. The Irish name of Tipperary is **Tiobraid-Arann**; but it does not occur, as far as I have seen, until long after Giraldus's time.

TORTUA, 33, 62; the Tortoise, or Turtle; *Fr.* Tortue.

TRISTERDERMOTH, 355; **Diseart-Diarmada**, in Ui-Muireadhaigh; now Castledermot, in county Carlow: note (*e*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1180.

TRUMENSE CASTRUM, 313; at **Ath-Truim**, now Trim, in county Meath.

TUEMIA. *See* Thuemia.

TUHETMONIA; **Tuathmhumha**; Thomond, or North Munster, or kingdom of Limerick. *See* Desmonia, and Momonia.

TUOTUENENSIS. *See* Thuemia.

TURGESIUS, 182; **Tuirgeis**; the leader of a Norwegian invasion of Ireland in the first half of the 9th century.

TURTRA, a river fish, 32, &c.; the Trout. The word is so written, in every case, in all the good manuscripts. The more usual form is Trutta, or Truta. Under the latter, Du Cange mentions one instance of Turta.

U.

ULTONIA; **Ulta**; the province of Ulster. Anciently this province was called **Uladh** (Ulidia); but long before Giraldus's time, Uladh had become more especially applied to the district of Ulster, comprising the present counties of Down and Antrim: note (*x*) to *Four Masters*, A° 1172. This

ULTONIA—*cont.*
was not strictly observed, however. Up to, and beyond, Giraldus's time the old term Uladh was still not unfrequently used by Irish writers for the whole province.

UMBRA, 33. *See* Thymallus.

URIEL, 343 ; or URIELENSIS TERRA, 339 ; **Oirghialla**, Oriel, or Uriel ; a large territory in Ulster, comprising the present counties of Louth, Armagh, and Monaghan : note (103), p. xix., to *Topographical Poems*.

V.

VERO, a small river fish, 33 ; the Minnow, *Fr.* Veron. It is not mentioned by Du Cange.

W.

WATERFORDIA. **Port-Lairge** is the Irish name for it. Both names seem to be of Northman origin : note (*z*) to *Four Masters*, A 1174.

WEISEFORDIA. Wexford is called in Irish **Loch-Garman.** It is generally " Weiseford," or " Weyseford," in Regan ; but " Lochgarman " at line 3095.

WIKINGELO ; Wicklow. The Irish name is **Cill-Mantain.** Regan calls it " Winkinlo," in line 3092, and " Kylmantan," in line 3094.

Y.

YPOTAMUS, 69, l. 14 ; or Hypotamus (Du Cange) ; the ordinary mediæval form of Hippopotamus.

YVORUS, 120 ; **Ibhar** ; bishop of Beg-Eire, Beggery island, off Wexford. Died A.D. 500 ; commemorated April 23.

YVORUS, 187 ; **Imhar**, one of the Northmen leaders, A.D. 851.

INDEX.

INDEX.

[After the English or Irish names of persons, places, &c., in this Index, is added between brackets, whenever at all necessary, Giraldus's version of the name; so that there may be ready reference from the Index to the Glossary *supra*.]

A.

B.

C.

D.

E.

F.

G.

H.

I.

J.

K.

L.

M.

O.

P.

Q.

R.

S.

V.

W.

Y.

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